

PEKING REVIEW

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

The Revolution of 1911

by Wu Yu-chang

The Revolution of 1911 failed in its deeper purpose – to establish a bourgeois democratic republic – but it did overthrow the age-old feudal monarchy in China. Wu Yu-chang, author of this book, is a Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He tells about that revolution from the inside as a participant and analyses it with deep insight and a wealth of facts. Especially enlightening are his answers to such questions as: What were its causes? What were its achievements and how and why did it fail? What part did the people play in it? This book will help the reader to a deeper understanding of the great democratic revolution in China's history.

Illustrated with photographs

Hard Cover

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Coming Shortly!

From Emperor to Citizen

—The Autobiography of Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi

From Emperor to Citizen is the autobiography of the man who was the last emperor of China, later, puppet emperor of "Manchukuo," Japanese imperialism's pseudo-state in China's Northeast.

The author gives a vivid picture of the last, decadent days of the Ching court. He reveals how, after the overthrow of the dynasty, he and other feudal forces plotted with foreign powers to restore the monarchy, and how he ended up as the Japanese imperialists' puppet ruler. After describing his life during this period, he tells how he came into the hands of the Chinese people's government, and gives a lively account of his remoulding through labour and study, relating how his thinking changed. The final chapter tells about his new life since his pardon as an ordinary citizen of People's China.

About 350,000 words long and profusely illustrated, *From Emperor to Citizen* will be published in English in two parts. The first will be out in August.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

July 3, 1964 Vol. VII No. 27

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The Ministry of Public Security issued a communique on June 29 announcing the putting out of action of another nine groups of armed U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents, totalling 74 men.

• Vice-Premier Chen Yi, commenting on the Laotian situation on June 24, declared that the Chinese people "absolutely will not sit idly by while the Geneva agreements are completely torn up and the flames of war spread to their side."

• The Foreign Ministry, in a note to the Indian Embassy on June 26, protested against the recent visit of a delegation of members of the Indian Parliament to China's Taiwan Province and its unbridled anti-Chinese activities there.

• The Malian government delegation led by Jean-Marie Kone left Peking on a tour of east China.

• The Chinese people expressed solidarity with the Korean people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. A Peking rally on June 25 marked the 14th anniversary of the Korean people's war for the liberation of their fatherland.

• The Chinese press published:

— the Japanese Communist Party's statement of June 20. It stresses that a conference of all Communist Parties should be held to uphold genuine unity and not to bring about a split.

— a communique of the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party which decided to organize a union of the working people in agriculture to promote the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

Chairman Mao Sees Vietnamese Dance-Drama

The three-act Vietnamese dance-drama *Flames of Nghe-Tinh*, performed by the song and dance ensemble of the General Political Department of the Viet Nam People's Army, has had a most successful run in Peking. Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders saw it on the evening of June 25.

When Chairman Mao and the other leaders entered the auditorium with Hoang Bac, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Vietnamese Embassy in China, and Lieutenant-Colonel Pham Hong Cu, head of the ensemble, the audience gave them a standing ovation.

After the show, Chairman Mao went on stage and warmly con-

gratulated the Vietnamese dancers on their fine performance.

Chou En-lai Fetes Indonesian Comrades

Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on June 29 gave a banquet in honour of a delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party led by Jusuf Adjitorop, Member of the Political Bureau and Deputy Head of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

The Indonesian comrades arrived in Peking on June 27 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to pay a visit and acquaint themselves with the work of Chinese institutes of higher learning. They were greeted

at the airport by Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and other responsible officials of the Party and Government.

"One China, One Taiwan" Plot Denounced

Avery Brundage, President of the International Olympic Committee, in his recent talk in Tokyo with Hideji Kawasaki, President of the Japanese Dietmen's League for the Promotion of Sports, stated that the I.O.C. recognized the existence of "one China and one Taiwan." This preposterous formula shows that Brundage, acting as an agent of U.S. imperialism, is once again trying to saddle international sports with a political scheme that is simply a revamped version of the old U.S. plot to create "two Chinas."

The All-China Athletic Federation issued a statement on June 21 denouncing this attempt. It recalls that Brundage, abusing his authority as President of the I.O.C., has for years carried out in world sports the U.S. imperialist policy of hostility towards New China, and defended and pushed the U.S. imperialist plot to create "two Chinas." "However," the statement points out, "Brundage's disreputable activities to exclude the People's Republic of China and to create 'two Chinas' in world sports have been rejected and censured by all fair-minded sportsmen and peoples of the world."

Taiwan was restored to China after Japan's surrender. Even the United States Government has publicly recognized Taiwan as "part of China." "Brundage's talk about 'one China, one Taiwan' is sheer nonsense and certainly cannot change the facts," declares the statement. "On the contrary, he reveals himself all the more clearly as an imperialist agent in international sports whose job it is to carry out the political schemes of the United States."

Malian Guests Tour China

The Malian government delegation led by Minister Jean-Marie Kone, which arrived on June 19, left the capital on June 25 for a visit to east

China. They were accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Tseng Yung-chuan. Over 1,000 Peking citizens gave them a warm send-off at the airport.

During their stay in Peking, Minister Kone and members of his delegation met Chinese leaders. Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi received them and had a cordial and friendly conversation with them on June 24.

On the eve of their departure, Malian Ambassador to China Birama Traore gave a banquet in their honour. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien were among the guests. The Malian Ambassador, in his banquet speech, stressed the importance of African unity and Asian-African solidarity which, he said, "are our most effective weapons in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his reply, noted that the Malian government delegation had held frank and sincere talks with Chinese leaders. He said: "This is another indication of the steady strengthening of the friendly co-operation and comradeship-in-arms between our two countries." The Vice-Premier also spoke of the grave situation in Indo-China.

Minister Kouyate in Peking. Seydou Bandian Kouyate, Minister of Development of Mali, arrived in Peking on June 25 after attending the Asian Economic Seminar held in Pyongyang. He was the guest of Chairman of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries Fang Yi who entertained him that evening at a banquet. On June 26, Premier Chou En-lai met Minister Kouyate and had a friendly talk with him. On June 30, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received the Malian Minister.

Chinese and Zanzibar Youth Stand Together

"The biggest menace facing the independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America is new colonialism headed by the United States," says the youth of China and Zanzibar in a joint statement signed on June 21.

Both hold that "the most important task is to continue to strengthen the fight against imperialism." The statement was signed by the Zanzibar and Pemba Afro-Shirazi Youth League and the delegation of the All-China Youth Federation at the conclusion of the latter's visit to Zanzibar.

In the statement, the Chinese delegation hailed the Zanzibar revolution of January 12 and declared how deeply impressed it was by the enthusiasm of the Zanzibar people and youth in fighting against imperialism and colonialism and in building a new Zanzibar.

On its part the Zanzibar and Pemba Afro-Shirazi Youth League condemned U.S. imperialism for its "two Chinas" plot and stressed that the legal rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be restored.

Both signatories reaffirmed their support for the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in opposing imperialism, old and new colonialism and in winning and safeguarding national liberation.

Hailing the victory of the revolutions won by the Chinese and Zanzibar peoples, the statement said that "it proved the truth that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers before a people who have the will to fight. China and Zanzibar have also proved that all the oppressed peoples can liberate themselves from imperialism, which is armed to the teeth, only by resorting to armed force."

The statement also supported the convening of the Afro-Asian youth conference initiated by the Indonesian youth.

National Pediatrics Congress

Peking was the venue of the Sixth National Congress on Pediatrics which closed last Tuesday, June 30. For a week 250 workers in pediatrics from all over the country, including many well-known experts, discussed how to protect and promote the health of New China's children. They reviewed major achievements in this field during the eight years since 1956 when the fifth congress was

(Continued on p. 22.)

A Great Revolution on the Cultural Front

Following is a translation of an editorial published by "Hongqi" in its June 30 issue (No. 12). Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE reform of Peking opera is a major event. It is not only a cultural revolution but also a social revolution. The reform which began with the current festival of revolutionary Peking opera on contemporary themes held in Peking and the further revolutionary measures that will follow in drama, *quyi*, film, literature, music, dancing, fine arts and other literary and art fields, are an important component of China's socialist revolution in the field of culture and ideology.

Many revolutionary plays on contemporary themes have been performed in the current festival. Their ideological content is generally good, some very good. They create many brilliant images of heroic people, and make certain innovations in the acting, thus bringing into full play the remarkable traits of Peking opera. In order to successfully stage revolutionary operas on contemporary themes, a number of actors have exerted great effort in going among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers; many of them are getting ready to do so. All this shows that under the brilliant guidance of Mao Tse-tung's ideas on literature and art, revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes have taken a first step forward in educating and influencing their audiences with socialist and communist ideas. We should congratulate Peking opera circles for their successes.

A Serious Class Struggle

As early as 1942, Comrade Mao Tse-tung already pointed out: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." He also said: "... all our art and literature are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers. . . ."¹ Serving the workers, peasants and soldiers is a direction from which we will never swerve. For socialist literature and art to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers they are required to serve the socialist revolution and socialist construction

¹ Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, 3rd revised English edition, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, pp. 15, 23.

and to struggle for the elimination of the exploiting classes and their ideological influence. In the field of literature and art, theatrical art is one of the art forms which has a particular mass character. Peking operas have a vast number of devotees and audiences. Therefore, like all other literary and art forms, what kinds of ideology are to be used to educate the masses and what sentiments are to be aroused to influence them is a vital question of principle for Peking opera.

The socialist system shows an incomparable superiority over all systems of exploitation in history. It abolishes private ownership and establishes public ownership of the means of production, eliminates the system of exploitation of man by man and establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat; under the socialist system the people become masters of the state. However, a socialist society is still a society with classes and class struggle. In the entire historical period from socialism to communism, there still exists the struggle between two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as well as the struggle between two roads, the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. The general law of history is that the proletariat will eventually triumph over the bourgeoisie and socialism will finally defeat capitalism and enter communism. Nevertheless, during the historical stage of socialism, class struggle has its ups and downs and the danger of capitalist restoration exists. Capitalist restoration may take the form of violence or the form of "peaceful evolution" or a combination of the two. Besides using violence, the imperialists, the landlords and the bourgeoisie often attempt to resort to a "sugar-coated poison" policy in the hope that socialism may gradually and imperceptibly degenerate into capitalism through revisionism. To this end, they always try every possible way to wrest the ideological position from the proletariat so as to spread the influence of reactionary political ideas and the bourgeois way of life, to poison and whittle away the Communists, the proletariat and other revolutionary people and to prepare conditions and pave the way ideologically for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

This is a serious class struggle.

