

PEKING REVIEW

23

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SELECTED MILITARY WRITINGS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

The *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, comprising twenty-nine articles from the *Selected Works*, Volumes I-IV, are the chief military writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, done at various periods in the history of the Chinese people's democratic revolution.

In the present volume is to be found Comrade Mao Tse-tung's scientific elucidation of three fundamental problems of the revolutionary armed struggles of the Chinese people, namely, strategy and tactics for the revolutionary war, building a people's army, and establishing armed revolutionary bases. The military writings amply express the military line which was formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, through the application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to serve the political line of the Chinese people's revolution.

The book will help the reader acquire a fuller understanding of how the Chinese people step by step succeeded in winning the great victory in their revolution after decades of arduous struggles.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

June 5, 1964 Vol. VII No. 23

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The Chinese Government issued a statement on May 30, commenting on the Soviet Government's statement concerning the Preparatory Meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference.

• *Renmin Ribao* carried a commentary on the same day on the same subject by its Observer.

• Hundreds of thousands of Peking citizens turned out to welcome Field Marshal Abdullah Al Sallal, President of the Arab Republic of Yemen, when he arrived on June 1 for a friendship visit.

• *Renmin Ribao* in its May 29 editorial called for an immediate convocation of an international conference on the Laotian situation.

• Replying to a message from the British Government, the Chinese Foreign Ministry declares that the Chinese Government cannot agree with the British proposal to hold consultations in Vientiane concerning the Laotian situation.

• In its May 28 editorial *Renmin Ribao* declared that the struggle against neo-colonialist "Malaysia" would surely triumph.

• The Chinese press published:

— an article appearing on May 25 in the Australian paper *Vanguard*. It declares that the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) opposes a hasty world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

— an article from the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit* on May 17 entitled: "Khrushchov Revisionist Group's Splitting Activities as Seen From Suslov's Report."

— a resolution adopted at a meeting sponsored by *Rote Fahne*, fortnightly of the Marxist-Leninists of the Austrian Communist Party, denouncing the treacherous and divisive acts of the Khrushchov revisionist group.

— an article from *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, on May 28 repudiating the revisionist fallacies of Yoshio Shiga and other renegades.

— two articles by General Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier and Minister of Defence of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Dien Bien Phu victory. The articles stress that revolutionary violence must be used against counter-revolutionary violence in order to achieve national liberation and that man plays the decisive role in a revolutionary war.

Chairman Mao Receives Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on May 28 received Werdojo, Chairman of the Indonesian Party (Partai Indonesia), and his wife; Mrs. Winoto, wife of Winoto who is also a Chairman of the Indonesian Party; and Djawoto, Indonesian Ambassador to China, and his wife.

Werdojo and his wife and Mrs. Winoto, who came on a visit at the

invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, left Peking on May 29 for the southern parts of the country.

In an interview with Hsinhua on the eve of his departure Werdojo, who visited China in 1953 and 1960, acclaimed the revolutionary spirit of the Chinese people who, he said, "are a powerful force in the struggle against imperialism." He added that

he had seen for himself China's tremendous progress in economic construction during his tour of the northeast.

On June 2, Chairman Mao received Italian Senator Paolo Battino Vit-torelli and another Italian guest, Dr. Saverio Santaniello.

French Ambassador Presents Credentials

Lucien Paye, the first French Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China, arrived in Peking on May 27. He was welcomed at the railway station by Yu Pei-wen, Director of the Protocol Department of the Foreign Ministry. On May 29, he called on Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi to discuss the presentation of his credentials.

On May 31 Ambassador Lucien Paye, accompanied by officials of the French Embassy, presented his letter of credence to Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and made a speech on the occasion. Chairman Liu Shao-chi made a speech in reply.

Hewlett Johnson Arrives on Visit

Dr. Hewlett Johnson, former Dean of Canterbury, and his wife arrived in Peking by special plane on May 28. They were given a warm welcome at the airport by Premier Chou En-lai and his wife Teng Ying-chao, on whose invitation they are visiting China.

As Dr. and Mrs. Johnson stepped down from the plane, the Premier's wife presented Dr. Johnson with a bouquet of peonies and Mrs. Johnson, a bouquet of roses picked from her own garden.

This is Dr. Johnson's fourth visit to China since the founding of the People's Republic. He and his wife arrived in Canton on May 13, where they were met by Huan Hsiang, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his wife who had gone there specially to welcome them.

On May 29, Premier Chou and his wife gave a luncheon in honour of their guests. While dishes from

the Premier's native place were served, the hosts toasted their guests' health and wished them long life.

Afghanistan's National Day

Ambassador Mohammad Chouaib Miskinyar celebrated Afghanistan's National Day with a reception in Peking on the evening of May 27. Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other high government officials were among the guests present.

In his speech, Vice-Premier Chen Yi congratulated the Afghan people on the marked successes they had achieved in their national economy and social progress. He also paid tribute to Afghanistan's policy of peace and neutrality in international affairs and its role in strengthening Asian-African solidarity and safeguarding world peace. "At the recent Preparatory Meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference," the Vice-Premier said, "the delegation of Afghanistan upheld the Bandung principles and the stand of Asian-African solidarity, thus contributing to the success of the meeting and winning widespread praise. The Chinese Government will work together with Afghanistan and all other Asian-African countries for the successful convocation of the Second Asian-African Conference which is attracting the attention of the whole world."

The Vice-Premier also referred to the Sino-Afghan boundary treaty signed last year and hailed it as another great event in the friendly relations between the two countries. "We are sure that, with the successful completion of the survey of the boundary and the erection of markers, the boundary of peace and friendship already existing between our two countries will be further consolidated," he said.

Ambassador Miskinyar, in his speech, toasted the traditional friendship and good-neighbourly relations between Afghanistan and China. He declared that the policy of the Afghan Government was to work unswervingly for the main-

tenance and further development of friendly relations between the two countries.

On the eve of the Afghan National Day, messages of greetings were sent by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to King Mohammed Zahir Shah and Prime Minister Mohammed Yosouf respectively.

Condolences on Nehru's Death

Premier Chou En-lai on May 27 sent a message to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, on receiving news of the death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The message reads:

"Grieved to learn of the unfortunate death of His Excellency Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, I wish to express to Your Excellency and the Indian Government deep condolences on behalf of the Chinese Government and in my own name.

"There is a profound, traditional friendship between the people of China and India. Although certain differences still exist at the present time between our two countries, this unfortunate situation can only be temporary. I am convinced that the friendly relations between the Chinese and Indian peoples will surely be restored and developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence."

Premier Chou also sent a message expressing profound sympathy to Madam Indira Gandhi.

On May 28, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi went to the Indian Embassy in Peking. They placed a wreath before the portrait of the late Indian Prime Minister, and expressed their deep condolences to J.S. Mehta, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indian Embassy.

Accent on Science

Peking was recently the scene of a conference called by the Chinese Academy of Sciences for the swapping of experience among scientists and technologists. Reports were

(Continued on p.28.)

President Abdullah Al Sallal in Peking

PEKING Airport was gay with flags and bunting on the afternoon of June 1 when Field Marshal Abdullah Al Sallal, President of the Arab Republic of Yemen, arrived by special plane on a friendship visit. The gala atmosphere there and throughout the city that day expressed the hearty welcome the Chinese people gave to their distinguished guest from the southwest Arabian littoral.

The Yemeni President has come at the invitation of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai. Accompanying him are Brigadier Mohamed Al Raaini and Abdu Rahman Al Eriani, Deputy Prime Ministers; Brigadier Hadi Eisa, Vice-Minister of Defence; and other high-ranking officials.

Greeting the Yemeni guests on the tarmac were Liu Shao-chi and Tung Pi-wu, Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively of the People's Republic of China; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, and other government leaders. The great crowd of welcomers at the airport waved flags and bouquets and shouted: "Long live Sino-Yemeni friendship!" "Long live the great unity of the people of the world!"

President Abdullah Al Sallal drove in an open car to the State Guest House in the company of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai. Hundreds of thousands of people lined both sides of the roads to greet him and his colleagues. As the motorcade passed by, the crowds beat gongs and drums, sang and danced, and exploded firecrackers in a typical Chinese welcome.

On the evening of June 2, Chairman Liu Shao-chi gave a banquet in the Great Hall of the People in honour of President Sallal and members of his delegation.

Chairman Liu paid tribute to the people of Yemen for their unremitting struggle to oppose imperialist



President Abdullah Al Sallal with Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai at the airport

aggression and oppression and to win and safeguard their national independence. He praised the Yemeni Government's adherence to its policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, its devotion to the cause of solidarity among the Arab and other Asian-African countries and opposition to imperialism and old and new colonialism. "The great victory of the Arab national-independence movement," said Chairman Liu, "is an important international event of the post-World War II period; it marks a tremendous development in the struggle of the oppressed nations throughout the world for independence and liberation." He reiterated the Chinese Government's support for the desire of the Arab people to achieve solidarity and unity in the manner of their own choice, and for their opposition to aggression and interference from any quarter. Declared Chairman Liu: "We strongly condemn the U.S. scheme of instigating Israel to provoke the Arab countries. We support the legitimate demand of the Palestinian people to recover their proper rights and return to their homeland. We support the people of Aden, South Yemen and

Oman in their just struggles against colonialism. We support the just stand of the Arab countries in demanding the dismantling of all foreign military bases." Referring to Sino-Yemeni friendship, he said that President Sallal's current visit would further promote mutual understanding and relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

President Sallal, in his speech, thanked the Chinese Government and people for consistently supporting the Arab people's cause and legitimate demands and their fight against imperialist schemes and aggression. "The support given by the Chinese Government," he said, "has strengthened the Arab people's struggle to uphold their independence and to oppose the imperialists' scheme of undermining the solidarity of the Arab people in an attempt to stage a comeback, restore their colonial rule, deprive the Arab people of their freedom and plunder their wealth."

President Abdullah Al Sallal has visited many places of interest in the capital. He will later visit other cities before leaving for home.

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China

On the Soviet Government's Statement Concerning The Preparatory Meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference

- The political centre of the Soviet Union as a single entity has always been in Europe and, therefore, it has traditionally been acknowledged as a European country. No matter how vast Soviet territory in Asia may be, this cannot turn the Soviet Union into an Asian country. It is only natural that the Asian and African countries do not invite the Soviet Union to the Asian-African conference. The matter was already settled ten years ago while the five Colombo nations were preparing for the First Asian-African Conference. As a European country, it has not been invited to the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations, nor has it asked for joining it.
- The Chinese Government has taken a principled and consistent stand on the question of Soviet participation in the Asian-African conference. The Asian-African conference is a conference of the heads of Asian and African countries. Since the Soviet Union is a European country, it of course should not take part in such a conference. This is a matter of principle, and we abide by the principle. We have never wavered in our principled stand according to the state of our relations with the Soviet Union.
- More than 20 Asian-African countries gathered at the meeting and reached the conclusion that since no agreement could be reached they would not extend an invitation to the Soviet Union. If the Soviet leaders have the least respect for Asian-African countries, they should first of all respect this conclusion of the Asian-African countries and should not carp and cavil and attempt to overthrow this conclusion through crude interference.
- The Asian and African countries have much work to do to strengthen Asian-African unity and prepare for making the Second Asian-African Conference a success. We earnestly hope that the Soviet leaders will exercise some self-restraint and not impose the Sino-Soviet dispute on Asian-African countries.

Following is the text of the Chinese Government's statement of May 30, 1964, which is a reply to the Soviet Government's statement of April 25, 1964. — Ed.

ON April 25, 1964, the Soviet Government delivered to China a statement on the Djakarta Preparatory Meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference, which was also sent to other Asian and African countries and officially made public on May 4. In this statement the Soviet Government unscrupulously blamed the Djakarta meeting for failing to invite the Soviet Union to the Second Asian-African Conference and resorted to crude attacks and abuses against the participants, and particularly against Chinese leaders. The Chinese Government does not intend to answer the Soviet Government with similar language. Abuse cannot substitute for reasoning. Does the Soviet Government's statement contain any plausible reasons? Regrettably, it is devoid of any, though it is far from being short. All its arguments boil down to the following: The Soviet Union is an Asian power and must

participate in the Asian-African conference; to object to its participation means to "divide" the forces fighting against imperialism, and the Soviet Union will make a "rebuff." These words are wrong in their point of departure, absurd in logic, and ridiculous as conclusions.

The Soviet Government's statement dwelt amply on the fact that Soviet territory spreads over both Europe and Asia. Here are some of the highlights: "Two-thirds of its (the Soviet Union's) territory is situated on the Asian continent," the Soviet Union "is the biggest Asian power," "the Soviet Union accounts for approximately 40 per cent of Asia's territory," "the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. is almost twice as big as the territory of the whole of China" and "such large Asian states as China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma and Japan taken together could fit into the expanses of the Asian part of the U.S.S.R." These statements sound frightening. But what is the sense of talking like that? Does the fact that all the large Asian states could fit into the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. give it more say than all the Asian and African countries put together?

Size cannot frighten anybody, it cannot frighten any Asian or African state, even the smallest. Nobody denies the fact that Soviet territory spreads over Europe and Asia and consists of two parts lying respectively in Europe and Asia. But in international relations each state is a single entity and can have only one political centre, and it cannot be said that the Soviet Union has two political centres simply because its territory extends over Europe and Asia. All the more is it impossible to say that the political centre of the Soviet Union is rather in Asia because the Asian part of the Soviet Union is bigger than the European part. True, two-thirds of the Soviet territory lie in Asia, but equally important is the fact that nearly three-fourths of the Soviet population live in Europe. What is even more decisive, the political centre of the Soviet Union as a single entity has always been in Europe and, therefore, it has traditionally been acknowledged as a European country. No matter how vast Soviet territory in Asia may be, this cannot turn the Soviet Union into an Asian country.

IT is only natural that the Asian and African countries do not invite the Soviet Union to the Asian-African conference. The matter was already settled ten years ago while the five Colombo nations were preparing for the First Asian-African Conference. At that time the Soviet Union as a whole was not invited to the First Asian-African Conference held in Bandung, nor were its union republics in Asia invited. At a press conference held in Djakarta on December 30, 1954, the late Prime Minister Nehru of India, one of the sponsoring nations of the Bandung Conference, said that "Soviet Asia was not invited because politically it was part of a European unit, namely, the Soviet Union." He was quite right. At that time the Soviet Government did not raise objection to the decision of the sponsoring nations of the Bandung Conference. The Soviet Union supported the First Asian-African Conference but did not ask for its own participation. This was undoubtedly a correct attitude on the part of the Soviet Union. The Second Asian-African Conference is a continuation of the First Asian-African Conference. On what grounds can the Soviet leaders insist on being invited to the second conference while they considered it acceptable for the Soviet Union not to be invited to the first? What changes have taken place in the world that should have caused the Soviet leaders to change their attitude? Can it be that the capital of the Soviet Union has been moved from Moscow to Vladivostok, its political centre has been shifted from Europe to Asia, and it has been turned from a European into an Asian state? Great changes have indeed taken place in the world during the past decade, but there have been no changes of the kind mentioned above. The Soviet Union remains a European country as it was ten years ago. As a European country, it has not been invited to the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations, nor has it asked for it. These are all well-known facts.