In this struggle literature and art are an important position to be contended for, and the theatre, which is an important branch of literature and art, is no exception. From the literature and art of modern revisionism represented by Khrushchov, its theatre in-

cluded, we have already seen how the revisionists lavishly disseminate the bourgeois theory of human nature, humanitarianism, pacifism and so on and so forth, how they do their utmost to oppose revolution, attack the dictatorship of the proletariat and besmirch the socialist system; they bring in the rotten and degenerated "novel" art of U.S. imperialism, give publicity to the American way of life and poison the masses in the socialist countries, particularly the younger generation, with all sorts of things that are decadent, debauched and reactionary so as to corrupt them mentally and morally and sap their will power. Modern revisionist literature and art are such that they extinguish and blunt the revolutionary will of the masses, meet the needs of imperialism, serve the imperialist policy of "peaceful evolution" and the cause of restoring capitalism.

Therefore, in a socialist society, which class has seized the ideological position of literature and art and what kind of ideology they propagate not only involves the question of whether or not literature and art are themselves revolutionary in nature, but the question of whether or not they have a future for development. Moreover, they also involve the question of whether or not socialist political institutions and their economic base can be consolidated, whether or not they can develop and whether they will degenerate. If literature and art in our socialist society, instead of propagating the proletarian ideology, instead of warmly bringing out the revolutionary spirit of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and the noble quality of the heroes in the new era, disseminate capitalist and feudal ideas, then they are not socialist literature and art at all. Because the reactionary and decadent ideas they propagate seriously corrupt the masses, especially our younger generation, they cannot but become a boon to the capitalist and feudal forces. There is not the slightest doubt that we absolutely cannot tolerate such literature and art that break from socialism and oppose socialism.

"Weeding Through the Old to Let the New Emerge" — Policy for Peking Opera Reform

With the development of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, it is necessary to further deepen the socialist revolution in the political and ideological fields. It is also necessary for the theatre, as a component part of the superstructure, accordingly to make as its primary task fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology, propagating socialism and communism, and serving socialism directly. This makes it imperative for the art of Peking opera to carry out reforms according to the policy of "weeding through the old to let the new emerge." What is meant by "weeding through the old to let the new emerge"? It means to weed through the old, that is, capitalism and feudalism, to let the new, that is, socialism and communism, emerge. Not only should there be new contents compatible with the era of so-

cialism, but also new forms compatible with the era of socialism. Revolutionary operas on contemporary themes depicting contemporary life of struggle with new creations both in form and content must have the main place on the Peking opera stage; they must have the main place on the stages of other theatrical arts as well. Only in this way can our theatre and stage, which is an important ideological position, really become an ideological position of the proletariat.

Since time is on the march, there must be corresponding changes in the content of literature and art. It is inconceivable that a stage dominated by emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, talented scholars and beauties can serve the militant task of "fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology." Though there exist, in varying degrees, progressive ideas in certain traditional plays, they fall far short of the needs of the masses of working people and are far from adequate in educating the people in socialist ideas. As to those bad plays containing feudal dregs, they are harmful and must be resolutely discarded. Some time ago, some people advocated the staging of a great many operas about ghosts; they patronized demons and spirits and advanced the so-called theory of "no harm in having ghosts" in apology for these ghost operas which spread feudal superstitions. This is extremely harmful, a reflection of the attacks on socialism in literature and art launched by the bourgeoisie and the feudal forces. It is very detrimental to raising people's political consciousness and to the consolidation and development of socialist institutions. Literature and art disseminating feudal and capitalist ideas can by no means serve proletarian politics and the economic base of socialism; they will only play an obstructive and destructive role.

Here, we raise a sharp question. In the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie and in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, on which side do our literature and art stand? Do they reflect the ideas and feelings of the working class, the poor and the lower-middle peasants, or do they reflect the ideas and feelings of capitalist and feudal forces? Do they serve the workers, peasants and soldiers who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, or do they serve the handful of exploiting class elements? Do they follow the Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art which Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward years ago, or do they follow the revisionist line? It should be pointed out that, on the literary and art fronts in our country, some of our comrades have really solved this question while others have either not or not quite solved it.

China's socialist revolution and socialist construction now have a history of 15 years; the working people in our country have created historic miracles on all fronts. Some literary and art workers, however, do not see this at all and have no enthusiasm for it; they are either simply unwilling to praise and depict that struggle or have not done it well. On the contrary,

they are absorbed in capitalist and feudal culture, they still hide themselves in an "ivory tower," they stubbornly refuse to go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and into the heat of the struggle. Their innermost soul is still a domain of the bourgeoisie; they ceaselessly and stubbornly try to express themselves in an attempt to remould the world according to their own world outlook. Among them a handful have begun to decay and degenerate. Some of them, indeed, have stood on the side of the exploiting classes from the very outset. Such a state of affairs cannot be tolerated and must be changed.

In the wake of the development of socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country, a revolutionary mass cultural movement has arisen. Revolutionary drama, revolutionary songs, revolutionary dances, revolutionary films, revolutionary poetry, revolutionary novels, and revolutionary fine arts are urgently needed. In these fields a start has already been made by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. The masses of the people are using revolutionary literature and art to destroy reactionary literature and art. In these circumstances, what should be the attitude of our writers and artists? Some comrades are beginning to go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to carry out the cultural revolution together with the masses of the people. In this way, taking on a completely new aspect with buoyant vigour, they use the weapons of literature and art to reflect the life of struggle for socialism, to serve socialism, and so have been welcomed by the masses; and in winning ideological positions for socialism they have contributed their effort. This point was proved by those actors who were well received by the audiences at the present festival of revolutionary Peking opera on contemporary themes. It must be pointed out, however, that within the ranks of writers and artists as a whole, quite a number of people have still not done this. Towards such a revolutionary mass cultural movement, some people have taken the attitude of marking time, and some have even adopted the attitude of resistance. Consequently we must tell them sharply: It is necessary to carry out resolutely Comrade Mao Tse-tung's policy on literature and art, to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers, to go into the heat of the struggle, to use the weapons of literature and art to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology, expand the positions of socialist ideology and demolish the positions of bourgeois ideology. This is a task of primary importance in carrying through to the end the socialist revolution in our country.

Revolutionary Writers and Artists Must Go Among The Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

The most important and most crucial problem in revolutionizing literature and art is the revolutionizing of the writers and artists themselves. Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us: "China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time

unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle."² This is the basic path all our writers and artists must take towards revolutionization.

Revolutionary writers and artists must first of all be revolutionary fighters. Without going among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, without going into the heat of the struggle, conscientiously steeling themselves, remoulding themselves, there can be no revolutionary spirit, or revolutionary sentiments, and enthusiasm for reflecting revolutionary life will be lacking; concerning literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, serving socialism, serving the revolutionary people of the world, such people will not give it any thought and will not be able to make it their vital concern.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it: "Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the minds of revolutionary writers and artists. The life of the people is always a mine of raw materials for literature and art, materials in their natural form, materials that are crude, but most vital, rich and fundamental; they make all literature and art seem pallid by comparison; they provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other."³ It is obvious that only by steeling oneself in the struggles of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers can one make speedy and significant progress in one's creation and art. Only by so doing can one use literature and art as a weapon to educate and inspire millions to advance still more valiantly on various fronts in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Contemporary Themes Give Peking Opera New Vitality

In this cultural revolutionary movement, it is an extremely welcome phenomenon that revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes are beginning to be staged. Some people have asserted that performing such operas means the withering away and death of Peking opera as an art. Facts show exactly the opposite to be true: Because Peking opera has begun to be revolutionized and popularized, revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes have not only won praise from literary and art circles but are welcomed by people from all walks of life; not only the faithful audiences of Peking opera love these revolutionary operas, but those who formerly did not attend Peking operas very often have also become enthusiastic audiences. Thus, by staging revolutionary operas on contemporary themes, the art of Peking opera has gained new vitality and broad, new prospects have been opened. To be sure, no refined art can be created overnight, and

² *ibid.*, p.19.

³ *ibid.*, p.18.

revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes are no exception. We should not unreasonably expect them to attain perfection at one stroke, nor should we lightly discard some of the plays because they are as yet rather crude or because they suffer from certain minor blemishes. With regard to those which are correctly orientated politically and have a revolutionary ideological content, we should with an unbending will try to make them more mature and gradually improve and perfect them through repeated performances and by listening to suggestions from all sides and revising them over and over. As for those successfully staged numbers with fine content, we should popularize them all the more and raise them to a still higher level on

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Resolutely Shatter U.S. Imperialism's War Threats and Provocations

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of July 1. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

ON June 29, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman was authorized to issue the 300th serious warning against the crimes of aggression committed by the United States in intruding into China's territorial waters and airspace. Thus, U.S. imperialism has set a new record in its account of liabilities to the Chinese people.

Since September 7, 1958, the U.S. Government, in defiance of the Chinese people's repeated warnings, has constantly sent its warships and aircraft to intrude into China's territorial waters and air for military provocations. To date, a total of 315 U.S. warships have intruded into China's territorial waters on 201 occasions, and a total of 405 U.S. aircraft have intruded into China's territorial air 233 times. This means that in the last few years U.S. imperialist military provocations against the Chinese people have averaged one every four or five days. There is scarcely any precedent in international relations in which one country flagrantly carries out provocative actions against another month after month and year after year. This criminal record proves that U.S. imperialism is the biggest lawless international gangster and the worst menace to peace and security in the Far East and Asia.

U.S. Policy of Hostility to China

This criminal record also proves that U.S. imperialism insistently wants to be the enemy of the Chinese

the basis of popularization in the spirit of stopping at nothing short of perfection.

The socialist cultural revolution is a great and arduous long-term task. Party organizations everywhere and departments in charge of literature and art must attach great importance to this work, give it earnest leadership and help it to go forward in a healthy manner so as to defeat and wipe out bourgeois and feudal forces thoroughly in the ideological sphere in a planned way and step by step, and enable socialist literature and art to play their great role still more effectively in the three great revolutionary movements—the class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation.

people to the end. U.S. imperialism has all along pursued a policy of hostility towards the Chinese people. It occupies China's Taiwan Province by force and supports and uses the Chiang Kai-shek gang to harass and raid the Chinese mainland. It has built military bases around China and organized military blocs of aggression to lay a military cordon around China to threaten it with war. It enforces an economic blockade and embargo against China in an attempt to undermine China's socialist construction. It tries hard to prevent the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. It engages in aggression and intervention in Korea and Indo-China, menacing China's security. The ceaseless U.S. intrusions of China's territorial waters and air are part and parcel of its hostile China policy.