The Chinese Government has taken a principled and consistent stand on the question of Soviet partici-

pation in the Asian-African conference. The Asian-African conference is a conference of the heads of Asian and African countries. Since the Soviet Union is a European country, it of course should not take part in such a conference. This is a matter of principle, and we abide by the principle. We have never wavered in our principled stand according to the state of our relations with the Soviet Union. The relations between China and the Soviet Union were very good in 1955, but we did not on that account stand for its participation in the First Asian-African Conference. And our objection to its participation in the Second Asian-African Conference is by no means because the relations between China and the Soviet Union are at present not so good. On the contrary, even in the present circumstances when our relations are not so good, the Chinese people will certainly stand by the Soviet people and fight shoulder to shoulder with them against the enemy in the event the Soviet Union should be attacked by the imperialists, whether the attack is first directed against its European part or its Asian part. Moreover, the day will certainly come when good relations will be restored between China and the Soviet Union on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. But even then we shall remain against its participation in the Asian-African conference. Our stand is beyond reproach.

THE first qualification for a country to participate in a conference of the heads of Asian-African states is to be either an Asian or an African state; without this qualification participation is out of the question. This is elementary logic. As the Soviet Union is a European state, the answer to the question whether it should take part in an Asian-African summit conference is a foregone conclusion, and any other arguments are superfluous. Yet the Soviet Government devoted much space in its statement to slandering China as being guilty of "racism," "dividing" the anti-imperialist forces, establishing its own "hegemony," etc. It is really astonishing that in its statement the Soviet Government should have degenerated to the extent of talking such drivel and nonsense.

We would like to ask the Soviet leaders: What are your grounds for asserting that we are "pushing to the fore the racial factor," "resorting to theories and ideas of a racist tinge," "accentuating racial differences" and "fanning up racial prejudices"? From whom did you hear that we were against Soviet participation in the Asian-African conference on the ground that "most of its population is white"? We would also like to ask: What kind of racism are we advocating by supporting the Second Asian-African Conference? Is it yellow racism? Is it black racism? Or is it unity of the yellow and black races against the white race? You should know that the Asian-African countries are not a racial concept, and that there are also white peoples in Asia and Africa. Among the participants of the Djakarta meeting there were quite a few countries whose population is mostly white. Your assertions fly in the face of facts and can convince nobody.

The Asian-African countries differ from each other. Some are socialist countries, others are not; some have joined in military blocs, others have not. Nevertheless, these differences do not obliterate the fundamental fact that almost all the Asian-African countries share the common experience of oppression and exploitation by Western imperialism and have the common desire to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism, win and safeguard national independence and defend world peace. This common point constitutes the political basis of Asian-African solidarity. It was affirmed by the First Asian-African Conference held in Bandung and thus became the well-known Bandung spirit. And it is the purpose of the Second Asian-African Conference to further develop the Bandung spirit and enable the Asian-African countries with their different features to strengthen their solidarity and co-operate on the basis of this common point, on the principle of seeking common ground and keeping differences.

The Soviet Union's non-participation in the Asian-African conference does not in the least hinder it, as a socialist country, from giving genuine support to the Asian-African countries' cause of unity against imperialism. It is the bounden internationalist duty of all the socialist countries to give unconditional support to the Asian-African peoples' cause of unity against imperialism, and such support is nothing to boast of. In its statement the Soviet Government bragged about its remarkable contributions to the Asian-African peoples' common struggle and asserted that to object to Soviet participation in the Asian-African conference is to "divide" and "weaken" the anti-imperialist forces. This is indeed strange talk. There are many countries which support the Asian-African peoples' struggles. Is it the contention of the Soviet leaders that the anti-imperialist forces will avoid being "divided" or "weakened" only when all these countries take part in the Asian-African conference? But it may be asked, if all of them do take part, in what sense would the conference remain Asian-African? Moreover, what sort of "anti-imperialist forces" do the Soviet leaders represent, who are ceaselessly advocating co-operation with the chieftains of imperialism? The boasts and bluffs made in the Soviet Government's statement can neither help the Soviet Union enter the Asian-African conference nor give any glory to the Soviet leaders.

IN accordance with the principles of equality between all nations, big and small, of seeking common ground while keeping differences and of reaching unanimity through consultation, the Djakarta meeting failed to reach agreement on the proposal to invite the Soviet Union; there is nothing astonishing in it, and still less any reason for flying into one's tantrums. But the Soviet leaders allege that the objection of China and other Asian-African countries to Soviet participation means that China aims at imposing its will on others and establishing its own "hegemony" over Asian-African countries. China's attitude on the question of Soviet participation in the Asian-African conference is open and above-board. It is known to all that at the

Djakarta meeting the Chinese delegation showed respect for all the other participants and persisted in the spirit of conciliation and solidarity. The attempt to indict China with trying to impose its will on others, seeking to establish its "hegemony," etc., will not succeed. And it is futile for the Soviet leaders to try to sow discord in the relations between China and the other Asian-African countries. Your slanders, abuses and attempts to sow discord, no matter how often repeated, will not in the least harm China. However, people cannot help asking the Soviet leaders: In frantically vilifying China and making out as if the Djakarta meeting had been manipulated by China single-handed, do you still acknowledge the existence of the other Asian-African countries? In what position do you want to place the other twenty-one countries besides China, which participated in the Djakarta meeting? More than twenty Asian-African countries gathered at the meeting and reached the conclusion that since no agreement could be reached they would not extend an invitation to the Soviet Union. If the Soviet leaders have the least respect for Asian-African countries, they should first of all respect this conclusion of the Asian-African countries and should not carp and cavil and attempt to overthrow this conclusion through crude interference. The Soviet leaders should calmly think it over: What difference is there between your attitude towards Asian-African countries and that of the Western powers? Such being your attitude, are not your motives clear enough in persistently wanting to squeeze into the Second Asian-African Conference?

IN its statement, the Soviet Government said bluffingly that it would give "rebuff" to those countries which are against its participation in the Asian-African conference. Well, let us see your "rebuff"! You probably rate yourselves most important. But, in our opinion, you will ultimately make yourselves laughing-stocks by taking such an attitude. Although the Asian and African countries are poor and have many difficulties, they have backbone. The times when the Asian and African countries could be ordered about by others are gone for ever. Those who suit their actions to the times are wise. We suggest that the Soviet leaders had better not take such an attitude.

There exist serious differences between China and the Soviet Union. We are not afraid to debate with the Soviet leaders. But we have tried our best wherever possible to avoid embarrassing Asian-African countries by this debate. That is why we have waited more than a month before replying to the Soviet Government's statement. We are replying under compulsion. If the Soviet leaders should endlessly repeat their old tune of the past month without any creative development, we would ask to be excused from making any further reply. What good would be served by such haggling? The Asian and African countries have much work to do to strengthen Asian-African unity and prepare for making the Second Asian-African Conference a success. We earnestly hope that the Soviet leaders will exercise some self-restraint and not impose the Sino-Soviet dispute on Asian-African countries.

What Right Have Soviet Leaders to Issue Orders to Asian and African Countries?

— Commenting on the *Pravda* Commentator's Article "Who Profits by the Isolation of Asian and African Peoples?"

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of an article by "Renmin Ribao" Observer on May 31. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

NOT long ago, the Preparatory Meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference was successfully held in Djakarta, the capital of Indonesia. The meeting raised high the banner of Asian-African solidarity against imperialism and old and new colonialism, further developed the Bandung spirit and laid a good foundation for the convening of the conference. While the Asian-African peoples were rejoicing over this fact, the Soviet paper *Pravda* obtrusively came out on April 25 to vilify this meeting, asserting that it had caused the "isolation of the Asian and African peoples" and "harmed the unity of the forces fighting against imperialism." *Pravda* also crudely attacked Asian and African countries, and in particular China.

No Reason at All to Ask for Participation

Why are the Soviet leaders so angry over the Djakarta meeting? *Pravda* made no attempt to hide that it is because the meeting did not agree to invite the Soviet Union to the Second Asian-African Conference.

U.S.S.R. Is Traditionally a European Country. The anger of the Soviet leaders is quite uncalled for because the Soviet Union has no reason at all to ask for participation in the Asian-African conference. *Pravda* argued that "the Soviet Union, two-thirds of whose territory lies in Asia, is naturally not only a European but also an Asian country," and that therefore it is qualified to participate in the Asian-African conference. This assertion is untenable. True, Soviet territory spreads over Europe and Asia. But each state is a single entity, and it cannot be said that the Soviet Union is qualified as an Asian as well as a European state simply because its territory extends over both continents. *Pravda* vigorously played up the fact that two-thirds of the territory of the Soviet Union is in Asia, but it forgot that nearly three-fourths of the Soviet population live in Europe. The political centre of the Soviet Union as a single entity has always been in Europe, and it is internationally acknowledged that the Soviet Union, in history and in tradition, has always been a European country. It would evidently be out of place for a European country to participate in a conference of the heads of Asian and African countries. In 1955 the Soviet Union was not invited to the First Asian-African Conference in Bandung, nor did it apply

for participation. In the United Nations, the Soviet Union has likewise not been invited to join the Afro-Asian group, nor has it ever applied for membership. It can thus be seen that not only the Asian-African countries, but the Soviet Union itself, never regarded the Soviet Union as one of the Asian-African countries.

Pravda cited the fact that the Soviet Union had taken part in certain Asian-African non-governmental organizations to prove that it should attend the Second Asian-African Conference. This is irrelevant. The Asian-African conference is a conference of the heads of state of Asian and African countries, and there is only one head to each state. But the case with non-governmental organizations is entirely different. How can the conference of the heads of Asian and African states be put on a par with certain Asian-African non-governmental organizations?

Nor Can Asian Union Republics Take Part. It must be pointed out further that the Asian union republics of the Soviet Union cannot take part in the Asian-African conference either. A state can have only one, and not more than one, unified central government. The Asian union republics of the Soviet Union are component parts of the Soviet Union and not states independent of it. Naturally they cannot take part in the summit conference of independent Asian-African states. Speaking about the composition of the First Asian-African Conference at a press conference held in Djakarta on December 30, 1954, the late Indian Prime Minister Nehru pointed out, "Soviet Asia was not invited because politically it was part of a European unit, namely, the Soviet Union." He was quite right.

Pravda added that the Soviet Union "had invariably stood by the Afro-Asian nations" and that therefore it is qualified to take part in the Asian-African conference. According to such logic, many European and Latin American countries could also ask for participation on the same account, and in what sense would the conference then remain Asian-African? Moreover, the Soviet leaders have in fact not "invariably stood by the Afro-Asian nations" in recent years. The boasts made by *Pravda* can neither help the Soviet Union enter the Asian-African conference, nor give any glory to the Soviet leaders.

Proposal to Invite Soviet Union Rejected

Since no agreement was reached after discussion at the Djakarta meeting, the proposal to invite the

Soviet Union was dropped. That was acting on common sense and was entirely justified. The Djakarta meeting followed the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation, with matters unanimously agreed upon being acted on and those failing to gain a consensus being not acted on. Any idea upon which no unanimous agreement is reached after discussion is of course dropped. This is the case with the proposal to invite the Soviet Union. It is explicitly written in the final communique of the Preparatory Meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference:

It was proposed that an invitation be extended to the U.S.S.R. Some delegations supported and others opposed the proposal to extend an invitation to the U.S.S.R. A number of delegations stated that they needed to consult with their governments. After discussion no consensus could be reached. Some delegations were of the view that the matter may be placed before the heads of states and governments at the Second African-Asian Conference for their consideration. Some other delegations were against submitting this matter to the heads of states and governments at the Second African-Asian Conference for their consideration. Therefore, no agreement was reached.

That is to say, the proposal to invite the Soviet Union was rejected by the meeting and the discussion concerning this question was concluded.

The Discussion Was Closed; "Pravda" Cannot Tamper With the Communique. But *Pravda* chose to ignore the facts and arbitrarily distorted the proceedings in an attempt to overthrow the Djakarta meeting's conclusion against inviting the Soviet Union. *Pravda* asserted that at the meeting the Chinese delegation threatened that "it would leave Djakarta if India and Ceylon continued to insist on their proposal," and that "since the Chinese delegation was against inviting the Soviet Union, while a series of participants spoke in favour of this, it was decided to resume the discussion of the question at the conference." This is sheer fabrication. Did the Chinese delegation make any threat? Even Sardar Swaran Singh, head of the Indian delegation, said that he "was not aware of any such threat." Was it true that a series of participants spoke in favour of inviting the Soviet Union while only the Chinese delegation was against? As a matter of fact, China was by no means alone in opposing the Indian proposal to invite the Soviet Union, which was openly seconded by only one country. As for any decision by the Djakarta meeting on this proposal, it is clearly stated in the communique that the view that the proposal to invite the Soviet Union might be submitted to the second conference of the heads of Asian-African countries for their consideration was opposed and that "no agreement was reached" on the matter at the meeting. That is to say, the proposal was already rejected by the meeting. This is a plain fact for all to see. On what grounds can *Pravda* say that the Djakarta meeting "decided to resume the discussion of the question" at the conference of the heads of Asian-African countries? What right has *Pravda* to tamper with the communique which was unanimously agreed upon at the Djakarta meeting? What right have the Soviet

leaders to issue orders to the Asian-African countries, demanding that they resume discussion of the question of inviting the Soviet Union at the Asian-African conference?

Attacks Cause No Harm to China

It is the common desire of the governments and peoples of Asian and African countries to convene the Second Asian-African Conference. The success of the Djakarta preparatory meeting is the result of the joint efforts of the participants. Nevertheless, *Pravda* alleged that China "made special efforts" to call the Second Asian-African Conference as a counter measure to the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries while many Asian and African countries "were restrained in their attitude" towards convening the Second Asian-African Conference, and that in so doing China was trying to "knock together its own bloc" among Asian and African countries, realize its "claims to hegemony," set up "a centre from which directives would be issued," and so on and so forth. We have never concealed the fact that the Chinese Government and people have always actively supported the convening of the Second Asian-African Conference and have made unremitting efforts to that end. Our attitude is open and above-board. It is obvious to all that at the Djakarta meeting the Chinese delegation showed respect for all the other participants and persisted in a spirit of conciliation and solidarity. By fabricating a host of charges, such as "knocking together a bloc," seeking "hegemony" and "issuing directives," the Soviet leaders are simply measuring the stature of great men by the yardstick of small men. But these charges do not fit China, nor will such slanders and attacks cause the slightest harm to China. People cannot help asking: In frantically vilifying China as manipulating the other Asian and African countries, in what position do the Soviet leaders mean to place Indonesia—the initiator of the Second Asian-African Conference—and the 21 Asian-African countries which participated in the Djakarta meeting besides China, and the scores of other Asian-African countries which earnestly wish to see the holding of the Second Asian-African Conference?

"Pravda" Tells an Out-and-Out Lie. China has also taken a clear stand towards the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. We supported the First Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. It is our hope that the Second Non-Aligned Conference will also be a success. We have never held that the Second Asian-African Conference and the Second Non-Aligned Conference are mutually exclusive. During his recent visit abroad, the Chinese Premier fully explained our standpoint to the leaders of many Asian and African countries. If both conferences can contribute to the cause of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, supporting the national-independence movement and defending world peace, what is bad about that? Such a hope was expressed by the Chinese Premier and the U.A.R. President in their talks and by the Prime Ministers of China and Ceylon in their joint communique. *Pravda* was telling an out-and-out lie when it alleged that

China had supported the Second Asian-African Conference as a counter measure to the Second Non-Aligned Conference.

Soviet Leaders' Real Intentions Exposed

In fact, it is the Soviet leaders themselves who are trying hard to lead astray the Second Non-Aligned and the Second Asian-African Conferences. *Pravda* arbitrarily laid down the line for the Second Non-Aligned Conference by saying:

The Soviet Union backed the idea of calling the Second Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries on the grounds that this conference can be conducive to the further consolidation of all forces really interested in peace, of everyone working for peaceful coexistence, for general and complete disarmament, for the relaxation of international tension.

Thus the real intentions of the Soviet leaders were inadvertently revealed. For according to this assertion, the item "colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism" clearly listed on the agenda adopted by the preparatory meeting for the Second Non-Aligned Conference was struck out. Furthermore, the Soviet leaders now try to impose this line on the Second Asian-African Conference. The objectives set by the Djakarta meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference are to strengthen Asian-African solidarity, to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism, to win and safeguard national independence and to defend world peace. But *Pravda* tried to knock the bottom out of the conference's objectives by alleging that for the fulfilment of its goal "peace is needed." This was in fact to nullify the content of opposing imperialism and colonialism and supporting national independence. It is quite obvious that the line which the Soviet leaders try to impose on the Second Asian-African Conference and the Second Non-Aligned Conference is one of paying

lip service to peace while refusing to oppose imperialism. Should Asian-African countries fail to respond to the Soviet leaders' baton but instead persevere in opposing imperialism and colonialism, they would be committing a monstrous crime, they would be guilty of failing to "cherish peace" and following a "special line." Here lies the crux of the matter.

Advice to Soviet Leaders. In its article *Pravda* talked volubly about support for the Second Asian-African Conference and paraded itself as a defender of Asian-African solidarity. But towards the end of the article it revealed its malevolence, by indicating that Soviet support is conditional, i.e., the Soviet Union must be allowed to take part in the Second Asian-African Conference before it will give it support; otherwise it will oppose it. According to *Pravda*, refusal to allow the Soviet Union to participate would mean that the Asian-African Conference was "pursuing other purposes" and seeking to "divide" the anti-imperialist forces, and would be "resolutely rebuffed" by the Soviet Union. This was a blatant threat and blackmail. We would advise the Soviet leaders not to take such an attitude. The Asian-African countries' disapproval of Soviet participation in the Asian-African conference does not in the least mean their rejection of Soviet support for the cause of Asian-African unity against imperialism. The Soviet Union does not have to take part in the Asian-African conference if it really wants to support the Asian-African cause of unity against imperialism. The Soviet Union supported the First Asian-African Conference; it was extensively welcomed by the Asian-African countries. Should the Soviet Government adopt the same correct attitude today, it would similarly be welcomed by the Asian-African countries. Otherwise, a truculent attitude of trying to impose one's will on others will eventually bring results contrary to those expected. It is our hope that the Soviet leaders will give careful thought to the matter.

An International Conference on Laos Must Not Be Delayed

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" May 29 editorial under the title "Procrastination of the Convocation of an International Conference to Discuss the Laotian Question Must Not Be Allowed." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

U.S. IMPERIALISM is at present increasing its military intervention in Laos. Aircraft openly dispatched by the United States have intruded into the air space of areas under the control of the Laotian patriotic forces to reconnoitre and bomb. With the U.S. Seventh Fleet massing its ships off the Indo-China coast, it is said that there are to be landings in south Viet

Nam and Thailand and that Laos is to be invaded from these two routes. The U.S. air force units in Thailand have pushed forward to Udorn on the southern bank of the Mekong River. Thailand and the puppet group in south Viet Nam are massing their troops near the Laotian border. The Laotian situation has become extremely grave and peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia is hanging by a thread.

As is usual, the Johnson Administration has fabricated the myth of a "communist menace." The United States is increasing its military intervention in Laos because the Pathet Lao Fighting Units, it says, has let loose a "heavy assault" on Kong Le's troops on the

Plain of Jars. It also adds that this assault "was initiated and is directed" by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and "has been guided" and "assisted" by China. It even gives a picturesque report claiming that troops of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of China have already entered Laos.

This is a big lie.

Truth About Fighting on the Plain of Jars

It is true that fighting has been going on in the Plain of Jars. The prologue to the first battle opened at Tha Thom. AP reported the event as follows: "A neutralist paratroop company stationed at Tha Thom revolted against other Right-wing forces stationed in the town and was instrumental to the fall of the town to communist forces last Thursday." It tried to involve so-called communist forces in this incident; this is its stock-in-trade. Still, it cannot but admit that it was the insurgents of the middle force who had taken Tha Thom. This shows that the Johnson Administration's description does not tally with the facts. The fighting on the Plain of Jars is a struggle between the two sections of Kong Le's troops, that is, between those who insist on neutrality and those who join hands with the Rightists.

As to the alleged entry of D.R.V. and Chinese troops into Laos, this tale is so stupid and clumsy that even the Western news agencies think it absurd and ridiculous. This strange propaganda is meant to "constitute an alibi for American intervention," as the AFP put it quite bluntly.

The fire on the Plain of Jars was kindled by the U.S. imperialists themselves. The U.S.-masterminded reactionary coup d'etat of April 19 was intended to liquidate the patriotic force in Laos and reduce that country to an American colony. Bearing the brunt, the middle force in Laos became the first target for attack by the United States and the Laotian Rightists. Faced with the danger of extirpation, the middle force had no alternative but to stand up in self-defence. As said in the joint statement of the officers of the middle force who staged the uprising, Lieutenant-Colonel Cheng, Captain Khao and Captain Som Vang, "there was no way out for the genuine neutralist forces but to stand up against the reactionaries, to drive Phoumi Nosavan's troops and U.S. imperialism out of the Plain of Jars" so as "to save the neutralist forces and safeguard the Laotian National Union Government."

One reaps what one has sown. The May 16 uprising on the Plain of Jars was the logical result of the April 19 coup d'etat in Vientiane. U.S. imperialism's acts of aggression invariably drive people in various countries to desperation and force them to fight back resolutely and the result is that its policy of aggression fails everywhere. Having lifted up a stone merely to crush its own feet, U.S. imperialism now raises a hue and cry and even shows its teeth to try

to frighten others. This is indeed both nasty and clownish.

Who Represent the Genuine Middle Force?

The uprising of the troops of the middle force in Laos is a just action. It frustrated the U.S. imperialist scheme to liquidate the middle force and subvert the tripartite Government of National Union; it played an important part in safeguarding the country's independence, peace and neutrality. Their just and patriotic action has won the warm support and backing of the Laotian people and has been acclaimed by all countries and peoples concerned for the peace and neutrality of that country.

The middle force in Laos was born and grew in the course of the patriotic anti-U.S. struggle. It is their glorious tradition to oppose U.S. aggression and intervention and to strive for peace and neutrality in Laos, and it is on this basis that they play a positive role in the Laotian political situation. Whether a particular person is a member of the middle force, whether he can represent the middle force can only be judged by the stand he takes, not by his self-advertisement. By holding high the banner of opposing U.S. imperialist aggression, the banner of independence, peace and neutrality, the troops of the middle force who staged the uprising on the Plain of Jars have shown themselves to be the genuine middle force in Laos today.

Prince Phouma has of late repeatedly indicated that his "neutralist feelings cannot be questioned." He also calls himself the real head of the Vientiane government wielding the full power of the Defence Ministry and the power of command over the troops and police in Vientiane. All right, let us see what has actually happened recently in Vientiane.

On May 15, the Vientiane Defence Ministry issued a military communique falsely reporting that "two Chinese battalions and a north Vietnamese battalion have all along been in Muong Sing."

On May 17, the troops of the Laotian Rightists besieged the residence of the Polish delegation to the International Commission on Laos. On the same day, they also besieged the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in Laos; this was followed by the unwarranted arrest of four D.R.V. diplomatic personnel on May 21.

On May 18, Prince Phouma libelled the Neo Lao Haksat by calling it an "aggressor" with "outside aid."

On May 21, the U.S. Department of State announced that U.S. jet planes had started their reconnaissance flights over the Plain of Jars with the approval of Prince Phouma. This was confirmed by Prince Phouma on May 24.

On May 22, Prince Phouma asked the United States for military aid "for defence of unity of the country."

On May 25, Prince Phouma declared that he had the right to reshuffle the Government of National Union.

In the face of the events cited above, people are liable to ask:

What of the present words and deeds of Prince Phouma and the actions of the Vientiane government? Does he do all these things under duress or of his own will?

If the former is the case, how can he call himself a real head discharging his functions and powers?

If the latter is the case, where are his "neutralist feelings"?

Whatever the case may be, Prince Phouma at present is simply a figure in the hands of the United States and the Laotian Rightists, a mere tool of theirs to overthrow the Government of National Union and wreck the Geneva agreements. Of late the United States and the Laotian Rightists have often purposely presented Prince Phouma as their spokesman; herein lies the secret of their trick.

The three forces in Laos were formed in the historical development of Laotian society. U.S. imperialism and Laotian Rightists have wanted to take over and liquidate the middle force but they have failed in the past to do so and neither can they succeed now. Even if some people of the middle force are willing to become the retainers of the United States and the Laotian Rightists, the existence and growth of the middle force cannot be affected. This is borne out by the uprising of units of the middle force on the Plain of Jars. Things are exactly as General Kham Ouane Boupha has said: Prince Souvanna Phouma had upheld neutrality in the past and enjoyed the support of the people, like a flag fluttering in the breeze, but, once he gave up the policy of neutrality, the people would change a new flag.

Similarly, nor can the Neo Lao Haksat be liquidated. The U.S. imperialists have failed to do so even though they have more than once incited the Laotian reactionaries to unleash a civil war to wipe out this patriotic force. The Neo Lao Haksat enjoys the wholehearted support of the entire Laotian people for it is the staunchest defender of Laotian national interests. The more anxiously U.S. imperialism wants to liquidate it, the more clearly the Laotians see it as the hope of the nation. For this very reason, the more it is opposed and attacked by U.S. imperialism and the Laotian reactionaries, the more it grows in strength and stature.

With regard to the Laotian Right-wing, nobody will believe that it ceases to exist simply because it announces its own "dissolution."

Therefore, the Laotian question can be settled reasonably only through consultation among the three sides. None of them will succeed in imposing its own will on the other two by force of arms. Nor can any

foreign power change the political situation in Laos by intervening in its internal affairs.

14-Nation Conference for the Settlement Of the Laotian Question

The present situation in Laos is extremely serious. As a participant in the Geneva conference and a neighbour of Laos, China will never stand by with folded arms and watch U.S. imperialism wilfully tearing up the Geneva agreements in such a frenzied manner and setting fire to Laos and Indo-China. The Chinese Government has proposed a 14-nation foreign ministers' conference in Phnom Penh in June to discuss first of all the Laotian question in order to curb U.S. aggression and save the dangerous situation in Laos.

The proposal of the Chinese Government is fair and reasonable. It proposes Phnom Penh as the site of the conference because the Laotian question is an Asian question. In choosing the site of an international conference for discussing an Asian question, Asia should be given priority. Moreover, it was Prince Sihanouk who first proposed such a conference. Hence we hold it is appropriate to have the conference in Phnom Penh. The Chinese Government proposes that the conference be held at foreign ministers' level because it should be able to resolve problems and only a conference at this level can effectively handle the grave problems confronting Laos at present. The Laotian question is not an isolated one. It is part of the U.S. plan of aggression against all of Indo-China. But it is the most urgent question. That is why the conference should first of all discuss the Laotian question.

The U.S. Government is doing its utmost to obstruct the proposed conference of the Geneva agreements participants. Its method is to push to the forefront Prince Phouma to speak on its behalf and to put forward all kinds of unreasonable proposals to which it gives prompt support. These proposals are then peddled everywhere by Britain in its capacity as one of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. This is the background to the proposals recently put forward repeatedly by Prince Phouma for consultations at ambassadorial level in Vientiane and to the two preconditions for holding an international conference advanced by him.

The so-called Vientiane consultations by ambassadors of the 14 Geneva conference participants can solve no problems at all. It is common knowledge that the U.S.-controlled Laotian Rightist armed forces rule supreme in present-day Vientiane. In this city under the Laotian Rightist reign of terror, where even the personal safety of the diplomatic corps is not guaranteed, how can one speak of carrying out diplomatic activity on an international scale? The so-called consultations at ambassadorial level are actually designed to drag out matters. How can they in any way prevent the Laotian situation from becoming more explosive? Many countries have already expressed their unwillingness to take part in these so-called consultations. But the United States and its followers are still talking rot about hold-

ing the consultations even if ambassadors of only a few countries come for the meeting. It must be made perfectly clear that any consultation or meeting of only some of the Geneva conference participants, in whatever place, will be a contravention of the 1962 Geneva agreements and therefore illegal. The Chinese Government cannot agree to this. The Laotian question has passed the stage when it can be settled by consultation. To solve the Laotian question, a meeting of the 14 countries must be held.