The Chinese people will resolutely fight the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war against China to the very end. However, China has at all times exercised the greatest possible forbearance and restraint in the interest of relaxation of tension between the two countries. In the course of nine years of the Sino-American ambassadorial talks, China has time and again proposed that the Chinese and the U.S. Governments first of all reach agreement of principle on two points: (1) the two countries coexist peacefully on the basis of the Five Principles; (2) the United States guarantee to withdraw all its armed forces from China's Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Straits. The U.S. Government not only has refused to do this, but has shown growing hostility towards China. Thus, it

completely gives the lie to its own professions of willingness to better relations with China.

Recently U.S. provocative encroachments on China's territorial air and waters have become ever more unbridled and have covered wider and wider areas. U.S. warships and aircraft have intruded into our territorial sea and airspace on as many as 19 occasions in the past two months. On June 18, U.S. military aircraft even intruded into northeast of Hokou in Yunnan Province. At the same time, U.S. imperialism has continued to direct and help the Chiang Kai-shek gang to send U.S.-made spy planes into our territorial air and dispatch armed agents to raid and harass the mainland. Since last November, the Chinese armed forces and people have brought down two U.S.-made spy planes, one U-2 and one P2V, and put out of action nine groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents. There is incontrovertible evidence of these criminal aggressions and provocations committed by U.S. imperialism. During the same period, the United States has also been busily providing the Chiang Kai-shek gang with military "assistance," turning over to them large numbers of warships, aircraft, guided missiles and other types of weapons, "helping" them train special forces, and instigating and supporting them in raiding the mainland. All these criminal acts are well known.

Aggressive Ventures in Asia

The intensified aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism against China are closely linked with its recent plans to extend aggressive ventures in Asia, and South-east Asia in particular.

U.S. imperialism has always regarded the People's Republic of China as the main obstacle to its domination of Asia. By holding aloft the banner of opposing U.S. imperialism and supporting the struggle of the peoples to win and safeguard national independence, the Chinese people have greatly enraged the U.S. ruling group. Although the latter has been carrying on anti-China activities for nearly 15 years without any success, it does not accept defeat. It imagines that one day it will be able to overthrow the People's Republic of China, once again ride on the backs of the Chinese people and then hold all of Asia firmly in its devilish grip.

Since its assumption of power last November, the Johnson Administration has completely stepped into the shoes of the Kennedy Administration and has actively pushed U.S. global strategy with particular emphasis on carrying out aggression and expansion in Asia and suppressing the national-liberation movement there. To consolidate and extend U.S. aggressive positions in Asia, the Johnson Administration has brought into full play all kinds of tactics ranging from infiltration, subversion, intimidation, and intervention to

direct armed aggression, increasingly aggravating tension in Asia and the Far East. At present, the United States is doing everything in its power to extend its aggressive war in south Viet Nam and is flagrantly committing direct armed aggression against Laos in an attempt to spread the flames of war in Indo-China. U.S. imperialism is playing an extremely dangerous game.

It is in the light of this background that the U.S. imperialist war threats and provocations against China have been most rabid of late. U.S. aircraft flagrantly bombed the quarters of the Chinese mission in Khang Khay, Laos. U.S. military and administrative chiefs from Johnson down have repeatedly made a show of force and cried out for war. Some have even openly advocated extending the aggressive war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China. The U.S. propaganda machine openly stated that the Johnson Administration was involved in "an exercise in brinkmanship that could conceivably end in war between the United States and China."

Tit-for-Tat Struggle

We would like to ask the U.S. policy-makers: What is your intention?

Do you hope to cow the Chinese people by force of arms? The U.S. imperialists should know better than anybody else that the Chinese people have never knuckled under to any threat of force. The U.S. imperialist "brink of war" policy can only frighten those with weak nerves. Your war blackmail against the Chinese people will certainly come to naught. Under no circumstances will the Chinese people change their just stand of opposing U.S. imperialist aggression and supporting the struggle of the peoples to win and safeguard national independence.

Do you intend to embark on an adventure such as extending the war? We would like to ask the U.S. rulers: Have you pondered carefully what consequences such an adventure would bring about? U.S. imperialism will only court disaster if it underestimates the strength of the Chinese people and the other Asian peoples. It will never be able to attain its aggressive aims by means of war. This has always been true and will remain true in the future.

We Chinese people have been dealing with U.S. imperialism for many years, and have had opportunities to experience and battle with all kinds of its tactics — soft or tough, real or ostentatious, covert or overt, in the form of armed intervention or in the form of the war of aggression in Korea, military provocations or the "brink of war" policy, negotiations or hostilities. We have seen through the aggressive and bellicose nature of U.S. imperialism. We have seen clearly that U.S. imperialism is outwardly formidable but inwardly

brittle. We entertain no illusions about it, nor will we be frightened by its sabre-rattling. The method we Chinese people adopt in dealing with U.S. imperialism is to despise it strategically, while taking full account of it tactically, and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it. We are consistently serious in dealing with each and every move of aggression taken by U.S. imperialism.

However fierce U.S. imperialism may be, we Chinese people will never waver in our determination to carry on the struggle. We firmly oppose U.S. imperialist provocations. We shall liberate our sacred territory of Taiwan Province without fail. Together with other peoples in Asia and throughout the world, we shall fight to the end to shatter U.S. imperialism's rabid plans for domination of Asia and the rest of the world.

China Ready to Smash U.S. War Schemes

Hsinhua Correspondent on U.S. Military Provocations Against China

ON June 29, a U.S. submarine intruded into China's territorial waters in the area south of Pinghai in Kwangtung Province. A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry was authorized to issue a new serious warning against the U.S. Government. This is the Chinese Government's 300th serious warning against intrusions into China's territorial waters and airspace by U.S. warships and military aircraft since September 1958. The Chinese people have kept in mind these crimes of aggression committed against their country by the U.S. pirates who have forcibly occupied China's territory of Taiwan.

China's 200th serious warning was issued on April 26, 1962, when a U.S. warship twice intruded into China's territorial waters in the area of Yunghsing Island of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province. In the more than two years and two months since then, a total of 57 intrusions into China's territorial waters by 54 warships sent by the U.S. aggressors have been recorded and 71 U.S. military planes have intruded into China's airspace on 72 occasions.

During this period, the U.S. Government, both under John F. Kennedy and under Lyndon B. Johnson, being adamantly hostile towards the Chinese people, has become even more unscrupulous in its military provocations against China, and extended its aggressive hands to vast areas of the country.

On October 1, 1963, when the Chinese people were celebrating National Day, a U.S. warship went so far as to intrude into China's territorial waters in the area of the Changshan Islands north of the Shantung Peninsula on a harassing mission. Recently, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial airspace over the area northeast of Hokou in Yunnan Province and reconnoitred there. The U.S. imperialists have also instigated their lackeys, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, to send U.S.-made U-2 and P2V spy planes on frequent

reconnoitring missions over northeast, north and east China.

In the summer of 1962, the United States actively instigated and helped the Chiang Kai-shek gang prepare for a large-scale military adventure against the southeastern coast of the mainland. After this plot was exposed by China, the U.S.-Chiang gang kept sending armed agents to China's coastal areas by airdrop and sneak landing. All the plans for infiltration of the mainland by armed agents were made by the U.S.-Chiang secret service organizations—the "Joint Sino-American Intelligence Centre," the "Intelligence Office of the Ministry of National Defence," and the "Special Military Intelligence Office of the Ministry of National Defence." The training and equipment of these agents and the means for their airdrop and landing were provided by the United States. Three of these armed agents, who were put out of action after parachuting into a hilly area of Yangchiang County, Kwangtung Province on December 4, 1962, and eight other armed agents, who were airdropped into a hilly area of Ling-shui County on Hainan Island, Kwangtung Province, on June 23, 1963, and were put out of action, had been dispatched directly by the U.S. Naval Auxiliary Communications Center (N.A.C.C.), an espionage organization of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in Taiwan.

In addition, the United States has on many occasions colluded with the puppet cliques of south Korea and south Viet Nam to use these areas as bases for secret landings by armed agents. For instance, the two groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents who were put out of action along the Shantung and Kiangsu coasts in October 1963 had sailed from Taiwan to south Korea and made their secret landing after resting and replenishment with the assistance of the puppet clique there.

(Continued on p. 31.)

Peking Review, No. 27

Armed U.S.-Chiang Agents Knocked Out

CHINESE armymen and civilians wiped out nine groups of armed U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents in Kwangtung, Fukien and Chekiang Provinces between November 1963 and June 1964. This dealt a resounding blow against the armed harassing activities which the U.S.-Chiang gang has been carrying out against the mainland coastal areas. The Public Security Ministry communique which announced this important victory on June 29 states that of the 74 armed agents involved, 23 were killed and 51 were taken prisoner; 11 vessels carrying the agents were captured or sunk. Five other groups which attempted to land in Kwangtung, Fukien and Shantung turned tail and fled when faced with alerted troops and armed civilians along the coast.

These have not been the first occasions on which U.S.-Chiang agents have come to grief in attempting to sneak on to the mainland. No less than 24 groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents were put out of action between October 1, 1962 and October 24, 1963. Their predecessors fared no better. After its wild scheme to establish "guerrilla bases" in the mainland coastal areas went up in smoke, the Chiang group, master-minded and supported by the United States, has since the beginning of this year fallen back more and more on the use of armed agents to carry out harassing sabotage along the mainland coasts. It counts on these activities to bolster the sagging morale of its troops. It hopes the agents' "exploits" will feed its rumour factory.

At the instigation of his U.S. masters Chiang is cooperating more closely and extensively with the puppet Pak Jung Heui clique of south Korea. He has used the latter's off-shore islands as bases for harassing and sabotage activities against the north China coastal areas.