Two Preposterous Preconditions

Even more preposterous are the two preconditions raised for convening a conference of the Geneva agreements participants, namely, "an effective ceasefire" be "achieved first" and "withdrawal from the territory seized" since May 16 "in violation of the Geneva agreements" by troops of the middle force which staged the uprising. These preconditions are outrageous indeed! The flames of war on the Plain of Jars were lit by the United States. If any preconditions may be advanced, they should be an immediate end by the United States of its aggression and intervention in Laos and the prompt and complete withdrawal of the military personnel and armed forces of the United States and its flunkys. The uprising on the Plain of Jars was the inevitable outcome of the Vientiane coup. If any preconditions may be advanced, they should be the immediate disbandment of the Vientiane coup group, the immediate withdrawal of the Right-wing troops from Vientiane and the immediate neutralization of that city. The areas controlled by troops of the genuine middle force on the Plain of Jars were originally those controlled by the middle force. Should any precondition be raised, it should be the complete withdrawal of the U.S.-backed Right-wing troops from the vast territory that they have nibbled away and swallowed up in the liberated areas since July 1962. Moreover, the case of the assassina-

tion of Quinim Pholsena is still not closed. The rebel ringleaders who staged the reactionary coup in Vientiane have not yet been punished. . . . When all these could very well be raised as preconditions, what grounds have the U.S. imperialists to talk without blushing about preconditions?

The U.S. Government doesn't want an international conference at all. It wants to tear up the Geneva agreements completely and drag the United Nations into Laos and Indo-China. Adlai Stevenson's statement at the U.N. Security Council has revealed this nefarious design of the United States. The Laotian Right-winger Inpeng Suryadhay, "vice-president" of the puppet "national assembly," was more blunt when he declared at the "assembly" on May 25 that the Geneva agreements were "null and void," that the International Commission should be withdrawn, and that the United Nations should dispatch an "international police force" of ten to fifteen thousand men "to stay in Laos for ten to fifteen years" to give "protection" to Laos. Singing in chorus, U.S. imperialism and its stooges attempt to substitute the United Nations for the Geneva agreements and to turn Laos and Indo-China into a second Congo (Leopoldville). This is absolutely impermissible.

If their memory is not too short, the U.S. imperialists must remember that before the holding of the 1962 Geneva conference they also played all kinds of tricks, ranging from the threat of force to the raising of preconditions to obstruct the meeting. But they had to come to the conference table at last. What is the use of resorting to the same means which proved futile two years ago? A solution to the Laotian question can be sought only by respecting the Geneva agreements. There is no other way out. If the Johnson Administration has any sense of reality at all, it should profit by the lesson of the failure two years ago and stop playing any more tricks.

Chinese Foreign Ministry's Reply To Britain

- The only practical step to save the Laotian situation is to convene a conference of foreign ministers of the participants of the Geneva agreements.
- The Chinese Government cannot agree with the British Government's proposal of holding consultations in Vientiane; it points out that this is obviously to absolve the United States of its responsibility for violating the Geneva agreements.

THE Chinese Foreign Ministry told the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking on June 1 that the only practical step to save the Laotian situation is to convene a conference of foreign ministers of the participants of the Geneva agreements, and that the Chinese Government cannot agree with the British Government's proposal of holding consultations in Vientiane.

The British Charge d'Affaires was requested to call at the Foreign Ministry to hear a reply to the message from the British Foreign Secretary conveyed by him on May 27.

The British Foreign Secretary held in his message that "the immediate need is for action on the spot to stop the fighting in the Plain of Jars, to restore the

military position to what it was before fighting began on May 16." He expressed the hope of the British Government that consultations be held in Vientiane among the representatives of all the participating countries of the Geneva agreements on Laos.

The reply of the Chinese Foreign Ministry says that the Chinese Government cannot agree with the British Government's view. In his reply of May 26 to the British Foreign Secretary, the Chinese Foreign Minister fully explained that the uprising of the neutralist troops in the Plain of Jars on May 16 was the inevitable outcome of the military coup d'etat staged by the Rightist clique in Vientiane on April 19. If one should talk of the immediate need in the Laotian situation, it should be the immediate checking of U.S. intervention and aggression in Laos, the dissolution of the coup d'etat clique, the punishment of the chief culprits and so on, so as to restore the situation as before April 19, but not to what it was before May 16.

The reply says: The purpose of consultations on the above question suggested by Britain is obviously to absolve the United States of its responsibility for violating the Geneva agreements and impose the will of one group in Laos on another. This measure, in our view, will not help ease the situation in Laos, but will only aggravate it.

Struggle Against Neo-Colonialist "Malaysia" Will Be Won

Following is a translation of the May 28 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "The Just Struggle Against Neo-Colonialist 'Malaysia' Is Bound to Win." Subheads are ours. —Ed.

INDONESIAN President Sukarno on May 3 this year gave the volunteers an order for action to oppose "Malaysia" and help liberate North Kalimantan. He also condemned the United States for its intervention in the Indonesian people's struggle against "Malaysia." In his speech on May 20 to a mass rally of more than 100,000 people in Djakarta, he again called upon the Indonesian people to march forward and continue their struggle to smash "Malaysia." President Sukarno's mighty call for the anti-imperialist struggle has not only been enthusiastically supported by the Indonesian people, but will also win the acclaim and support of revolutionary people the world over.

President Sukarno's militant call to the Indonesian people is very timely. It is a powerful support to the North Kalimantan people's struggle for national independence. Most recently, in spite of bloody suppression by the British colonialists, their armed struggle to

Moreover, says the reply, as Vientiane is under the terrorist rule of the Rightist troops and police, with even the safety of the personnel of the International Commission and the diplomatic officials of the Geneva conference nations unguaranteed, how can any international consultations be held there?

The Chinese Government holds that, with the Laotian situation developed to such an extent, the only practical step to save it is to convene a conference of foreign ministers of the participants of the Geneva agreements. The Chinese Government has already suggested such a conference in Phnom Penh. It holds that, in order truly to reverse the present serious trend in Laos, one should not be against convening such a conference, let alone setting preconditions for it. It is all the more improper for Britain, which is a Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, to do so, the reply says.

The Chinese Government hopes that the British Government will give serious consideration to and accept the Chinese Government's suggestion of May 26, use its influence to persuade those countries which are still reluctant to hold such a conference to agree, and at the same time take measures to promote a meeting of the three groups in Laos to appoint a delegation of all the three political forces to attend the conference, so that the conference may materialize at an early date, the reply says.

oppose "Malaysia" and win national independence has been spreading and intensifying. At the same time, the Indonesian people's struggle to support the North Kalimantan people in winning national independence and to smash "Malaysia" has become a vigorous anti-imperialist revolutionary movement, dealing a heavy blow to the imperialist plot of aggression in Southeast Asia.

U.S. Imperialist Provocations

The imperialists who will never reconcile themselves to their defeat are making desperate efforts in this area. Supported by the United States, the British colonialists, by deploying ever more troops and dragging in Australia and New Zealand, are stepping up their suppression of the North Kalimantan people's independence struggle. Simultaneously, working hand in glove with each other, the U.S. and British imperialists have been trying to intimidate and threaten Indonesia, politically, economically and militarily, in a vain attempt to force her to change her position on "Malaysia" and stop her support for the just struggle of the North Kalimantan people. As the mainstay of

colonialism, U.S. imperialism is acting in a particularly arrogant manner. Turning truth upside down, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs William Bundy, and a spokesman of the State Department attacked Indonesia's just actions to support the North Kalimantan people in winning their independence and to oppose the neo-colonialist "Malaysia." They alleged that Indonesia's actions were "aggression" and "external threats to the security and integrity of Malaysia." The Johnson Administration is engaging in blackmail in more ways than one, threatening to suspend its "aid" to Indonesia. Moreover, waving their big stick, U.S. military chieftains cried that "the United States would send troops to defend Malaysia in case of open war with Indonesia," and that U.S. forces in this part of the world are "always prepared." The U.S. Seventh Fleet sailed into the Indian Ocean to demonstrate support for "Malaysia." These gangster activities of U.S. imperialism are aimed at forcing the Indonesian Government to renounce its anti-imperialist line and its just stand and compelling the Indonesian people to back down and give up their struggle. This outright hostility to Indonesia and wild provocation will, as such, further arouse strong indignation among the Indonesian people.

Indonesia's Resounding Answer

In the eyes of the imperialist lords, gunboats and money are always all-powerful. But, confronted with an awakened nation, both big stick and carrot are powerless. In face of the imperialists' bullying and pressures, President Sukarno said: "We are not afraid of the imperialists. We are not afraid of their threats. We will march forward. We will win, because we are marching on a correct path." He also declared: "The Indonesian nation has the ability to smash imperialism." These courageous words embody Indonesia's just stand in resolutely upholding its national dignity and its heroism in despising imperialism strategically.

Has not the United States announced time and again its intention of breaking off "aid"? But President Sukarno has shown utter contempt for the U.S. imperialists' intimidation. "To hell with your aid!" he declared. And he has repeatedly told them to go ahead and cancel their "aid" programme.

Has not the United States tried by various threats to force Indonesia to forsake its just stand of opposing "Malaysia" and supporting the North Kalimantan people's struggle? But the result is that in response to the call of President Sukarno the Indonesian people have rushed to join the volunteers who now number more than 25 million. Since April, the volunteers in various parts of Indonesia have held rallies and staged demonstrations on a tremendous scale. In a spirit of enthusiasm never before equalled they have pledged themselves to fight against imperialism. By such practical actions of unity in struggle, the Indonesian people have given a resounding answer to the shameless

U.S. imperialist bluff. This fact shows that a very great strength will be generated once the broad masses are mobilized.

Behind the smokescreen of "peaceful settlement," the U.S. and British imperialists and their hangers-on are intensifying their plotting to arrange so-called negotiations in the vain hope that, coupled with their heavy-handed measures, this will force Indonesia to come to terms at the conference table. The conspiracy was exposed not long ago, when, at the suggestion of the U.S. and British imperialists, "Malaysian" Prime Minister Rahman put forward his preconditions for a "summit meeting" with President Sukarno. These, he arrogantly asserted, are: "Indonesian recognition of Malaysia as an independent and sovereign state; the end of Indonesian 'confrontation' of Malaysia; withdrawal of Indonesian troops from along the Borneo borders of Malaysia; and Indonesian acceptance of a neutral nation to act as referee in seeing that truce terms will faithfully be carried out." In short, Indonesia must give up her just stand and her anti-imperialist line before negotiations can be held. These extremely rude and unreasonable conditions are, of course, utterly unacceptable to Indonesia. President Sukarno has insisted that Indonesia will never beg for negotiations with Rahman and that they can be held only when no preconditions are attached. In his speech at the mass rally on May 20, he declared: "We must smash 'Malaysia' whether there will be negotiations or not. . . . Your attitude should not be decided by the fact whether there will be negotiations or not. Do not care about that. Please go forward, no retreat!" There is no doubt that, if one persists in employing revolutionary dual tactics to oppose the imperialists' counter-revolutionary dual tactics, all the schemes of imperialism and colonialism will be defeated.

Firm Support of Chinese People

The struggle of the North Kalimantan people is just. No force on earth can stamp out the burning flames of their fight for national independence. Similarly, Indonesia's struggle to support the North Kalimantan people in winning their national independence and to oppose "Malaysia," is also a just one which can never be put down by imperialism. The Chinese people resolutely support the just struggles of the North Kalimantan and Indonesian peoples. We are convinced that in their respective struggles for independence and to oppose the neo-colonialist "Malaysia," the North Kalimantan and Indonesian peoples will win their final victories.

Today, from south Viet Nam to Laos and from Indo-China to the rest of Southeast Asia, U.S. imperialism is in an ever worsening position, with its policies of aggression and war meeting with continual and serious defeats in these places. If it dares to create trouble on the question of "Malaysia," it will only get itself into still deeper waters. There can be no other outcome.

Frame-Up in Brazil: Fresh Exposures

by COMMENTATOR

Following is an abridged translation of the commentary published by the Hsinhua News Agency on May 29, exposing the frame-up of Chinese citizens masterminded in Brazil by U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE seven Chinese trade officials and two Chinese newsmen (who were arrested in Brazil) have been illegally detained for eight weeks. During this time the Brazilian authorities have put before the world no plausible evidence incriminating them. Ten days ago they were placed under "preventive arrest" by a Brazilian military tribunal.

When the Chinese were arrested on April 3, their homes were ransacked for eight full hours. On May 8 — that is five weeks after their arrest and the search of their homes — the Brazilian authorities, in an effort to whitewash this judicial outrage perpetrated in defiance of international law, produced a faked "letter" as "evidence" of Chinese "espionage." [See "Forgery in Brazil" on p.11, *Peking Review*, No. 22, May 29, 1964.]

Fictitious Diary

Colonel Gustavo Borges, security chief of Guanabara State, however, saw that the letter was a flop, so he produced a "diary" during a television interview on May 9. But no one knows to whom this diary belongs. Several Brazilian newspapers asserted that it belonged to a man named Wang Chin. But there is no one called Wang Chin among the nine arrested men. According to press reports, entries in the diary ran from January 10, 1963, when its writer set off for Brazil, to April 4 this year.

Among the arrested, three bear the surname Wang. They are Wang Yao-ting, Wang Wei-chen and Wang Chih. But not one of them left for Brazil on the date stated.

Another point which must not be overlooked is that all the nine Chinese were arrested on April 3. At the time of their arrest, all their personal belongings were seized by the Brazilian police. Then, how is it possible for one of them to have kept a diary on him after his arrest? But the most fantastic part of this lie is that this man is supposed to have made entries in his diary even on the day of his arrest and on the following day — April 4, in the Brazilian prison.

According to one report in the newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* of May 10, the diary includes an entry on March 3 this year, which reads: "Wang, Chang Pao-sheng, Sung Kwei-pao lunched with President Goulart." Now, President Goulart did give a luncheon in honour of Wang Yao-ting, deputy representative of the office

of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade in Brazil, and some others on March 4, not on March 3. It was reported by the Brazilian newspaper, *Diario Carioca*, on March 8.

And not only this; those who cooked up this diary were stupid enough to make its alleged writer use his own surname in the entry, which one never does.

Upon further examination, even this diary does not give the Brazilian authorities anything to enable them to frame a plausible charge against the arrested. The activities recorded in the diary may be summarized as follows:

1. Its writer was invited to lunch with President Goulart and his press secretary, Raul Francisco Ruff.

2. The author met a number of Brazilian celebrities, such as General Gonzaga-Leite, Vice-President of the Brazil-China Cultural Association of Rio de Janeiro, General Enrique Oeste, Deputy and also Vice-President of the Brazil-China Cultural Association of Rio de Janeiro, Leonel Brizola, Deputy and former Governor of Rio Grande do Sul, and members of the Brazilian Peasants' League led by Deputy Francisco Juliao.

3. The author had contacts with Joao Etcheverry, director of the newspaper *Ultima Hora*.

What a fantastic land it is where it is considered criminal for a foreigner engaged in his lawful pursuits to attend a dinner given by a President lawfully elected by the people, to make the necessary social contacts with influential persons, and to keep in touch with the director of a big, influential newspaper which has broad social connections.

Planted Pistol

In the course of a television programme on May 9, Colonel Borges produced a "pistol with a silencer" allegedly found in the car of the Chinese personnel. He said that this could have been used by the Chinese to assassinate a President. Now, a "pistol with a silencer" is not such a tiny thing that it can't be found without the help of a magnifying glass. Isn't it strange indeed that the pistol should have appeared all of a sudden in a car of the Chinese more than a month after the whole-day search on April 3 when large numbers of experienced police officers ransacked the residence and the personal belongings of the Chinese?

We want to ask the imaginative Colonel Borges who, for his own convenience, planted on the Chinese personnel a pistol whose origin is known only to the gods: Do you really think people will believe that the Chinese personnel who went to Brazil to promote Sino-

Joint Statement Demanding Release of Chinese Held in Brazil

The China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, the All-China Journalists' Association and the Hsinhua News Agency on May 31 issued a joint statement protesting against the Brazilian authorities' unwarranted imprisonment of Chinese citizens and their plot to hand the latter over to a military tribunal for trial based on forged "incriminating evidence."

This plot, the statement points out, is designed to achieve the criminal aim of framing the Chinese by making use of the arbitrary nature of a military tribunal where they will be deprived of the opportunity to defend themselves.

The tribunal of Brazil's first military district placed the Chinese under "preventive arrest" on May 18. Denouncing this action, the statement points out that this is intended to prevent their release under *habeas corpus*. It notes that a number of Brazilian jurists have expressed the opinion that "there is no

specific offense with which the Chinese can be charged." The statement declares that far from bolstering up its illegal position in holding the innocent Chinese under prolonged detention, the military tribunal has, in fact, compounded the illegality of its position.

"We lodge another serious protest against the Brazilian authorities' deliberate persecution of these Chinese personnel and solemnly declare that any trial, especially a military trial, of these Chinese personnel is without grounds and illegal and that any unreasonable sentence passed on them is null and void," says the statement. "Such a trial and sentence will be a serious violation of the principles of international law and of basic human rights and absolutely impermissible. If the Brazilian authorities insist on carrying this thing through, they must bear all the consequences arising therefrom," the statement declares.

Brazilian friendship should want to "assassinate" your President with a pistol? And which President? President Joao Goulart? He is living. Or President Castelo Branco? Who would know then that he would become President? Such trickery in planting evidence can deceive nobody.

In an attempt to create a favourable atmosphere for persecuting the arrested Chinese personnel, Borges, on the same television programme, also produced a uniform with a special insignia allegedly to be worn by members of the Brazilian Peasants' League when they launch a revolution. The Brazilian press said that on the cellophane in which the uniform was packed, the names of a number of organizations were printed "to look like a sickle — a Chinese communist emblem."

We declare that we have no such emblem. Moreover, how many such uniforms have you got? One, or a hundred thousand? Were they made in China and sent to Brazil? Can one launch a revolution merely by wearing such a uniform?

Having produced this "evidence," Colonel Borges concluded his talk by declaring that "these are iron-clad proofs of the subversive activities of the arrested Chinese." After examining all these "iron-clad proofs," we wish to declare that they are just so much rubbish! You have plenty of machine-guns and artillery in your barracks. Why don't you produce a couple of them? Wouldn't they be more impressive than a small pistol? The forged letter and diary, and the planted "pistol with a silencer" and uniform are no better than the "evidence" produced by the Brazilian authorities on

April 4. "evidence" that they are ashamed even to mention now.

Fabricated List

The most sensational but also the most ludicrous piece of "evidence" is a list of Brazilians to be "assassinated." The list was evidently fabricated in such a hurry that it caused much confusion in the press. Some said that it was a "name list" of Brazilian personalities to be assassinated "by means of methods customarily used in China, such as injection of liquids" (*Jornal do Brasil* of April 4); some said that "a small card index box was found" in which were "names of officers of the Brazilian armed forces, some of which were underlined and marked with 'to be killed, hanged, shot or drowned.'" There are many words with similar meanings in the dictionary, such as "choked," "strangled," "poisoned," etc.; you can choose whatever words you like. But how astonishing it is to think that nine Chinese could do whatever they pleased with the high-ranking officers of the Brazilian armed forces! You are all officers yourselves, you know this is impossible.

The activities of the Brazilian authorities over the past two months can only be characterized as a shocking international conspiracy for the political persecution of these Chinese personnel. The criminal hands of U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang can clearly be seen in this plot.

Following publication of the "letter" forged by the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents, the U.S.I.S. in a dispatch dated May 11 reported the letter and slandered the per-

sonnel of the Hsinhua News Agency as using "their 'news agency' role as a cover for espionage and blackmail. . . ." The U.S. *Christian Science Monitor* in a report dated May 14 went a step further to slander the appeal for international solidarity with the persecuted Chinese—made by the Chinese organizations concerned—as "pressuring" foreign businessmen who had trade relations with China. There was "concern," it said, that "if they do not follow the dictates of Peking, their trade with communist China will be jeopardized." Such "concern," we would like to point out, is non-existent and is a pure fabrication of the U.S. press. Foreign merchants doing business with China need have no such "concern." By this slander, the U.S. im-

perialist propaganda machine is simply trying to undermine the just international support given to the Chinese personnel. This further reveals the role played by U.S. imperialism in the frame-up.

What warrants further attention is a dispatch of the Pan-Asia newspaper *Alliance* from Taipei on May 24 which indicated that the Chiang Kai-shek gang fostered by U.S. imperialism was trying to get the arrested Chinese transported to Taiwan. The Taiwan press printed the photographs of the Chinese personnel supplied by officials of the Chiang Kai-shek gang. This threw further light on the criminal purposes of U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang.

International Communist Movement

Khrushchov Revisionist Group's Splitting Activities as Seen From Suslov's Report

Extracts From "Zeri i Popullit" Article

ON May 17, *Zeri i Popullit*, organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, devoted nearly three pages to an article exposing the deceptive essence of the anti-Chinese report made at the February Plenum of the C.P.S.U.'s Central Committee and the splitting activities of the Khrushchov revisionist group. The article also sets out Albania's own principled position on the preparation for and the convocation of a conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties and puts forward concrete proposals for doing so.

Entitled "The Splitting Activities of Khrushchov's Revisionist Group as Seen From Suslov's Report," the article is in three parts under the subheads: "No Deception or Blackmail Can Cover Up the Splitting and Treacherous Activities of the Khrushchov Revisionist Group," "The Glorious Chinese Communist Party—Staunch Defender of Marxism-Leninism," "Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement Can Only Be Achieved Through the Leninist Road."

The article notes that the Khrushchov revisionist group have recently let loose a new anti-Marxist offensive of exceptional fury, the signals for this being sounded by the resolution of the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the report delivered by M.A. Suslov at the Plenum. The main objective of the revisionists in unleashing this offensive, the article continues, is to bring about a final split in the socialist camp, the world communist movement and workers' movement, and in all the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces of the world. Their principal

objective is to vilify the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour, and other fraternal Parties and revolutionary communist groups which are fighting unrelentingly to defend Marxism-Leninism and the solidarity and true unity of the world communist movement.

This new offensive is, however, not in the least a sign of strength among the revisionists. On the contrary, their fury betrays their anxiety and panic. It proves that they have lost their patience, their self-control, and their self-confidence in the face of the unswerving, principled struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionary Communists to expose the perfidious and splittist line of the N. Khrushchov group and their followers. They feel the ground slipping from under their feet. Unable to withstand the test of time and of battle, they are unscrupulously resorting to extremist measures.

No Deception or Blackmail Can Cover Up the Splitting And Treacherous Activities of the Khrushchov Revisionist Group

In part one, the article points out that Suslov's report and the recent speeches of Khrushchov are full of calumnies and attacks against the heroic Chinese Communist Party and its great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung. From start to finish, they use the methods so dear to the revisionists who distort the truth and cover up the facts in order to accuse an adversary of doing what they themselves have done. Generally speaking, there is nothing new. Khrushchov and his

followers, the article continues, have gone to unspeakably vulgar and ridiculous lengths in their attacks and slanders against the C.P.C. The vilest scoundrel would find himself incapable of using the language they employ. They have struck up a chorus harmonizing in public with the most reactionary propaganda of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The article says: "The Khrushchov revisionist group have plagiarized the slogan of struggling for unity in their attempt to cover up the divisive views they are spreading and the splitting activities they are carrying out within the communist and workers' movements. This attempt has already failed; it will continue to fail. Each passing day brings from Khrushchov's actual deeds and attitude fresh proof to every Marxist-Leninist party, to every revolutionary Communist, and to the labouring masses that his 'anxiety' about 'the critical situation which has arisen in the world communist movement' is as false as crocodile tears; that the slogan of 'struggling for unity' and the pledge that came from his lips of 'settling the differences' by his taking the initiative and exerting himself is only a cloak used to cover up the fact that he and his group are the greatest splitters in the history of the communist and workers' movements."

The article cites facts to show how, since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., Khrushchov has embarked on the road of revising Marxism-Leninism, splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and how he has attempted to force his anti-Marxist-Leninist line on the international communist movement, publicly attacked fraternal Parties and countries, extended ideological differences into the sphere of state relations, and crudely interfered in the internal affairs of fraternal Parties and countries.

The article repudiates the Khrushchov group's attempts to shift the responsibility for the worsening of Soviet-Albanian relations on to Albania. In order to mask their splitting activities and destroy the evidence, it points out, the Khrushchov group often make ostentatious appeals in which they express themselves ready for the normalization of Soviet-Albanian relations.

As for what the Khrushchov group said about their being ready to "do what they have always done" and "take all necessary measures," etc., etc., the article goes on, "we must say that we have heard enough of such nonsense. The sheep's skin you have pulled over yourself cannot fool us; we have seen through the true colours of you wolves." The article exposes the fact that the Khrushchov group publicly called on the Albanian people to overthrow their own Party and government leaders and publicly took up the cudgels for traitors to the Albanian people, the imperialist agents and anti-Party elements, defending in particular the criminal acts of the anti-Party element Belishova.

The article says: "The lies, deceptions and slanders which form the essential content of Suslov's report cannot change the indisputable fact that the Khrushchov revisionist group are splitting the socialist camp and

the communist movement and are renegades to socialism and communism."

It goes on: Khrushchov claimed vociferously that he stood opposed to public polemics and had done everything possible to prevent them. This is utterly hypocritical. The fact is that the polemics were started by none other than the Khrushchov group themselves. When Khrushchov thought the wind was blowing his way, he asserted that public polemics were "good for the entire communist movement." But, soon afterwards, when it became clear that Khrushchov would reap the whirlwind of his own sowing, he promptly changed his tune and began to make a lot of noise about halting the polemics. Even while thus raving on, however, he never really stopped them.

The article notes: "Our Party holds that the slogan of ending the polemics plagiarized by the Khrushchov revisionist group is hypocritical and demagogic. These appeals will fool no one."

The article stresses: "In the face of the attack launched by the revisionists in collaboration with the imperialists and all reactionary forces of the world, all Marxist-Leninist parties, revolutionary Communists, proletarians and oppressed nations must unite more closely than ever before to give the Khrushchov traitorous group and their followers the rebuff they deserve. The great polemics being unfolded in the communist movement must be carried through to the end. There is no other way out now but to struggle uncompromisingly against Khrushchov's revisionism because it is a great danger threatening socialism and the present and future of the world's revolutionary and liberation movement. At present, one can no longer expect the revisionists to renounce their out-and-out anti-Marxist views and their traitorous and splitting activities. Clear evidence of this is provided by the documents of the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U."

The article points out that both on an international scale and in each particular country, true unity of the communist movement can only be built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Any unity built on other bases, on an opportunist and anti-Marxist basis, is not the communist and proletarian unity needed by the workers' movement but a false unity.

It goes on to say: The Albanian Party of Labour, a loyal follower of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has always resolutely opposed the revisionist splitters and struggled for the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. However great the difficulties and sacrifices, our Party will do everything in its power to carry on the struggle till the complete defeat of the traitors to the working class and socialism.

The Glorious Chinese Communist Party — Staunch Defender of Marxism-Leninism

In part two, the article refutes the slanders and attacks of the Khrushchov group against the C.P.C.

It says: "The Khrushchov renegade group have directed their main attack against the glorious Chinese Communist Party because today, when the revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, discarded the great October ideals and undermined the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the Chinese Communist Party, serving the long-term interests of the world working class, working people and the enslaved peoples, and holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the banner of socialism and peace, has become the incarnation of the ideals of the October Socialist Revolution and the firmest and staunchest defender of the unity of the communist movement and the revolutionary workers' movement.

"Today, it is clear to all Marxist-Leninists and all genuine revolutionaries that whoever ventures to oppose the Chinese Communist Party and the cause of the Chinese revolution is a downright renegade to Marxism-Leninism, a splitter who serves the world imperialist bourgeoisie and endangers socialism.

"The Chinese Communist Party is a Party with heroic exploits. It has correctly and creatively applied the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the proletarian revolution and socialist construction and has made great contributions to the further development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

"The frenzied vituperations and slanders of the modern revisionists against the great achievements of the Chinese people in socialist construction and in upholding socialism and the cause of peace can only reveal their own weakness. To the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary Communists, the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has been and remains a Marxist-Leninist party, the long-tested and valiant leader of the 700 million Chinese people on the broad road of socialism, a great detachment of the working class, a powerful shock brigade of the world proletariat, an intrepid standard-bearer and loyal defender of Marxism-Leninism. To the Marxist-Leninist parties, the revolutionary Communists, the people of all socialist countries and the whole of mankind, the People's Republic of China has been and remains the insurmountable obstacle to the aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism and a great pillar for the defence of the forces of socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples and for the preservation of world peace."