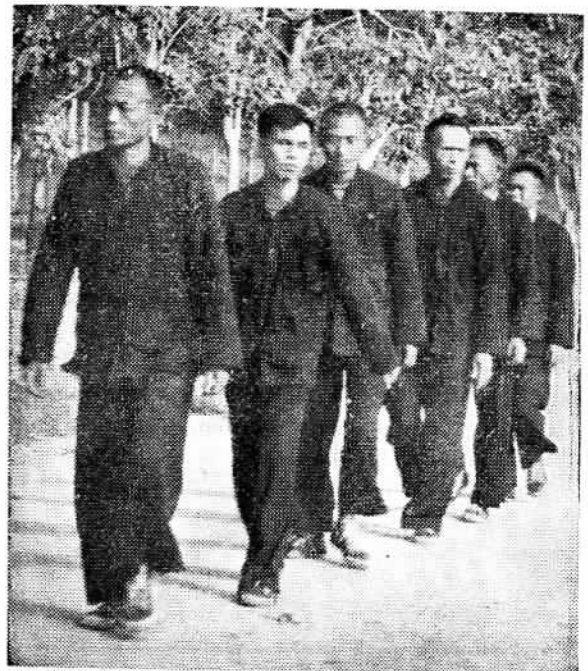
But no matter what plots the U.S.-Chiang group may hatch, they are doomed to fail in face of the

vigilance of the armed forces of the people and the civilians in the coastal areas. These men and women have displayed the staunchest spirit and increasing ability in this fight against infiltrators. In several cases, enemy agents were put out of action even before they had a chance to land. Those that did manage to get ashore soon found themselves hemmed in on all sides. The 15 agents who landed on Hainan Island early in the morning of November 21, 1963, for example, were either killed or rounded up within a matter of hours by troops and militiamen. Six, including a detachment leader, simply gave themselves up. Two of these agents landed in an area which they thought was a wilderness. It turned out to be a newly reclaimed part of a state farm. The returned overseas Chinese who worked it discovered the agents immediately after they landed and ambushed them. Another sabotage group of eight who landed a week earlier in Chekiang Province laid down their arms and surrendered without firing a shot. The fact that numerous agents gave themselves up without a fight or turned tail even before landing shows that more and more of these men are thinking twice before giving their lives for the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek gang.

However, as the communique says, the enemy will never reconcile himself to defeat. U.S. imperialism and the Chiang clique are still training agents for harassing and sabotage activities against the coastal areas of China's mainland. It is also possible that they are cooking up some new scheme. The Chinese people will maintain their vigilance and will be ready to smash any invader resolutely, wholly, completely and thoroughly.



Militiamen Chen Fan-liang (right) and his brother Chen Fan-chung forced six armed U.S.-Chiang agents who landed on Hainan to surrender



Six enemy agents after surrender

U.S. Impasse in Indo-China

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

DISASTER confronts the U.S. "special war" in south Viet Nam. Washington, while intensifying its aggression by air strikes in Laos and violating Cambodia's borders, is threatening to carry the war north of the 17th Parallel into the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. For weeks the drums of war have sounded louder than usual in Washington, and from the President on down such urgings have been thinly concealed. The Honolulu conference in early June, under Secretary of State Rusk and Defence Chief McNamara, discussed U.S. imperialist war intrigues in this part of Asia.

In a note to the Co-Chairmen and participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China dated June 25, Xuan Thuy, Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, revealed that plans hostile to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have been under study by the U.S. Government. One is the "Rostow Plan No. 6," drawn up by W.W. Rostow, head of the State Department Planning Staff, which provides for a naval blockade and air raids against north Viet Nam.

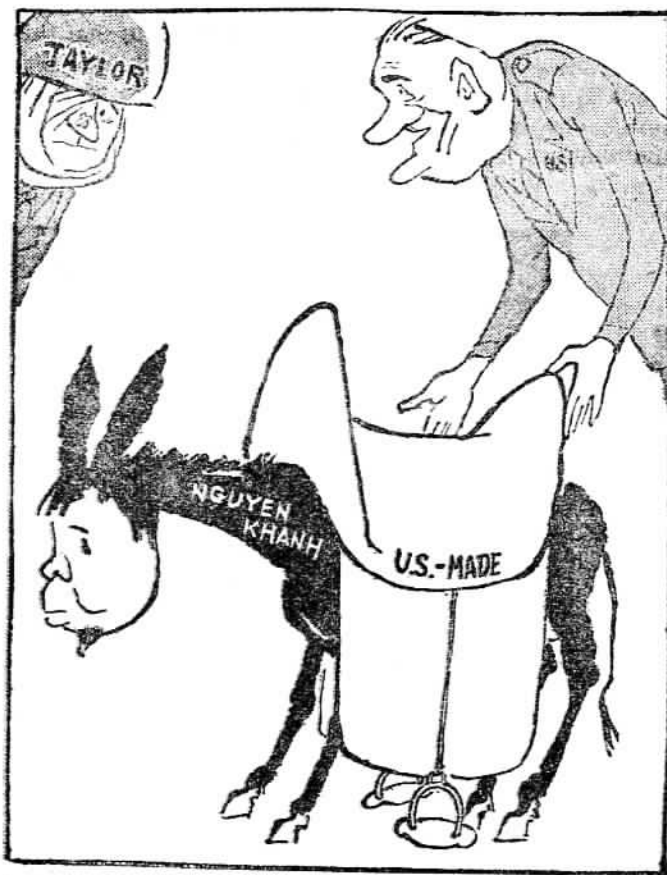
South Viet Nam is the base from which the United States seeks to spread its war to the north. There,

after years of trying to subdue the people's forces led by the National Liberation Front, Washington now finds itself disastrously bogged down, while the people's forces have been waxing stronger. These forces, whom the imperialists call the "Vietcong," have liberated most of south Viet Nam and crushed the "pacification" and "mopping-up" operations launched under the McNamara Plan. What is still more serious for the U.S. imperialists, the struggle has been carried to the cities, Saigon and Cho Lon in particular.

Developments have reached such a stage that puppet premier Nguyen Khanh, haunted by fears for his life, is reported to change his living quarters nightly. On his last inspection tour of south Viet Nam the U.S. Secretary of Defence found it necessary to don a bullet-proof vest. Incidents of bomb explosions against American and puppet troops have been on the increase. "War in Viet Nam is where you find it," complained Earle Wheeler, General Maxwell Taylor's successor as Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. "Action is as likely in your backyard as in a distant village," he admitted.

To salvage the wreckage of its "special war" and extricate itself from a precarious Laotian situation, Washington initiated new war clamours. Johnson re-organized the "American team" in Saigon and came up with a new "ambassador" when at his June 23rd press conference he announced that Maxwell Taylor had been appointed to replace Henry Cabot Lodge. In the same breath he named Alexis Johnson, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, as "deputy ambassador." Naming the top American general to an ambassadorial post, coupled with the simultaneous nomination of a "deputy ambassador" to help him, is rare, if not unique, in American history.

The new "ambassador" to south Viet Nam is no stranger in Asia. Taylor was Commander of the U.S. 8th Army under Mark Clark in south Korea in the latter stage of the war when the United States, having sustained heavy losses, was compelled to sign an armistice and call it quits. As author of the 1961 Staley-Taylor Plan which promised to wipe out the people's forces in 18 months, Taylor played a big role in working out and directing the American "special war" in south Viet Nam which now lies in ruins. His chief subordinates, Alexis Johnson and Lt.-General William Westmoreland, who has succeeded General Paul Harkins as head of the U.S. military assistance group in south Viet Nam, both saw service in Korea. All three thus were on the spot to witness the U.S. defeated in its first major war of aggression launched after World War II. This trio of old-timers in Korea are the men Washington has entrusted to push its brinkmanship vis-a-vis Indo-China and, as



Johnson: "General, don't look a gift horse in the mouth!"
Cartoon by Fang Cheng

Chinese People Will Not Allow the Flames Of War to Spread to Their Side

AT a banquet given on June 24 by the Mali Ambassador to China in honour of a visiting Malian government delegation, Vice-Premier Chen Yi once again referred to the serious situation in Indo-China and condemned the United States for openly talking of spreading the war there.

Chen Yi said, "The situation in Indo-China has become graver in the last few days. Disregarding the serious protests of the Laotian and Chinese people, the United States is continuing its wanton bombing in Laos and stepping up preparation for new military adventures in south Viet Nam. It has openly boasted that it would extend the war in Indo-China and completely tear up the two sets of Geneva agreements."

"It must be pointed out that Indo-China lies alongside China and not the United States. China is a signatory to the two sets of Geneva agreements. Let this not be misunderstood. The Chinese people absolutely will not sit idly by while the Geneva agreements are completely torn up and the flames of war spread to their side.

"We have advocated the convening of the Geneva conference," the Chinese Vice-Premier said, "and we still maintain that a conference should be held to seek first of all a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. However, should people mistake this for a sign of weakness and think they can do what they please in Indo-China, then it would be too late for them to repent."

the Western press has lately freely discussed, the People's Republic of China.

Public opinion throughout the world has condemned Washington's bellicosity and recklessness and called for the convening of the 14-nation Geneva conference to settle the questions concerning Indo-China.

Asahi Shimbun, a Japanese newspaper, wrote editorially on June 25, "One cannot deny that the U.S. Indo-China policy is bursting with the danger of bigger civil wars and provoking a new war." It called for an international conference. Only with such a conference, the paper said, could essential questions be solved. The *Burman* of Rangoon pointed out, "It is perfectly clear that the U.S. policy of provocation not only in Laos, but all over Southeast Asia, will hardly do the U.S.A. any good."

A letter in the *Guardian* of June 27 by famed British philosopher Bertrand Russell lashed out at U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia. "The renewed activity on the part of the United States in Laos, the dispatch of Marines to Siam, the bombing missions from the Philippines and the stepping up of the horrific war against the population in Vietnam," he said, "are all causes for alarm, and must be vigorously opposed." Russell added, "The recent declaration of the United States of its willingness to extend the war to China opens up disastrous prospects. . . ." Lord Russell held that "it is imperative that the fourteen nations who met at Geneva should be reconvened."

In its editorial "A Cruel and Nasty War" the *New Statesman* said, "The truth is that American policy in Laos and south Vietnam is now in a disastrous situation . . . the intervention of American bombers in this

situation could do nothing to change it fundamentally." If the United States should extend its war in Southeast Asia, the British weekly warned, then "to almost the whole of world opinion outside the U.S., it would seem both senseless and immoral and it would command little or no support from any of America's major allies, including Britain."

Five days before running Russell's letter, the *Guardian* carried an article by its correspondent David Holden just back from Southeast Asia. Washington's decision to try to salvage something from the wreck in south Viet Nam and Laos by threatening violence if necessary against north Viet Nam and China, Holden said, could only spell more risks for the U.S. The dilemma that the U.S. is facing in Indo-China is in itself "the best demonstration of the Chinese thesis that American power is a 'paper tiger.'"

What did the American press make of the Taylor appointment and Johnson's policy in Indo-China? James Reston of the *New York Times* said that the latter "wants to be ready to do whatever is necessary to avoid a spectacular defeat, and this presumably will be Taylor's first priority." The operative word here is "spectacular," for defeat is a foregone conclusion.

The *Washington Evening Star* asked: "How is China to Be Punished?" After discussing various possibilities, the paper concluded that "after Korea it is not permissible for any American to make light of what a struggle with China inevitably means." President Johnson, it said, "should know that many Americans will recoil in anger and indignation from our present course in Vietnam if it leads to a war with China." Walter Lippmann, commenting on the south

Vietnamese situation, wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune* that "there is not and cannot be such a thing as military victory" in south Viet Nam.