The article goes on: All schemes to isolate the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China and to efface its revolutionary and peace policies, are doomed to failure.

It refutes the fallacy put forth by the Khrushchov group and their followers that the present differences are those between the C.P.C. on the one hand and the C.P.S.U. together with the international communist movement on the other. It points out that this is a pernicious plot of the revisionists, and that the Khrushchov group are attempting to alienate the Chi-

nese Communist Party from the entire communist movement.

In actual fact, it says, "the present differences in the international communist and workers' movements are those between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between the revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary line, and between proletarian internationalism and great-nation chauvinism and national egoism." The differences exist within the entire international communist and workers' movements. They exist between quite a number of Parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism and quite a few other Parties whose leaders have slid into the quagmire of revisionism. In all the Parties which have taken the road of revisionism, differences also exist between the revisionists and the revolutionary Communists. These are indisputable facts.

The article states that the Khrushchov revisionist group have tried their utmost to shift the blame for creating the split on to the C.P.C. This scheme, it says, will certainly meet with ignominious failure. It is crystal clear to the world's revolutionary Marxist-Leninists that the C.P.C.'s struggle against Khrushchov's revisionism is a just struggle of principle; it is closely linked with communism and world revolution. In fighting the revisionist renegades, the C.P.C. is holding high the banner of the ever victorious thought of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. That is why today, more than at any time before, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all true revolutionaries are completely united with the C.P.C. and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and stand on the side of the glorious C.P.C. to extend their own revolutionary struggle, oppose the splitters and renegades of the Khrushchov revisionist group and defend the communist and revolutionary cause.

The article notes that the Khrushchov revisionist group are desperately cooking up such theories as that all Marxist-Leninist parties, revolutionary organizations and Communists who are struggling against modern revisionism are merely "tools of the Chinese." In his report Suslov accused the Albanians of "repeating word for word what Peking wrote and said."

It stresses: "If the revisionists are worried about the complete unity of the C.P.C. and the Albanian Party of Labour in thought and action, then we ought to tell them: You are quite right to worry, and you'll never be able to get over worrying. Yes! Between the C.P.C. and the Albanian Party of Labour, there is indeed unity, a unity which is indestructible and strong as steel, a unity which extends to all questions. . . . This unity will daily develop and strengthen, to the benefit of communism and our two peoples and to the ire of our enemies—the imperialists and the revisionists."

"As for asserting that the Albanians have become Peking's tools, this is not the first time that we've heard such a slander." "We must advise the Soviet leaders: Try not to look at people nobler and better than you through the meanness of your own eyes. From your personal experience of contact with the Albanian Party of Labour, you should know that it has

never lowered itself to be the tool of anyone. In the past as at the present, it has fought determinedly in upholding the Leninist principle of independence and equality for all Communist and Workers' Parties. Everyone can see that the glorious C.P.C. too abides faithfully by this principle. The Albanian Party of Labour obeys only Marxism-Leninism, which has its complete allegiance. It serves wholeheartedly the Albanian people and the working people of the world. Countless facts throughout the history of our Party have demonstrated that it has never acted on orders from without. It is Khrushchov who is accustomed to having people act as his 'tools.' He demands that all his adherents follow his baton blindly. But he is greatly mistaken if he thinks he can transfer to the C.P.C. all his own anti-Marxist, revisionist and big-nation chauvinist positions in relations with other Parties and socialist countries.

"The struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties and all staunch revolutionaries against Khrushchov's revisionism is no factional strife; it does not follow the particular objectives of others, nor is it directed by a 'leader' or carried out by his 'tools.' It is a struggle of principle waged by the Marxist-Leninists against the renegades to the cause of communism; it is a struggle both of a national character, because it is unfolded within each Party, and of an international character, as it is directed against the revisionist group of Khrushchov and his followers who are gravely menacing the destiny of the entire communist movement, of the socialist camp and of the freedom of the peoples."

The article says: "Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties and groups in many countries, such as Belgium, Brazil, Australia, Ceylon, India, Austria, Britain, France, Italy, have come into being not as an 'instrument' of certain other people but as devoted and staunch fighters for the great cause of communism." "Wherever revisionism appears, the vigorous Marxist-Leninist forces cannot but stand up against it. Wherever splitters appear, Marxist-Leninists cannot but firmly combat them to defend unity. This is both natural and inevitable. This is the logic of struggle and the law of development of the communist movement."

The article points out that since the differences have a bearing on the entire communist movement, on every Party and on all Communists, these differences of general significance can only be solved on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and with the participation of all Parties which are equal and independent.

Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement Can Only Be Achieved Through the Leninist Road

The third part of the article says: "Marxist-Leninists have been and are still in favour of holding a conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. But they stand for holding a conference which is fruitful, carefully prepared, and conducive to strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on

the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. The unity which the international communist movement needs is not just any kind of unity, still less does it need a unity between Marxists and their enemies. It wants healthy, militant and principled unity which is based on Marxism-Leninism, the sole scientific ideology of the working class. That is why Marxist-Leninists denounce the conspiracy of the revisionists to hold an extraordinary, sectarian and factional conference, because such a meeting will surely confirm the complete split of the international communist movement. They are also opposed to any make-believe meeting which takes no account of the conditions that already exist in the international communist movement or of its present actual situation, but creates illusions for unity which actually deepen the split."

The article points out that the present situation of the international communist and workers' movement is different from that of 1957 and 1960. The characteristics of the present situation in the communist movement are as follows: 1. The differences have increasingly deepened and have become profound differences of strategic principles. 2. The differences have been made public and nearly all the Parties have taken part in these large-scale public polemics. 3. The Khrushchov revisionist group have extended the ideological differences to relations between states. 4. This group have not only distorted the Moscow Declaration and Statement but also flagrantly trampled on them, particularly the stipulation of the 1960 Moscow Statement on the attitude towards the Yugoslav revisionists. 5. A number of revolutionary Communist Parties and groups have been formed in quite a few countries and their number is increasing daily.

The Albanian Party of Labour holds: "The new situation obtaining must be taken into account in convening a new meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties and preparations should be made in conformity with this situation so that it will really bring about the unity which is more badly needed by our movement than ever before."

The article points out that general discussions about the existing ideological differences in the international communist movement should be carried out in various Parties before the conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties is convened.

"In order that the general discussion in the various Communist and Workers' Parties should become a Marxist-Leninist discussion, the Albanian Party of Labour proposes that a common decision be adopted to publish in the central organs and in pamphlets, for all Party members to read, a sufficient amount of material, up to fifteen pieces from each Party as it wishes. All Parties should have the duty to observe this decision and take the necessary time to study these materials. On the basis of these materials, all Parties should organize free discussions at all Party levels, up

to national conferences and congresses, according to the desire of the Party members and the principles of Party Constitutions. It goes without saying that in the course of these discussions, the public polemics that are going on within the international communist movement should be carried on without interruption."

The article says: "The Albanian Party of Labour maintains that in order to convene a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, it is necessary first of all to eliminate the specific differences existing between the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties. It is obvious that without first settling these specific differences, the meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties cannot be convened nor can favourable conditions be created for the smooth holding of the meeting. But in order to settle specific differences in bilateral or multilateral talks, the C.P.S.U. leadership must publicly admit certain of its most outrageous errors."

In the opinion of the Albanian Party of Labour N. Khrushchov should openly admit the following errors:

"One, openly admit that it is a gross error to expose the differences before the common enemy, imperialism; that it is a gross error to publicly and unscrupulously attack the Albanian Party of Labour. He should publicly denounce the extremely harmful and erroneous action of making use of the platform of a Party congress to slander Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties.

"Two, openly admit that it is a gross error to extend the ideological differences to state relations with the People's Republic of Albania; that it is a gross error to trample underfoot the principles of proletarian internationalism in the relations among socialist countries and that it is a gross error to sever all economic, cultural and military relations with Albania, and even impose a blockade against it and sever diplomatic relations with it.

"Three, openly admit that it is a gross error to crudely interfere in the internal affairs of our Party and our country; that it is a gross error to bring pressure to bear on, blackmail and threaten us and to plot against and openly call for the overthrow of our Party and state leadership; that it is a gross error to defend the enemies of our Party and people and defend the imperialist agents; openly admit that to vilify the leaders of our Party and state as going completely over to imperialism is a shameless slander and that it is a gross error to discredit the socialist system of a fraternal country, describing it as a system full of terror, tyranny and breaches of law, and a system of concentration camps and prisons.

"Four, openly admit that it is a gross error to flagrantly trample upon the Moscow Statement by completely rehabilitating the reputation of the renegade Tito clique and colluding with these people who, as clearly pointed out in the Moscow Statement, have betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

"All the Communist and Workers' Parties that have publicly and unprovokedly attacked the Albanian Party of Labour at the instigation of the Khrushchov group and have thus violated the 1960 Moscow Statement, should publicly and honestly admit their errors."

The article says: "In view of the situation which has appeared in the international communist movement as a result of the splitting activities of the modern revisionists, all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world must have equal rights to be invited to an international communist meeting. Therefore, all the Marxist-Leninist parties recently formed in a number of countries, such as the Belgian Communist Party headed by Jacques Grippa, the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Ceylon, the Communist Party of Brazil and all Marxist-Leninist parties that might be formed in the course of preparations for the international meeting should be invited without fail.

"On the other hand, the renegade Tito clique unanimously condemned by the entire international communist movement in the 1960 Moscow Statement must not be allowed to take part in the meeting," the article says. "The Khrushchov group and their followers may invite to their homes as they please renegades to Marxism and imperialist agents but they can never pitchfork these people into the international communist and workers' movement."

The article concludes: "The meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties must be a meeting to ensure unity and not to confirm split. Under the present circumstances, in order to reach this noble goal, the convocation of a general meeting demands a great deal of preparatory work over a long period. Only when the meeting is so prepared can it achieve positive results. Of course, it takes time. The Khrushchov group are well aware that today quite a few Parties do not agree to holding a meeting without the necessary preparations, but they are still doing their best to convene the meeting at the earliest possible date. This is, in essence, aimed at effecting a complete split and shifting the blame on to those Parties which do not take part in such a splittist meeting. Under the present circumstances, the principle of centralism in the communist movement is out of the question as there is not a centre or a single leading body like that during the Third International. Therefore, the question of holding a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties cannot be decided by one Party or certain Parties but all other Parties must be consulted and agreement reached by all.

"Only a meeting prepared in this way and carefully organized can serve to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Only in such a meeting will the Albanian Party of Labour take part and, together with the other Parties, contribute to its success."

Communist Party of Australia (M.-L.) Opposes Hasty International C.P. Conference

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) is in full support of the restoration of unity and the resolution of differences within the international communist movement, states the newspaper *Vanguard* published on May 25. The paper says, "What is really involved is the restoration of Marxism-Leninism as the only basis upon which the international communist movement can function and therefore the complete repudiation of revisionism."

Vanguard says that the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declaration and Statement warned that the main danger to the world communist movement was revisionism. "The truth of that has been proved to the hilt by the developments within the world communist movement and the unilateral repudiation of the very warning that revisionism was the main danger. Marxism-Leninism cannot be restored to its rightful place by hurried organizational means nor by the operation of so-called majorities. Marxism-Leninism is composed of objective laws, the complete recognition of and adherence to which are the test of whether or not a Party is a Marxist-Leninist party. No majority, no organizational measure can alter an objective law. Those who have departed from recognition of the objective laws and universal truths of Marxism-Leninism must permit those objective laws and universal truths to be reasserted, must allow time to demonstrate their truth, must allow the champions of Marxism-Leninism full scope to establish the validity of Marxism-Leninism."

Vanguard stresses, "No hastily summoned discussion between the C.P.S.U. and the Communist Party of China, followed by an equally hastily summoning of the 26 Parties (leaving aside the fact that in some Parties concerned the revisionists have imposed a split with the result that there are two Parties) who took part in the preliminary work of the 81 Parties conference, and followed again by a hasty rounding up of the world's Communist Parties, can possibly undo the damage that has been done to the cause of Marxism-Leninism by the modern revisionists."

Vanguard goes on, "The modern revisionists have assailed the very foundations of Marxism-Leninism and

every one of its aspects. Having done that, they demand that no one be allowed to come out in defence of Marxism-Leninism and they attempt to put the organizational seal on their 'theoretical' position by hastily calling for an international conference. Having commenced the present wholesale public attack on Marxism-Leninism by their unilateral attack on the Albanian Party of Labour at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. and justified their action as 'the only correct Marxist-Leninist method,' the modern revisionists headed by Khrushchov now cry out that 'public polemics' are doing great harm. In other words, they want their revisionist pronouncements to be the last word on Marxism-Leninism. They want to prevent the assertion or reassertion of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. They want to do this just at the moment when Marxism-Leninism is emerging stronger than ever and attracting new and more powerful adherents. The U.S. imperialists above all require revisionism to be left in the 'dominant' position. Modern revisionism serves the U.S. imperialists."

Vanguard concludes, "The restoration of Marxism-Leninism to its rightful place requires a stern struggle. The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) is engaged in that struggle. The Communist Party of Australia (M.-L.) is the only Marxist-Leninist party in Australia. It represents Marxism-Leninism in Australia and it has the right to participate in all international Marxist-Leninist discussions, but it is opposed to any hasty international discussion. In the light of the correspondence between the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. now published, it wholeheartedly supports the view that there must be adequate time and thoroughgoing preparation for the resolution of the current problems on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is all powerful because it is true. Its truth will become more apparent with time. Three or four years from now, its strength and truth will be more apparent than ever and the bankruptcy of modern revisionism likewise. There is no hurry, and haste can only add to confusion. Life will assert itself. The sole question is the victory of Marxism-Leninism! Unite to defend and prosecute Marxism-Leninism!"

Revolutionary Songs and I

by MA KO

Revolutionary songs have played and play a big role in China as a mobilizing force for the revolution and socialist construction. Here veteran composer Ma Ko tells how he himself was gradually led on to the revolutionary path by such songs and came to understand the close relationship between art and politics.

WHEN I was young, I fell in love with music. The lovely melodies of the violin, the rich tones of the piano, the music of a sonata so enchanted me that often I became oblivious of my surroundings. Like many young music lovers of the day, I considered that music was something to make people happy, that music was music, that music had an indescribable charm which one had better not try to interpret, let alone associate with worldly concepts, for instance, politics. I was quite certain that I was right in holding such ideas.

In the early 1930s, the Japanese imperialists invaded China and overran the whole of China's northeast. Chiang Kai-shek, instead of resisting them, clamoured that "in order to resist the enemy it is necessary first to secure internal peace." He mobilized a million troops in an attempt to encircle and crush the bases of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, and impose his "peace" and fascist rule on the nation. The Chinese people were angry. But there was a widespread feeling of frustration and depression. Most people couldn't yet see the revolutionary future of the country, nor could they tell how China should seek a way out of her difficulties.

Reactionary Songs

It was at this time that the schools began to teach students songs recommended by the Kuomintang government authorities, songs which sang the praises of Chiang Kai-shek, and denounced the Chinese Communist Party for "breaking national unity and peace." These songs, though vigorously promoted, were not popular. The students disliked them. I too disliked them, not so much because I was a progressive in my political views, but rather because they didn't sound good to the ear. They were poor music. This strengthened my conviction that it was impossible to make music serve politics. Once music was made to serve politics, I thought, it would lose its artistic value.

But how could young people live without singing? They turned away from the reactionary songs, but found something else to amuse themselves with. The

cinemas were showing plenty of American films and these attracted many young people who soon made a vogue of their songs. Boys like to imitate the cries of Tarzan while girls loved to hum the song *Dream Lovers*. Not only was it fashionable to sing these cinema songs, people even began to imitate the styles of dress and the manners of the stars. Strange as this trend was, no authority tried to put a stop to it. On the contrary Chinese businessmen in the film industry vied with each other in learning from the United States and patterning their own productions on U.S. models. Such films generally fell into three categories: there were adventure stories, so-called love stories which were a mixture of "passionate love" and sexuality, and finally, films which described the personal fortunes of individuals but invariably isolated these from the general social background. These films were interspersed with many songs. They had a Chinese style and rhythm, and were even more popular than the U.S. ones. For a time you couldn't get away from *Sweethearts*, *Your Attractive Eyes, Lips*, *The Neon Lights*, *The Champagne-Filled Goblets*, and so on and so forth. These songs with their senseless sentimentality and brooding melancholy had a deeply corrupting effect on the youth.

And think of what times these were! It was in the 1930s, when the Japanese imperialists, with their insatiable greed, were threatening invasion of north China, when all the countryside was starving and the cities impoverished, when the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was making its 25,000-li Long March against inconceivable difficulties. It was a crucial moment for the Chinese nation. China was faced with the greatest danger. The people demanded resistance and struggle against the enemy. They wanted to break the chain that bound them and overthrow the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism that weighed down on their backs. But the film theme song hits were tempting the youth with drunkenness, and preaching escapism, appeasement and surrender. These songs were a narcotic. They were politically reactionary. It is true that they contained no open political slogans against the Communists and the people, but their edge was sharper than that of a butcher's knife in harming the people's hearts and minds.

However, I failed to see this at the time. I was then a "good student" by conventional standards. I did my studies conscientiously and spent all my spare time on music which I looked on as my close friend. I myself was not interested in those popular film

全世界无产者联合起来

(Working Men of All Lands, Unite!)

光未然 詞 Words by Kuang Wei-jan
 冼希賢 曲 Music by Chu Hsi-hsien

Allegro moderato
 节奏明快，坚定沉着，雄浑有力

山连着山，海连着海，全世界无产者联合起来！海靠着山，
 山靠着海，全世界无产者联合起来！
 日出东海，照亮了人民解放的新时代，看
 旧世界正在土崩瓦解，穷苦人出头之日已经到来，已经到来！
 帝国主义反动派，妖魔鬼怪，怎抵得革命怒涛排山
 倒海！霸怕它纸老虎，张牙舞爪，戳穿它，碾碎它，把它消灭，把它
 消灭！我们是山，我们是海，
 山摇地动，怒潮澎湃，穷苦人出头之日已经到来，已经到来！我们是山，
 我们是海，我们打碎的是脚镣手铐，我们得到的是整个世界。
 山连着山，海连着海，全世界无产者联合起来！
 海靠着山，山靠着海，全世界无产者联合起来！联合起来！
 联合起来！全世界无产者联合起来！

songs, but I made no particular objection to them. I didn't like them simply because I thought that, artistically, they were not of a high standard. Or rather that their music was vulgar. But since they could make people happy, I felt there was no reason why I should insist on my personal tastes and object to them.

Influence of Revolutionary Songs

It was only after I heard Nieh Erh's¹ songs that a change began to take place in my artistic tastes, in my view of art and even in my road of life.

A free rendering of the song "Working Men of All Lands, Unite!"

Mountain with mountain, sea with sea,
 Working men of all lands, unite!
 Sea by the mountain, mountain by the sea,
 Working men of all lands, unite!

The red sun rises above the mountains and
 over the sea,
 Shining on the new era of the people's
 liberation.

The old world falls to pieces;
 The day for the poor to arise has come.

Imperialist reactionaries — hideous ghosts,
 How can they resist the revolutionary tide
 roaring down like an avalanche?

Let the paper tiger bare its teeth!
 We are fearless. Ready to smash it, and
 finish it off.

We are the mountain; we are the sea.
 The mountain roars; the sea storms.
 The day for the poor to arise has come.
 We shatter our chains
 We've a whole world to gain.

Mountain with mountain, sea with sea,
 Working men of all lands, unite!
 Sea by the mountain, mountain by the sea,
 Working men of all lands, unite!

Nieh Erh's songs began to be popular around 1934. Before then, people had no idea of what a revolutionary song was. One could not hear *The Internationale*, of course. And few could sing *The Marseillaise*. Nieh Erh was then a young man just over twenty. His songs were filled with the spirit of youth, they vibrated with life and vigour. They were so powerful that once you heard them, you felt that they came from your own heart, and you wanted to join the singing. They had the power to move and stir people to action. To be honest, at the beginning I didn't pay much attention to the political content of these songs. But after I learnt to sing them, I couldn't help but think over, again and again, the messages that they carried.

These songs all dealt with the burning issues of the day, questions with which the people were most deeply concerned. All of them had a direct bearing on the people's destiny. In ringing tones, they provided correct answers to these questions. It was a critical time for the Chinese nation: what were we going to do? And the answer came: "Arise! arise! arise! Millions with but one heart, braving the enemy's fire, march on!" (*The March of the Volunteers*). In the face of danger and difficulties, what should we

¹Nieh Erh (1912-35), together with Hsien Hsing-hai, were the pioneers of proletarian music in China. His *The March of the Volunteers* which did so much to inspire the nation in the fight for independence and freedom, has become China's national anthem since 1949.

do? The answer came: "It's useless to sigh, useless. We must fire the buried mines, and shatter them all with our explosions. Down come the cliffs and mountains. The earth shakes! Build a broad road!" (*The Road Builders' Song*). These stirring verses and their equally powerful music were a real inspiration to many young intellectuals standing at the crossroads. They were a tremendous help to all those struggling to find a way out of their misery. Like a torch, every Nieh Erh song set alight a glowing fire in people's minds. They heartened the sad and downcast, opened the eyes of pessimists to the nation's bright future, and gave strength to those engaged in the struggle. Singing these songs, the level of my political consciousness rose. I began to search for revolutionary truth, make friends with the progressives, and in so doing developed an even greater love for these songs. They brought me closer to the politics which I had hitherto always tried to keep "at a respectful distance." But what is "politics"? To speak simply, it is concern with the important issues in the social life of the masses. Once a work of art touches on some burning issue in the social life of the people, it will inevitably show its stand and so play a political role — whatever its form and no matter whether it uses political terms or not, or if its creator was conscious of it or not while he created it. It is easy to put your finger on the political content of the reactionary songs of the Kuomintang, but songs which lead people to pessimism and escapism are just as reactionary. There is no such thing as art without a definite ideological tendency. The great writer Lu Hsun very aptly compared those who say that art has no political leanings as fools who imagine that they can rise above the earth by pulling themselves up by their own hair.

Born in the midst of sharp struggles, the Chinese revolutionary song had its own clearly defined political orientation. This, it seems to me, was its tradition from the beginning. The composers of these songs, themselves revolutionaries, wrote them with the clear purpose of making them weapons in the struggle. Nieh Erh was a trail-blazer in this. He died young, at the age of 24. But he has left us more than 30 model revolutionary songs, and influenced a large number of composers who worked together to usher in a new era in this field of art.

Songs and Politics

The Chinese revolutionary song has kept up this tradition ever since. Here are two instances.

The first was during the initial stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan when the enemy launched a large-scale offensive against China's inland areas. People throughout the country were in a high militant mood because finally they were in a situation where they could fight back. But the question arose: How to win victory? Should we rely on weapons or should we rely on the people? Those Kuomintang reactionaries who said that "weapons decide everything" pre-

dicted certain defeat for China in this war because China was poorly armed. On the other hand there were some people who spread a completely groundless, optimistic theory of quick victory, saying that the war could be won in a matter of months. At this juncture, songs like *Song of the Guerrillas*, *Go to the Enemy's Rear*, and *On the Taihang Mountains* were sweeping the country, calling on the people to set up revolutionary bases and organize the masses in areas under enemy occupation, calling on them to take up arms and be ready to wage a protracted war of resistance. This was the political line put forward by the Chinese Communist Party. It correctly reflected the aspirations of the Chinese people, and this was subsequently proved by history. Songs like these were a clarion call to action. Thousands of young students and workers with these songs on their lips, overcame many difficulties in making their way to the revolutionary bases set up in the countryside in the enemy's rear. I myself was one of them. Revolutionary songs had become a compass in life for me.

The second instance occurred at a time when the war had reached its most difficult stage. Those advocates of quick victory made an about turn to become out-and-out pessimists and capitulationists. The questions before the whole nation were: Could we overcome our difficulties? Could we win? Dare we win? At that time from Yen-an came the *Yellow River Cantata*. In this epic-like work, the composer, Hsien Hsing-hai, in vivid images described our great motherland and people, their glorious past and their fighting present. He extolled the industrious and courageous Chinese people and forecast their infinitely bright future. The *Cantata* calls: "Fight! Suffering people of our country, all oppressed of the world: Fight!" In this classical work we see the embodiment of the political line of the Chinese Communist Party and the strategic thinking of Mao Tse-tung. It fired the people with revolutionary enthusiasm and enhanced their political awareness.

In 1942, in Yen-an I studied the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* by Mao Tse-tung. It said that literature and art should "fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy." It also said: "Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of actual life and help the masses to propel history onward. There is, for example, suffering from hunger, cold and oppression and on the other hand there is exploitation and oppression of man by man. These facts exist everywhere and people look upon them as commonplace. Writers and artists concentrate such everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within them and produce works which awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment. Without such literature and art, the task could not

be fulfilled, or at least not effectively and speedily." These statements gave a superb summation of the relationship between art and revolution, and art and life. The effect of revolutionary songs on myself also testify to this truth. It was through revolutionary music and literature that I got my first lesson in the revolution, a lesson which set me on my road of life—from a lover of classical music to a professional revolutionary composer.

Roots of Revolutionary Songs

Singing and composing revolutionary songs, I have worked through the War of Resistance Against Japan, and the War of Liberation to the era of socialism in our country. I don't remember how many songs I have sung and how many I have composed. One thing, however, is crystal clear: All this singing and composing have been a good education to me and helped to improve me ideologically and artistically. "Those who educate must first of all be educated." A composer cannot create a revolutionary song readily acceptable to the people if he himself does not understand their aspirations and does not work with political keenness and enthusiasm.

In the past score and more of years, I have written some songs that have been well received by the masses. I attribute this to the revolutionary environment that has linked me to the masses and brought success to my efforts in self-education and to learning from the fine works of my colleagues. As to the latter, there are

a great many of them. In the early years of the founding of our new republic, we proudly sang "The five-starred red flag flutters in the wind, triumphant songs resound" (*Sing the Praises of Our Motherland*). When the U.S. imperialists unleashed their war of aggression in Korea, we sang the stirring song: "With courage and militant spirit, we cross the Yalu River. To defend peace and our motherland is to defend our own homes!" (*Song of the Chinese People's Volunteers*). When the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 launched their attack against socialism in our country, the whole nation was singing "Socialism is good. In a socialist society, the people have a high position." (*Socialism Is Good*). Since the imperialists in league with their lackeys stirred up the anti-China clamour, our land has rung with the song: "We are marching on the broad road, in high spirits and full of militancy." (*We Are Marching on the Broad Road*) and "Mountain with mountain, sea with sea, working men of all lands, unite!" (*Working Men of All Lands, Unite!*)

There are untold numbers of such songs, filled with the indomitable spirit and the strength of the people. From the time of war to the time of socialist construction, our land has rung with voices raised in song. They have expressed the Chinese people's determination; they have sounded the clarion call of our times to revolutionary action. They are landmarks in history and the fortissimo of our century. I will continue to sing and compose revolutionary songs, and together with all the revolutionary people, carry the revolution to its victorious end.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p.4.)

heard on the exploits of outstanding research units and scientists. As a result, 12 research units and 33 outstanding members of the Academy were commended while 112 achievements in science and technology were given citations. The conference, in addition, discussed ways and means of helping the nation's scientific and technological personnel raise their political and vocational level still higher.

Since liberation a large number of scientific and technological workers have come to the fore and made valuable contributions to the nation's socialist construction. With their eyes on the peaks of modern science and technology, they are pressing ahead to mastery of the most up-to-date techniques in science and production in their respective fields. The conference was thus able to note

with satisfaction the great achievements made in recent years, particularly since 1958, and point out that considerable headway had been made in computing techniques, semi-conductors, geochemistry, element organic chemistry, radio-biology, microwave techniques, high temperature alloys and other advanced branches of modern science and technology.

The time service of the Shanghai Observatory was among the outstanding units cited. The Bureau International d'Heure has stated that the accuracy of the time notices given by this service in 1962 ranked second among 39 observatories in various parts of the world.

Among the individual research workers commended was Ku Chen-chao of the Institute of Geophysics. Working in conjunction with his colleagues and members of the Central Meteorological Bureau, he has played a notable role in the develop-

ment of China's meteorology. With unrelaxed initiative, Ku Chen-chao has latterly taken up the study of numerical prediction, artificial precipitation and cloud physics and obtained successful initial results. The statistical theory of precipitation from a warm cloud system proposed by him and his colleague Chou Hsiuchi has been commended as an important contribution in this field. Ku Chen-chao's success well illustrates the growth and maturing of a rising generation of scientists who are doing their best to bring China's science and technology abreast of the most advanced in the world.