But what Washington is pursuing in Indo-China, in extensive bombings in Laos, in violating the borders between south Viet Nam and Cambodia, and in threatening to spread the war to the Viet Nam Democratic Republic is "calculated escalation" which aggravates an already dangerous situation in Indo-China. It has directly threatened the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Xuan Thuy, the Vietnamese Foreign Minister, in his note of June 25 to the Co-Chairmen and participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference, drew attention to the dangerous developments in south Viet Nam and called on them to take firm and timely action to compel the United States to stop its provocations and subversive activities against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, end the war of aggression in south Viet Nam, withdraw

all U.S. troops, military personnel and arms and leave the people of south Viet Nam to settle their own affairs themselves.

In an earlier statement the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry condemned the U.S. bombing of the Laotian liberated areas and the Vietnamese and Chinese economic and cultural missions in Laos and appealed to the signatories of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos to take the necessary steps to check U.S. armed aggression and bring about an early convocation of the 14-nation conference to ensure the complete implementation of the Geneva agreements.

Despite worldwide protest and condemnation, including voices raised in the ranks of their allies, Johnson and his strategists are noisily hell-bent on brinkmanship in Southeast Asia. Pushing towards the edge, they have brought on increased tension in Laos and have added fuel to the U.S.-kindled war flames in Indo-China.

Solidarity With the Korean People

U.S. Imperialism Must Quit South Korea

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

ON June 25 Peking commemorated the 14th anniversary of the war of liberation which the Korean people fought to defend their country against Yankee imperialism. With this mass rally, "Support the Korean People's Struggle Month" began in China, in response to the call of the Algiers session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council earlier this year. Starting from June 25, the month of solidarity will continue until July 27, the 11th anniversary of the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement. Such solidarity meetings were also held in many countries in Asia and Africa where the schemings of U.S. imperialism, no less than its more overt acts of aggression, are recognized as threats to world peace.

The Peking rally, attended by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, voiced firm support for the Korean people in their struggle for the withdrawal of the U.S. aggressive forces from south Korea and the peaceful unification of their country. The chief speakers were the well-known writer Mao Tun, who is Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and Pak Se Chang, the Korean Ambassador to China.

Mao Tun reviewed the sequence of events following the war of aggression unleashed by the Truman Administration 14 years ago to subdue the whole of Korea and to strangle New China in its infancy. The great victory won by the Korean people over the most power-

ful imperialist country, he pointed out, made an important contribution to the cause of peace in Asia and the world, besides safeguarding their own democratic people's republic and China's security. It exploded the myth of the "invincibility" of U.S. imperialism and has remained a great inspiration to all oppressed nations and peoples, heightening their confidence in finally triumphing over imperialism and winning freedom and liberation for themselves.

Ambassador Pak Se Chang paid tribute to the Chinese People's Volunteers who came to the aid of the Korean people in their hour of trial. He said that such proletarian internationalism will shine for ever in the annals of the liberation struggle of the world's people. The historic victory won in that war, the Ambassador added, proved that for all their modern weapons of mass destruction, the imperialists could not subdue a people determined to fight for a just cause. Referring to the situation in south Korea where the United States has kept an occupation army despite the Armistice Agreement, the Ambassador said the people in both north and south Korea would close their ranks and wage a resolute struggle to drive U.S. imperialism out of south Korea and bring about the reunification of their fatherland.

Great Changes

In the 14 years since the day the United States crossed the 38th Parallel to launch its war of aggres-

sion against the north, great changes favourable to the people's struggle have taken place not only in Korea itself but in the world at large. Under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Marshal Kim Il Sung, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, after overcoming almost insurmountable difficulties to heal the wounds of war, has rebuilt the northern part of the country into a thriving land.

Industrial production has increased more than 14.5 times as compared with the figure at the time of the founding of the people's republic. Last year, 1,020,000 tons of steel, 2,053,000 tons of cement and over 14 million tons of coal were produced. It has its own machine-building, electrical engineering and chemical industries and makes its own lorries, tractors, automobiles and ships. In terms of per capita consumption of electricity north Korea today ranks among the world's advanced countries. It has become self-sufficient in food, doing extremely well in agriculture, too. North Korea gives convincing proof that self-reliance is the correct and most reliable way of building socialism.

It is a very different story with south Korea. There, under the fascist rule of American stooges, both industrial and agricultural production have fallen sharply. Prices have soared, and food prices in particular. Demonstrations against the reactionary regime and its American masters have been frequent. The most recent one that began in Seoul and swept through the whole of south Korea at the end of May, though finally suppressed by the army and police, has shaken the Pak Jung Heui clique, as witness the martial law still enforced in Seoul and the promulgation of still more fascist laws to restrict the freedom and rights of the people.

But far from learning any lesson from its defeat in the Korean war, the United States has continued to use south Korea as a base for aggression and war in Asia. It keeps an army of over 60,000 men equipped with all kinds of new weapons, including thermonuclear weapons and rockets. It has built 30 airfields and turned big and small ports into naval bases. From July 1953 when the armistice was signed to the end of April this year the United States violated the agreement on 14,600 occasions, 700 violations being aircraft intrusions north of the 38th Parallel.

These provocative acts plus the repressive measures of the Pak Jung Heui clique have aroused general indignation. In a massive demonstration in Pyongyang, the capital of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, on the eve of the 14th anniversary of the Korean war the people of north Korea again demanded that the United States quit south Korea. Guests from Africa who had been observing the recent Asian Economic Seminar in Pyongyang availed themselves of the opportunity to issue a joint appeal on solidarity with the people of south Korea and south Viet Nam. Their first demand in regard to south Korea was withdrawal of all U.S. troops and personnel.

U.S. imperialism must get out of south Korea. That has become the clarion call of all who have peace in Asia and the world at heart. As *Renmin Ribao* put it in its editorial on June 25, "In order to reunify Korea peacefully and save the people of south Korea from their plight, it is imperative to force U.S. imperialism to pull its aggressive forces out of south Korea, dismantle its military bases there and put an end to its various forms of intervention so that the Korean people may reunite their country peacefully without outside interference."

The Congo (Leopoldville) in Ferment

What Lessons Does It Teach?

Following is a translation of the editorial "Hail the Triumphant Revolutionary Developments in the Congo (Leopoldville)" published in "Renmin Ribao" on June 24. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE Congolese (Leopoldville) people's struggle for national liberation continues to develop successfully. The popular armed struggle which broke out in Kwilu in the western part of the Congo in late January has spread to the eastern provinces of Kivu and North Katanga. At the same time, the people's armed forces in Kwilu are continuing their offensive. The flames of

armed struggle have also spread to Kwango Province, south of Kwilu. An excellent revolutionary situation is emerging on the vast expanse of the Congo.

The triumphant development of the revolutionary situation in the Congo proves that a radical change will take place in the revolutionary situation once the revolutionary people take up arms to meet armed repression by the imperialists and their stooges, no matter how ferocious this repression may be.

Four years ago, the Belgian colonialists staged a comeback and began armed aggression only eight days

after the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of the Congo. Taking advantage of this situation, U.S. imperialism wormed its way into the Congo and strangled the Congolese revolution by means of the "U.N. force" which is under its complete control. These hard facts forced the Congolese people to consider: Why was Lumumba murdered? Why was the independence of the Congo stifled in its cradle?

The answer is that Lumumba and the Congolese people held no weapons in their hands, while the imperialists and their flunkey Mobutu did. So the Congolese people came to realize that counter-revolutionary arms must be opposed by revolutionary arms.

In explaining how the Chinese revolution embarked on the road of armed struggle, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote: "He [Chiang Kai-shek] always tries to impose war on the people, one sword in his left hand and another in his right. We take up swords, too, following his example. We found this method only after investigation and study." Like the Chinese people, the Congolese people have also been compelled to take up swords and embark on the road of armed struggle after suffering defeat in their revolution and after investigation and study.

The Oppressed Need Armed Forces

The course of the Congolese revolution is fresh proof that so long as the imperialists and their lackeys resort to armed repression as a means of enforcing their policy of aggression and maintaining their reactionary rule, the oppressed nations and peoples have no choice but to build up their own armed forces to gain state power, independence, freedom and equality.

What is state power? State power is armed force; without armed force there can be no state power.

What is independence? Independence is armed force; without armed force there can be no independence.

What is freedom? Freedom is armed force; without armed force there can be no freedom.

What is equality? Equality is armed force, too; without armed force there can be no equality.

State power, independence, freedom and equality can be won and safeguarded by armed force and armed force alone. This is the universal law of class struggle. It is even more so in circumstances where the imperialists and their lackeys are imposing their savage rule and using armed repression.

In a word, without their own armed forces, the oppressed nations can achieve nothing and even if they succeed in gaining state power and winning independence today, they will not be able to defend themselves against armed attacks by the imperialists and reactionaries tomorrow and so will lose all their revolutionary gains.

Precisely because of this, the imperialists and reactionaries are mortally afraid of the oppressed nations taking up arms and embarking upon armed struggle to achieve their liberation. That notorious representative of the U.S. imperialists, the late John Foster Dulles, repeatedly stated that the colonial people must "bring in independence peacefully," and that it was essential "to insure that necessary changes occur in peaceful fashion without upheaval or war." The imperialists have shown such fervent love for "peace" because they want to kill others but forbid the oppressed nations to take up swords to resist.

Revolution Neither Exportable Nor Importable

The Chinese people resolutely support the armed struggle of the Congolese people and of all oppressed nations and warmly acclaim their successes. This just stand of the Chinese people has been smeared and attacked by the imperialist bloc headed by the United States. A British newspaper has recently gone out of its way to publicize the story that the Chinese are "stepping up their efforts to foment revolution in the Congo (Leopoldville)" and are supplying arms to the Congolese people.

Oh! You imperialist overlords: You are too modest! It is you who have forced the Congolese people and the oppressed nations to take up arms and it is you, too, who have taught them how to use arms. If the United States had not used the "U.N. force" to suppress the Congolese revolution with violence, there would not have been the Congolese people's armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Revolution cannot be exported, nor can it be imported. Only when the people of a country become awakened, can they drive the aggressors out and overthrow the oppressors. Of course, we make no secret of the fact that we sympathize with and support the revolutionary struggles of the peoples. The imperialist attacks on China simply demonstrate that we are right; they can never cow the people of the various countries who are rising in revolution.

There are indeed people who are supplying arms to the Congolese people's armed forces. But the irony of it is that it is not China but U.S. imperialism and its stooges that are doing this. The supply base of the Congolese people's armed forces is not in Peking but in Washington. During China's War of Liberation, the U.S. served as the supply base of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and Chiang Kai-shek was the chief of transport through whom abundant quantities of arms and war equipment were sent from the other side of the Pacific Ocean to the Chinese people free of charge and without vouchers. In south Viet Nam, the United States has been supplying arms and ammunition to the south Vietnamese people through such chiefs of transport as Ngo Dinh Diem and Nguyen Khanh. Now the United States is sending one batch of arms and equipment after another to the Congo, thanks to the transport chief Adoula who is passing them on to the Congolese people's armed forces. Are not these hard facts?

Weapons are made by men, used by men and can be seized by men. The imperialists and their hirelings are invariably defeated and wiped out by the revolutionary people with arms seized from them. This law has been tested time and again and proved infallible in the national-liberation movement.

Modern Revisionists Serve Imperialism

The modern revisionists have done their utmost to preach that "national liberation can be achieved through peaceful channels" and that "it is not absolutely necessary for the mass struggle for liberation to take the form of war." By spreading such views, they attempt to bring the national-liberation movement within the framework of their "peaceful coexistence," the purpose of which is to compromise and co-operate with the imperialists. In essence, this serves imperialism.

To cover up their true intentions, the modern revisionists have spared no efforts to assail China's thesis that the oppressed nations and peoples must oppose counter-revolutionary arms with revolutionary arms, vilifying this as "adventurism" and "Blanquism." But who has ever said that armed struggle is the only form of struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples? We have always maintained that the revolutionary people need to master all forms of struggle including armed struggle. When imperialism and its lackeys resort to armed suppression, it is necessary to defeat the counter-revolutionary armed forces with revolutionary armed forces. The modern revisionists' attacks and vilifications can only prove that they are afraid of revolutionary struggles and opposed to just wars of national liberation.

Outcome of War Depends on Man, Not Weapons

Panic-stricken in the face of the victorious advance of the armed struggle of the Congolese people, the imperialists and their lackeys—the Adoula group are trying to extinguish the flames of this struggle by military suppression. The U.S. imperialists, in particular, are deeply engrossed in training and equipping Adoula's puppet troops and airlifting them on "mopping-up" missions to areas where the people's armed forces are active. They have, at the same time, directed the "U.N. force" to take part in these operations.

That is not all. They have taken a direct hand in carrying out armed intervention against the Congolese people. Large numbers of U.S. military personnel have made their way to the Congo in disguise. American-piloted aircraft have bombed the people's armed forces in Kivu Province. Obviously, the U.S. imperialists have chosen the Congo as their first theatre of "special warfare" against the African people.

It may be safely predicted that in extending their armed aggression in the Congo, the U.S. imperialists will face the same doom it is now facing in south Viet Nam. Washington may send its aircraft, guns and new types of weapons to the Congo in large quantities

and apply the strategy and tactics of its "special warfare" there. But it is man, and not weapons, that decides the issue of a war. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." He has also said that in a national revolutionary war, "the mobilization of the common people throughout the country will create a vast sea in which to drown the enemy, create the conditions that will make up for our inferiority in arms and other things, and create the prerequisites for overcoming every difficulty in the war." That is how the U.S. imperialists have found themselves besieged by the people in south Viet Nam. They will inevitably face the same plight in the Congo.

The awakened Congolese people are invincible. There is no doubt that their armed forces will come up against not a few difficulties. But by standing up to difficulties, by relying on the masses, by uniting with all patriotic forces, building their revolutionary bases in the countryside and making full use of favourable conditions to overcome unfavourable ones, they will certainly win great victories over U.S. "special warfare" just as the people's armed forces of south Viet Nam have done.

Beware U.S. Double-Faced Tactics

While trying to hold down the revolutionary people with arms, U.S. imperialism invariably also resorts to deceit to demoralize the revolutionary people and disunite and disintegrate the revolutionary ranks. But whether it is military suppression or deception, the aim is one and the same: the smashing of the people's revolutionary struggle.

After the Chinese people defeated the Japanese aggressors, U.S. imperialism tried to pass itself off as a third party and "mediated" between the Chinese people and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. But at the very time when negotiations were going on, the United States was actively supplying the Chiang Kai-shek gang with aircraft, warships and dollars to fight its anti-popular civil war. But the Chinese people who had long seen through this treacherous plot of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys foiled it by opposing their counter-revolutionary dual tactics with revolutionary dual tactics. There is no doubt that U.S. imperialism will also resort to the tactics of deceit and cajolery in the Congo in an attempt to soften up the struggle of its people. This warrants grave attention by the Congolese people.

The situation is excellent for the revolutionary struggle of the Congolese people. The Chinese people enthusiastically acclaim the victorious development of the armed struggle of their Congolese brothers. No force on earth can subjugate the awakened Congolese people. We believe that with the resolute support of all the anti-imperialist, peace-loving people of the world, the Congolese people will surely continue to grow stronger, extend their war gains and win still greater victories. An independent, free Congo is bound to emerge like a phoenix from the flames of struggle.

For an Independent, Prosperous, New Asia

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

DEVASTATED by U.S. imperialism during its war of aggression and rebuilt by the Korean people into a modern industrial city within a few years, Pyongyang, capital of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, is a symbol of a nation's successful development of its economy by its own efforts. Recently it was the venue of the Second Asian Economic Seminar, at which the question of how to strengthen the struggle against imperialism and promote economic co-operation on the basis of self-reliance was discussed.

Attended by representatives and guests from 34 countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Australasia, it opened in Pyongyang's stately Moranbang Theatre on June 16. President Choi Yong Kun of the Presidium of the Korean Supreme People's Assembly addressed the opening session. "Without an independent economy," he said, "no nation can achieve genuine independence." He added that a people must rely on their own strength in waging the struggle to consolidate already-won political independence and to build an independent national economy.

Mrs. Theja Gunawardhana of Ceylon, Chairman of the Asian Economic Seminar Bureau, who presided, said in her opening speech that deliberations at the seminar "will open ways and means of utilizing the vast, limitless possibilities of economic co-operation among ourselves, which will, in turn, help us in our struggle for national liberation and independence." This, she added, was a vital necessity in the struggle against all forms of imperialism and colonialism and against those who were pro-imperialist.

The meeting, which lasted 8 days, heard 4 reports on:

- 1) Self-reliance and the building of an independent national economy (by Korea);
- 2) Neo-colonialism and the Asian economy (by Indonesia);
- 3) On enhancing economic co-operation among Asian countries on the basis of self-reliance in order to promote the development of independent economies (by China);
- 4) Trade relations among Asian and African countries (by Japan).

In addition, it also heard a special report on the Southeast Pacific by the New Zealand guest Rewi Alley

and reports on neo-colonialism and the African economy by the African guests, Fasso Francois of the Cameroons, Kwesi-Ghapon of Ghana and Singama Luvile of the Congo (Leopoldville).

On June 23, at the closing session, the seminar unanimously adopted a declaration (see p.20) and a resolution expressing firm support for the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and stressing the need for unity and co-operation to win final victory. The resolution also warmly welcomed the forthcoming Second Afro-Asian Conference to be held on the basis of the spirit of Bandung. Reports and speeches delivered at the seminar gave expression to the magnificent spirit of the awakened Asian and African peoples who are standing on their own feet and have become masters of their own destiny.

Neo-Colonialism Exposed

Methods of aggression by neo-colonialism were exposed at the seminar by F. Runturambi, head of the Indonesian delegation, while the African guests took U.S. neo-colonialism to task for its oppression and exploitation of the African countries. Penetration by monopoly capital is a form of neo-colonialism, Runturambi said. It further threatens the political and economic independence of the Asian countries. Opposed to plans to industrialize the economically backward countries of Asia, the imperialists press the latter to accept investment by foreign private capital for the exploitation of raw materials. While whittling down the prices of these materials, the imperialists sell industrial goods to the Asian countries at ever higher prices. In this way, they have kept the Asian countries in a state of economic backwardness and dependency. The Indonesian report listed the following characteristics of neo-colonialism: (1) Setting up puppet governments to protect its economic interests; (2) Splitting an independent country into several parts in order to tighten its control; (3) Fragmenting some countries into several smaller ones hostile to one another and forming artificial federations and borders; (4) Subversion and infiltration of patriotic nationalist governments which pursue an anti-imperialist policy; (5) Creating border conflicts among the Asian and African countries and making Asians fight Asians and Africans fight Africans; (6) Establishment of military

bases and rocket missile bases under the pretext of conducting scientific research; (7) Control of the national economy of Asian, African and Latin American countries through direct or indirect capital investment and interference in the drafting of national plans; (8) Intensified control of the financial policy of Asian and African countries and their foreign trade; (9) Perpetuation of a state of backwardness in the national economy and in the people's living standards of newly independent countries. It therefore concluded that the only way to get rid of economic difficulties created by imperialism and colonialism was to strengthen economic, political and cultural co-operation among the newly emerging forces on the basis of mutual benefit and equality.

Mr. Runturambi's report was supported by facts quoted by other delegates at the seminar. Among them was Marie de Silva (Ceylon) who recalled how the colonialists showed their true colours when Ceylon nationalized the oil companies run by the United States and Britain. The U.S. Government, she pointed out, had tried to undermine the Ceylonese economy and throw its foreign trade into confusion by stopping "aid."

Self-Reliance and Independent National Economy

Self-reliance and the building of an independent national economy were, therefore, made the first item on the seminar agenda. This undoubtedly reflected the urgent aspirations of the Asian countries. The experience of many of them and the opinions expressed by the delegates show that the development of an independent economy according to the principle of self-reliance is the basis for building up an independent, free, prosperous, rich and powerful country.

What precisely does the principle of self-reliance mean? Nan Han-chen, head of the Chinese delegation, said that it means "to rely mainly on the enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness of the masses of the people of one's own country and to rely on the internal resources and the accumulation of capital in the country, in order to expand national construction, improve the people's livelihood and develop the national economy." It also means for a country itself "to manufacture as far as possible and where conditions permit all products it needs, to master as quickly as possible the technique and experience required for the development of its economy and to train its own technical and management personnel." Self-reliance also means "to base all economic construction mainly on the foundation of a country's own manpower, material and financial resources," Nan Han-chen declared.

Nam Choon Wha, leader of the Korean delegation, pointed out in his report on self-reliance and the building of an independent national economy that it was impossible for the newly independent countries "to avoid pressure from the outside as long as the main arteries of the national economy are in the hands of foreign monopolies" and when its people "are dependent on foreign goods for economic construction and

the people's living." "Once we have an independent national economy, we can wage a relentless struggle against imperialist aggression and take a firm, independent stand in international relations," he said.