Held at a time when the mass movement to "compare with the advanced, learn from and overtake them, and help the less advanced" is forging ahead throughout the country, this Peking conference will undoubtedly give fresh impetus to the development of science and technology in China.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. in Indo-China

"Escalating" to Disaster

Hopeless can be added to the word dirty to describe Washington's war against the south Vietnamese people. The latest Pentagon-drafted "pacification plans," with greatly increased assistance in manpower and materiel to Saigon, have not helped. Pocket-size strongman Khanh, who turned out to be as soft as bean curd when challenged by the guerrillas, faces the same fate as Diem. The rising tally of U.S. dead and wounded has so alarmed the American press that pundit Lippmann writes that the military outlook in south Viet Nam for the Johnson Administration is "dismal beyond words."

Still, the maniacs in White House, State Department and Pentagon are not learning their lessons. They are plotting what Senator Fulbright calls "escalation."

They have sunk in south Viet Nam another 4,000 U.S. army men, 100 "Skyraider" fighters and more of the latest type helicopters. They have given Khanh an additional 125 million dollars to boost the puppet army to 600,000. Among the military and politicians in Washington, talk of "extending the war" to the Viet Nam Democratic Republic is increasing.

Elsewhere in Indo-China, U.S. officers have led Khanh's puppet troops in border attacks against the neutral Kingdom of Cambodia. In Laos, in direct violation of the Geneva agreements, American military aircraft are making "reconnaissance" flights over the Plain of Jars and even bombing and strafing Neo Lao Haksat positions. Meanwhile, American troops, as well as their Thai and south Vietnamese cohorts poised along the frontiers, are waiting for the word to march into Laos. The British press reports that the Pentagon has even worked out plans to bomb Laotian cities!

All this is monstrous. And for the U.S. to think that it can achieve

its aims by these means is just as fantastic as its hopes to fend off the Phnom Penh meeting of Geneva conference participants by sham "consultations" or to escape from its predicament in south Viet Nam by dragging in its allies under the false flag of the United Nations.

Lippmann has counselled Washington against military entanglement, noting that the only way to get out of the U.S. "dead-end street in Southeast Asia" is to "go to a conference" and "make a political agreement." Yet, U.S. imperialism is preparing to "escalate," to multiply its adventures and increase its burdens. If it takes the plunge, it will surely get blackened eyes from Laos and Cambodia to go with the bloodied nose it has received in south Viet Nam.

Laos Under Threat

Which Role Britain?

Which role Britain: co-chairman or cat's-paw? This is the question posed to Whitehall at a moment when Laos and all Indo-China are threatened with enlarged U.S. aggression.

As a Co-Chairman of the 1962 Geneva Conference, Britain is responsible for seeing that the agreements are upheld and Laotian independence, peace and neutrality respected. Yet, London kept its mouth closed when Washington engineered the Vientiane coup and plotted to break up the Laotian National Union Government.

When, however, fighting broke out in the Plain of Jars because the neutralist armed forces revolted against the U.S. scheme, Butler, the British Foreign Secretary, suddenly found his tongue and blamed the Neo Lao Haksat. He even called on the Chinese Government "to use its influence" with the latter. Also, instead of restraining Washington from enlarging its aggression against Laos, Britain went on record to support its military flights over the Laotian liberated areas. While the majority

of the Geneva conference participants rejected the American-proposed Vientiane "consultations," London backed the idea (see page 11).

Not content with turning a blind eye to American violations of the Geneva agreements, the Conservative government tried to protect the real culprit by attacking the Neo Lao Haksat and the Viet Nam Democratic Republic. On May 30, London called on the Soviet Government, another Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, to join it in condemnation of both for "violating" the Geneva agreements. The letter was sent to Moscow after a London communique on talks between Butler and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Bundy had stated that "there was complete understanding between the two sides on the gravity of the situation in Laos and on the various courses open to us in trying to restore it."

AP, reporting on the London talks, noted that "Butler, eager to retain American support for Britain's stand on Malaysia, made a concession to the U.S. point of view." If this is so, it is poor barter. For, while Britain forfeits its role as a bona fide co-chairman, the backing it gets from Washington is fictitious. Washington, it will be remembered, lends support only to get its finger into the pie. As it ousted France from Indo-China, so will it try to oust Britain from the neo-colonialist "Malaysia."

African Liberation Day

Rededication

From Algeria to the Congo, from Dakar to Dar es Salaam, Africa rededicated itself on May 25, Liberation Day, to the cause of completely emancipating the continent from colonial rule. A year ago the heads of independent African states, meeting in the Ethiopian capital for the final session of their summit conference, signed the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.). Its anniversary was designated as African Liberation Day to be observed annually from 1964.

Out of the 59 countries and regions in Africa, 34 have achieved inde-

pendence, and the task before the O.A.U. is to help the remaining 25 forward to the same political goal. Northern Rhodesia is scheduled to become independent on October 24 and will take its place in the newly awakened continent as the Republic of Zambia. The people of other colonial countries, notably those under Britain and Portugal, have yet to regain their nationhood. But a sustained struggle, an armed one in several cases, is shaking the last citadels of colonial tyranny.

On African Liberation Day expressions of solidarity went out to the freedom fighters in Angola and Mozambique and elsewhere. Support was again pledged for the intrepid men and women braving the fascist terror of apartheid in South Africa. The keynote was that *uhuru* would not come on a silver plate, it must be fought for.

In the case of the countries which have become independent, stress was laid on a "second-stage struggle for economic independence." It was a necessary reminder, for though forced to quit the scene politically, the colonial powers still have their economic tentacles outstretched. And waiting in the wings where it is not already making inroads is U.S. imperialism anxious to secure control. To preserve their national independence the African countries must endeavour to stand on their own feet economically.

The prospects of revolutionary struggle look brighter than ever for those in Africa who are today still in shackles. In the Congo, for instance, where the armed struggle is spreading like a forest fire the patriots have liberated large areas from the hands of those who have sold out to the U.S. interventionists. And the uprising of the garrison in north Katanga two days after African Liberation Day is a warning to the United States and its hirelings, Aduala and Mobutu, that they are in for more severe jolts.

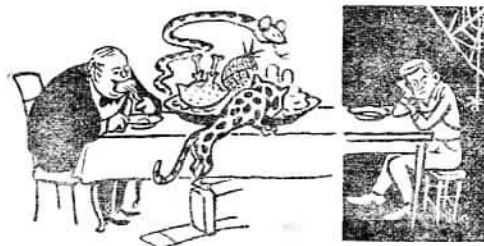
The emancipation struggle in Africa may run into rough weather before the final dawn but the people — in the Congo, Angola and other

The Whole Works

Art viewers in the West who complained that they could see nothing but splashes and dribbles in "modern paintings" are now confronted with — solid objects. A recent exhibition in London of painter Robert Rauschenberg of Texas and New York included, according to the British *Observer*, old books and socks, trouser-legs, bits of wire, bottles, clocks, ladders and a stuffed chicken. In one "picture," there was a real bed, painted over, and, in others, electric lights and blaring transistor radios.

Pets Before People

In the United States, where even officials admit that more than 9.3 million families living on incomes of less than \$3,000 a year are poverty-stricken, the moneyed minority spent over \$3,000 million dollars last year on pets! *Newsweek* reports that although cats and dogs remain the most popular, among the wealthy the "trend is much more towards the exotic and even the bizarre." The latest status symbols: boas (\$35 to \$65 each), ocelots (\$150) and lion cubs (\$500).



regions — have grown strong with fighting. As they observed African Liberation Day they could look back over a year of glorious achievement since Addis Ababa.

Afro-Asian Solidarity

Telling Brundage Off

A.D. Touny, President of the U.A.R. National Olympic Committee, reaffirmed on May 25 the U.A.R. decision, taken along with other Arab countries, to boycott the Tokyo Olympic Games should the International Olympic Committee continue to bar Indonesia from taking part.

The day before, Avery Brundage of the United States, the I.O.C. President, had again attacked Indonesia in Tokyo for upholding Afro-Asian solidarity and the national honour of Indonesia in 1962 when it did not allow the Chiang Kai-shek gang and Israel to participate in the Fourth Asian Games.

Talking tongue in cheek Brundage said, "Sports should be entirely free from politics." This is the man who manipulates the I.O.C. in the inter-

ests of U.S. imperialism which wants GANEFO contestants disqualified from participation in the Tokyo Olympics.

R. Maladi, Indonesian Sports Minister, declared in Tokyo the same day that Indonesia would wage a resolute struggle against the International Olympic Committee until it lifted its suspension of Indonesia. He said it was necessary for Indonesia to "fight against such international sports organizations as the International Amateur Athletics Federation and the International Swimming Federation for having disqualified athletes who have taken part in GANEFO."

Maladi's statement demonstrated afresh the spirit of "Onward! No Retreat!" — GANEFO's resounding slogan. The decision taken by the 13 Arab countries to make a common stand with Indonesia shows that Afro-Asian solidarity asserts itself, too, in the field of international sport where the United States is doing its utmost to maintain control. It is a proof that faced with imperialist pressure and threats the new emerging countries of Asia and Africa can stick together.

HANDICRAFTS

Toys Old and New

China has millions of small fry and the toy industry developed to keep them happy, entertained and instructed is becoming a big one. It ranges from the metal and plastic marvels of modern industrial production to miracles made out of clay.

In Shanghai or Peking children's shops or big department stores you can get sophisticated Chinese-made constructor sets, toy microscopes, space rockets or engines that spout real smoke and flame, dolls of all descriptions, tricycles and educational toys, blocks, puzzles, games and the usual colourful assortment of things to try one's gums on, cuddle or rattle. Most of these come from Shanghai's ingenious toy-making factory which does a considerable export business.

But a vast number of folk toys appear on the stalls at village fairs, in peddlars' packs on country roads or in city streets and bylanes, heralded by the traditional beating of a small gong. You will also find examples of the best of these in opulent splendour, glassed in on velvet, at museums of folk art or exhibitions. These are the toys that have all the charm of age-old historical associations; that are made of the simple stuff of folk life—cloth, straw, clay, wood or dough; that make play with ancient symbols of the people's hopes and aspirations and that are often linked with the eternal round of the seasons. These are the toys that link their

lovers to the people's cultural heritage.

Why the Grandad Rabbits that appear at the Mid-Autumn Festival? Because that is the time the legendary rabbit appears most clearly in the moon. At the Spring Festival (the Chinese lunar New Year) fire-crackers and the whole arsenal of rocketry emerge to speed out the old and welcome in the new. That is also the time of lanterns (the traditional Lantern Festival falls on the 15th of the first lunar month) in the shape of flowers, fish, birds, animals, and a score of other forms of paper or silk, ice or glass. It is the time, too, for kites to sail in the spring winds—hawks, monkeys, butterflies, birds. At the Dragon-Boat Festival in June rag tigers appear—big as a child's pillow, small as a thumbnail on tiny shoes or headgear.

Chinese children are fascinated especially by the sight of the craftsmen who make toys in front of their eyes. Some make astonishingly life-like grasshoppers, spiders and praying mantises out of straw—so true to life that placed in a shrub you would not at a glance know they were not the real thing. Then sometimes they let their imagination soar and turn out dragons twisted round a pole or stalking proudly in air.

The dough-figure makers are famous. They have demonstrated their art at overseas exhibitions and trade fairs. Less well known are the men who make figures and animals out of sugar candy. The mak-

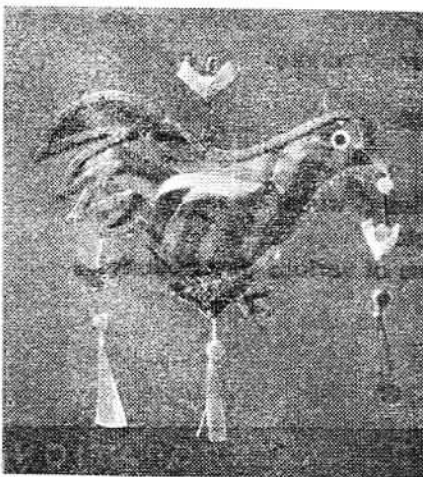
ers of the documentary *Early Spring* were so fascinated with one that they hid their camera in a haystack to catch a whole sequence of sugar-candy modelling and a crowd of child admirers.

Some folk toys are intensely "practical" as well as decorative. The folk artists of Chiahsing County, Chekiang Province, are famous for their clay cats. They are so real that mice are scared of them . . . or so it's said.

SHORT NOTES

Back From Rural Areas. Peking's second contingent of rural cultural work-teams, organized by Central Government ministries and people's organizations, have returned to the capital after more than four months in the countryside (see *Peking Review*, No. 2, 1964, p.26). The 170 leading cultural workers who formed the teams were helping to promote socialist art and culture in the villages. They also gained fresh inspiration and material for their own creative art there and composed more than 80 songs, wrote 23 plays and operas, and made over 1,300 paintings, woodcuts, and sketches.

China Wins Marseilles Championships. The Chinese national basketball team won the Marseilles international women's basketball championships (May 29-31) after defeating the teams of France, Hungary and Rumania. Li Shih-hua, captain of the Chinese team, was awarded the prizes for "best player" and "highest scorer."



Rooster (wheat straw and sorghum stalks)



Monkey Sun Wu-kung (stuffed cloth)



Doll (clay)

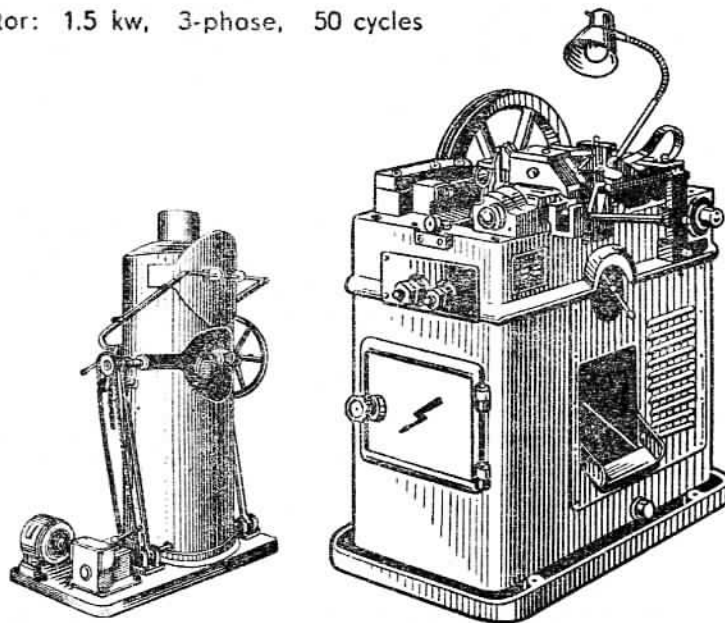
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