The Korean delegation leader cited a host of facts from south Korea to expose the aggressive and predatory nature of so-called U.S. aid. An economy could no more be built up by relying on the imperialists' "aid" than political independence could be achieved by relying on their "charity." He denounced the assertion that the underdeveloped countries could not solve the question of capital without relying on the surplus capital of the advanced countries as well as the claim that the imperialists would use the money saved through disarmament to help develop the economies in the underdeveloped countries. No such imperialists had ever existed, he said.

Economic Co-operation

To build up an independent national economy by one's own efforts, however, does not exclude economic co-operation among nations. Nan Han-chen in his report said that self-reliance and economic co-operation under the principle of equality and mutual benefit in fact promote each other. "Only by properly integrating self-reliance with economic co-operation will it be possible to lay a solid foundation for an independent economy and develop and strengthen the anti-imperialist forces of the Asian peoples," he said. Economic co-operation among the Asian countries means mutual support among friends who are poor. It has nothing in common with "aid" characterized by the big bullying the small, by the exploitation of others and the extortion of privileges.

Nan Han-chen recalled the eight principles Premier Chou En-lai put forward during his African tour for economic and technical aid provided by the Chinese Government to foreign countries. (see *Peking Review* No. 26, June 26, p.10) He predicted that with the steady upsurge of the national economies of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, mutual aid among them would also expand further.

Imperialist "Economic Co-operation." The imperialists, and the U.S. imperialists in particular, Nan Han-chen said, have always used "economic co-operation" and "economic aid" as instruments for furthering their policies of aggression and war and for exploiting the Asian peoples. "Through 'co-operation' and 'aid' the U.S. imperialists often control the economic lifelines of other countries, adversely affecting their national industries and impeding the development of their national economies."

"Through 'co-operation' and 'aid' the U.S. imperialists often acquire privileges to export capital, dump commodities, and grab important raw and strategic materials in other countries and ruthlessly plunder the Asian peoples," said Nan Han-chen.

"Moreover, U.S. imperialism has developed so-called economic co-operation and carried out economic ag-

gression by manipulating the United Nations or other world and regional economic organizations."

Modern Revisionist "Co-operation." "The modern revisionists also talk about 'economic co-operation and economic aid.' But they have no sincere desire to help the Asian and African countries to develop their independent national economies," he continued.

"In dealing with the Asian and African countries," Nan Han-chen said, "they sometimes provide the machinery while holding back the key units and parts; sometimes they provide equipment while withholding technical knowledge, trying all they can to make the Asian and African countries economically dependent on them. . . . They have even gone so far as to cancel aid, withdraw experts, and tear up contracts as a means of applying pressure."

In his report, Nan Han-chen put forward a six-point proposal for stimulating economic co-operation among the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

"We Asian countries," Nan Han-chen declared, "are faced with the common task of integrating the struggle against intervention, subversion and aggression by imperialism and old and new colonialism with the struggle against their exploitation, control and plunder; and of integrating the winning and safeguarding of political independence with the development of independent national economies so as to turn the Asian countries into new states, which are independent, free, prosperous and strong."

Document

Pyongyang Declaration of the Asian Economic Seminar

On the Construction of an Independent National Economy By Relying on One's Own Efforts

The Asian Economic Seminar held in Pyongyang adopted the following declaration at its final session on June 23.—Ed.

THE Asian Economic Seminar was held from June 16 to 23, 1964, in Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The conference was attended by delegates and friends from 34 countries and territories—Algeria, Angola, Australia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Cameroon, Ceylon, China, the Congo (Brazzaville), the Congo (Leopoldville), Gambia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Kenya,

Many delegates and guests spoke favourably of Nan Han-chen's report. Giving it full endorsement, Nguyen Dai of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam said that the people could not agree with those who renounced self-reliance on the pretext of its affecting "division of labour" in international co-operation or those who wanted the recipient countries to obey the orders of the giver.

Developing Asian-African Trade

Japan's Shujiro Tanaka made a report on trade relations among Asian-African countries. He stressed that to promote trade, Asian and African countries must develop independent and modern national economies, increase their volume of trade and prevent the colonialists from monopolizing the foreign trade of some countries. "We must retain control of our trade," he said.

Tanaka pointed out that even if diplomatic relations had not been established among many Asian and African countries, they should exchange trade delegations and set up trade organizations in the interests of economic co-operation.

Thus, the Second Asian Economic Seminar was brought to a successful conclusion. Hailing the Pyongyang meeting, *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial said: "The common ideal and common task of the Asian peoples is to build up a new, independent and prosperous Asia. Let us strive for this goal!"

Korea, Mali, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, North Kalimantan, Palestine, Rwanda, Somalia, South-west Africa, the Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, and Zanzibar.

In accordance with and proceeding from the age-old aspiration and common desire of the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries for winning national liberation and building free, prosperous and independent states, opposing imperialism and colonialism, we the participants of this seminar declare:

Today the furious storm of the anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolution is sweeping the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The national-liberation movement in colonies, a mighty revolutionary force of our time, is accelerating the final rout of imperialism and making a great contribution to the common cause of the world's people for peace and social progress.

The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have undergone radical changes today. In these regions a number of socialist countries and newborn independent nations have emerged, and the peoples in many countries who have won national independence through protracted, arduous and heroic struggles are attaining enormous results in building a new life.

However, the colonial system has not been liquidated completely.

The imperialists are unwilling to step out of the colonial and dependent countries. They are trying to impose the yoke of neo-colonialism upon the peoples of the newborn independent countries.

The nature of imperialism has not changed and its aggressive methods are becoming more and more vicious.

The imperialists, the U.S. imperialists in particular, are working hard to subjugate the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America by all crafty means along with undisguised aggression.

While intensifying their political and military control, the imperialists are using "aid" as a major instrument for their aggression against the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Through "aid" they attempt to seize the economic lifelines of the countries in these regions, plunder a fabulous amount of wealth and, furthermore, encroach upon their political independence. This is a typical form of neo-colonialism. We must be strictly vigilant against the imperialists and neo-colonialists using the United Nations and other international institutions for this purpose.

It is an act of hampering the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle and arresting the great advance of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to spread illusions about imperialism and induce them to pin their hopes on its "benevolence."

A number of Asian, African and Latin American countries which have reached a new stage in the development of their history are now faced with the task of fighting resolutely against old and new colonialism and building independent national economies by relying on their own efforts.

The achievement of political independence is only the first step towards the ultimate victory of the national-liberation revolution. The building of an independent national economy is one of the consecutive rev-

olutionary tasks in the consummation of the national-liberation revolution.

Independent economic construction constitutes a firm guarantee for the consolidation of the political independence these countries have already won. This enables these countries to do away with the economic one-sidedness and backwardness left over by the imperialist colonial rule and become rich, powerful and independent states with modern sciences, technology and culture. The building of independent national economies will also strengthen the economic might of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and radically change the features of the world economy.

To oppose the building of an independent national economy is, in the final analysis, an act of keeping the economically backward nations within the old framework of one-sided colonial economy and of hampering the independent states from achieving independent development and prosperity.

Because of the socio-economic conditions left over by the imperialist colonial rule, it presents itself as an important question in independent economic construction for the newly independent nations to oppose imperialism and transform the pre-capitalist relations of production into democratic ones in conformity with the concrete conditions of each country.

A correct solution of the land problem in these countries opens the way for solving the urgent problem of food and developing the rural economy in a diversified way and opens a new way for economic development.

In order to achieve economic independence in a country, the economic foothold of the imperialists and comprador capitalists who are in league with them must be forfeited. Only when their enterprises are nationalized so as to make them serve the interests of the whole nation, is it possible to develop the national economy rapidly.

For independent economic construction it is indispensable to take the path of industrialization, develop national culture and train one's own national technical cadres.

The countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are endowed with inexhaustible natural resources, and are inhabited by two-thirds of the world's population. The peoples of the countries in these regions are industrious and talented.

In building an independent economy, each country should rely first of all on the inexhaustible creative energy of its own people and should mobilize and utilize its own latent reserves to the maximum.

If we mobilize these material and human resources properly, we can overcome all difficulties and accomplish creditably the historic task of building independent national economies.

Since the concrete conditions of economic development in the Asian, African and Latin American coun-

tries are varied, there may arise certain differences in the lines and ways of building an independent national economy in each country.

Each country should solve by itself all problems of independent economic construction in conformity with its actual situation.

Independent national economy has nothing to do either with "closed economy" or "isolated economy."

The construction of an independent national economy by relying on one's own efforts does not exclude economic co-operation among nations, but rather it promotes their mutual support and co-operation.

Only when we build an independent national economy, can we also develop the relations of co-operation with other countries on a sound basis and, when given genuine aid from outside, use it effectively.

It is against the principles of economic co-operation to stress "genuine co-operation" or "aid" by words alone but in fact to use it as a means of imposing erroneous policies or as a bait for realizing one's own unilateral, narrow-minded economic interests.

Economic co-operation and mutual assistance must be based on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit, respect for sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and they must be effective technically and economically.

The peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries should closely co-operate and assist each other, frustrating the machinations of imperialism which are designed to hamper the development of trade relations between their countries.

The socialist countries in these regions have accumulated certain experiences in and laid the founda-

tions for the construction of a new society and independent national economies. And many countries have registered valuable achievements in the struggle for the independent development of their countries since they won political independence.

The countries in these regions are endowed with rich natural resources and favourable natural and economic conditions. Exchanging useful experiences, strengthening economic co-operation, and filling each other's needs will greatly conduce to the building of independent economies and enable us to counter imperialist aggression successfully.

Economic relations between the newborn independent countries, we consider, should be developed and extended through various forms and methods such as the conclusion of long-term trade agreements, introduction of reciprocal terms of trade, the stabilization of the prices of export goods, establishment of preferential tariffs, extension of scientific and technical intercourse, etc.

The peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries will further consolidate their mutual co-operation and solidarity, repulsing the splitting and subversive machinations of imperialism and its lackeys. If we fight in firm unity, we will eventually smash imperialism and colonialism.

The present conference calls upon the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries to further intensify their struggle to accomplish the revolutionary tasks of frustrating the policy of aggression and enslavement of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism and achieving social progress, uniting more closely and holding high the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and national liberation.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

held, and discussed and swapped experience gained in the various branches of medical science concerned with children. The meeting was sponsored by the Chinese Medical Association. Leading officials of government departments concerned and visiting pediatricians from Albania and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam also attended.

Dr. Fu Lien-chang, President of the Chinese Medical Association, in his opening address on June 23 described the great progress made in the past eight years in the treatment and prevention of children's diseases and in education and research work in

pediatrics. The number of hospitals for children, he told the congress, had increased from three before liberation to 27 today; in addition there were many children's health centres and pediatrics departments in the general hospitals. He mentioned some of the latest developments in Chinese pediatrics. Treatment of toxic dysentery by the application of artificial hibernation and atropin initiated by Chinese doctors, he disclosed, had cut down mortality from 30 to less than 5 per cent, while treatment of some cases of acute appendicitis with acupuncture and without surgery had proved most successful. He urged everyone present to continue their efforts and achieve still greater successes in the days to come.

Chang Chi-chun, Director of the Office of Culture and Education of the State Council, congratulated Chinese pediatricians on their contributions in safeguarding the children's health. He expressed the hope that doctors of both the traditional and modern schools would continue to co-operate closely and carrying pediatrics to new heights.

Professor Chu Fu-tang, Chairman of the Society of Pediatrics, gave a review of the progress made in pediatric work in China since 1956. After his report, papers on special subjects were read. Altogether, 680 papers were submitted, about 70 per cent of which were prepared by young pediatricians with the help of experienced specialists.

India Aids U.S. "Two Chinas" Plot

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Indian Government has deliberately taken a step to worsen Sino-Indian relations by acting as a tool in the U.S. imperialists' "two Chinas" plot.

A ten-member delegation of Indian M.P.'s, including a member of the Indian National Congress, the ruling party, went on a week's "visit" to China's province of Taiwan between June 18 and 24. It met Chiang Kai-shek and political, economic and military members of his gang. D.V. Patel, head of the delegation, openly called the gang's hide-out "free China" and asserted that "the Republic of China" and India share the same aim. When asked whether India and the Chiang Kai-shek gang would establish diplomatic relations, he replied, "Yes, of course." He added that the Indian Government's "approval" of the visit of the delegation to Taiwan was ample evidence that the relations between the two sides would be "normalized" gradually. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, deputy head of the delegation, announced that India and the Chiang gang would fight shoulder to shoulder against "the communist regime on the mainland."

Not the First Time

This is not the first time that the Indian Government, in an attempt to push ahead its anti-China policy, has actively served the U.S. imperialists' "two Chinas" scheme. Back in 1962, the bulletin of the Indian Embassy in China carried anti-Chinese resolutions passed by the Chiang Kai-shek gang's "Overseas Chinese Association in India." In its note to China of May 6, 1963, the Indian Government even used the term "mainland China." In the United States on May 27 the same year, the present Indian Minister of Finance T.T. Krishnamachari publicly advocated the "two Chinas" scheme. Less than two months later, on July 19, the then Indian Prime Minister Nehru received a so-called "Buddhist delegation" of the Chiang Kai-shek gang. Two months later, on September 20, the Indian Defence Minister Y.B. Chavan alleged in the Indian Parliament that there were "two Chinas." In late October last year, Indian Member of Parliament M.R. Masani visited Taiwan and claimed that China was the common "enemy" of India and the Chiang Kai-shek gang. On February 24 this year, speaking in the Indian Parliament, the Indian Minister of Education M.C. Chagla called the Chiang Kai-shek gang "nationalist China." Simultaneously with these hostile cries against China, the contacts between India and the Chiang Kai-shek gang are becoming increasingly frequent.

Everyone knows that Taiwan is part of China's territory. The Chiang Kai-shek gang, long repudiated by the Chinese people, has been able to maintain its precarious existence in Taiwan only because it is under the wing of U.S. imperialism. With its "two Chinas"

scheme, Washington wants to perpetuate its occupation of Taiwan so as to further its policies of aggression and war in Asia. That means that whoever follows U.S. imperialism in trying to create "two Chinas" or "one China and one Taiwan" is interfering in China's internal affairs. But the Indian Government which maintains diplomatic relations with China has gone to the length of sending a delegation of M.P.'s to Taiwan to engage in unbridled anti-China activities. This perfidious act cannot fail to arouse the Chinese people's deep indignation.

In a note dated June 26 to the Indian Embassy in Peking, the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government. This "visit," the note pointed out, "is another serious step taken by the Indian Government in following U.S. imperialist scheming activities to create 'two Chinas' as well as an open provocation to the Chinese people."

The Indian Government, while hypocritically professing that it only recognizes the People's Republic of China, has continued its collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique for anti-Chinese activities, the note added. The present "visit" of Indian M.P.'s "shows that the Indian Government willingly serves U.S. imperialism as a tool for pushing ahead with its 'two Chinas' scheme and does not scruple to violate principles guiding international relations and exacerbate the relations between China and India."

Advice to Indian Government

Reaffirming the Chinese people's determination to recover Taiwan, the note declared: "The U.S. imperialist plot to create 'two Chinas' is doomed to go bankrupt. The Chinese Government advises the Indian Government to treasure the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples, respect the elementary principles guiding international relations and immediately stop its activities of creating 'two Chinas.' The Indian Government would definitely gain nothing should it insist on following the lead of U.S. imperialism and gang up with the Chiang Kai-shek clique without regard for the consequences."

It is clear that the Indian Government's action also goes against the Indian people's desire for friendship with China and against India's interest. In a congratulatory message to Shastri on his taking office as India's Prime Minister, Premier Chou En-lai expressed his hope for the restoration and development of friendly relations between China and India on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In a talk with the press in Wardha on June 16, Shastri also expressed the view that China is India's neighbour and that "it is always better to be friendly with our neighbours." It is surely time for the leader of the Indian Government to suit his actions to his words.

Conspiracy Against European Peace and Security

Following is a translation of the June 30 "Renmin Ribao" commentary entitled "A Move That Endangers Security and Peace in Europe." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

ON June 25, the Governments of the United States, Britain and France issued a joint statement on the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Co-operation signed between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. In the statement they (a) refused to recognize West Berlin as an independent political unit, (b) refused to acknowledge the existence of the German Democratic Republic and (c) refused to recognize the existing German frontiers while persisting in their aggressive stand of "reunification of Germany" according to the so-called principle of "self-determination."

A Provocative Statement. This is a provocative statement pure and simple. It openly encourages the West German revanchist forces to annex the German Democratic Republic and encourages them in their aggressive design for territorial aggrandizement against the East European countries. It can be said that the three-power statement is exactly what West German militarism wants. It is common knowledge that these militarists are bent on incorporating the German Democratic Republic into West Germany, thence expanding eastward to build up the German Reich anew. Not long ago West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard openly expressed his intention of seizing again territories east of the Oder-Neisse and restoring German frontiers to those of 1937. The three-power statement is virtually an instrument of

ratification for the West German revanchist forces to carry out their vainglorious plan. Small wonder that following the release of this statement, the West German authorities immediately applauded in satisfaction.

Further Washington-Bonn Collusion. This flagrant connivance with and encouragement to West German revanchism is a clear sign of further collusion between U.S. imperialism and West German militarism. The United States has lately redoubled its efforts to foster West German militarist forces in all fields. Besides energetically helping West Germany's armament drive and doing its best to expand the latter's military authority in the NATO bloc, it is trying by every means to let West Germany get hold of nuclear weapons through the multilateral nuclear force programme. All this reveals that U.S. imperialism is determined to make West Germany its European bridgehead and main tool for pushing ahead its policies of aggression and war. The three-power statement enables the peoples of all lands to see more clearly that if West German militarism is to be opposed in all seriousness, one must first of all resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialists' criminal policy of active support to and connivance with West German militarism.

The people of the world must be highly vigilant about the plot of U.S. imperialism and West German militarism which threatens security and peace in Europe. They must also intensify their struggle and resolutely smash the criminal plan of U.S. imperialism to make West Germany its base of aggression and war against socialism and the peoples of Europe.

Stop This U.S. Frame-Up in Brazil

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

EVER since the nine Chinese personnel were unwarrantedly arrested in Brazil by the military coup d'état authorities, they have been illegally detained in jail. This attack on the Chinese people has been fully exposed as an international political conspiracy engineered by U.S. imperialism in collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique. It is also one of the most despicable acts of fascist persecution directed in another country by U.S. imperialism in recent years.

The military coup in Brazil took place at the end of March this year. At two o'clock on the morning of April 3, the security police of Guanabara State illegally entered the Rio de Janeiro residence of Wang Wei-chen, correspondent of the Hsinhua News Agency in Brazil, and Chu Ching-tung, a staff member. Although a search of more than eight hours failed to discover any incriminating evidence, they were both arrested. On the same day, seven other Chinese citizens were

arrested: Wang Yao-ting, Vice-Manager of the China National Textiles Import and Export Corporation, who was on a trade mission in Brazil, and two staff members; and Hou Fa-tseung and three staff members who were preparing for a Chinese economic and trade exhibition in Brazil. These nine Chinese were thrown into jail. But what "crime" had they "committed"? On the day of the arrest, Colonel Gustavo Borges, security chief of Guanabara State, who directed the searches and arrests, told an AFP correspondent that no evidence incriminating the Chinese personnel nor anything else of a compromising nature had been found.

This entering and searching of residences was already a violation of the provisions of the Brazilian Constitution which accords protection to foreign citizens. And the completely unwarranted arrest of these foreign citizens was an even more serious act of open violation of international law. The Brazilian authorities ought to have admitted their mistake and released the arrested men so that they could resume their lawful pursuits. But the nine Chinese have been detained unjustifiably for three months.

"Preventive Arrest" Belies the Charge

On May 13, more than 40 days after the illegal arrests, a Brazilian military tribunal suddenly ordered their "preventive arrest." "Preventive arrest" means arrest to prevent people from committing crime or the arrest of those who have not yet committed a crime but are likely to do so. From this it can be inferred that the Brazilian authorities have admitted that the arrested Chinese personnel have committed no crime and that the accusations made against them are groundless. Why then were these Chinese detained unjustifiably for more than 40 days? On what grounds are they now held under "preventive arrest"? This new step taken by the Brazilian authorities is obviously intended to cover up with a gloss of law the illegal detention and frame-up of the Chinese personnel. Maintaining that the Chinese personnel could not be accused of any criminal act, certain well-known personages in Brazilian judicial circles have expressed their opposition to this step.

The Brazilian authorities have announced their intention of handing over the Chinese personnel to a military tribunal for trial. The "preventive arrests" are a step to this end. This sheds further light on the fascist nature of this persecution. Trial of the Chinese personnel before a military tribunal is designed to use its arbitrary nature to deprive the accused of their right to defend themselves and to persecute them wilfully in the absence of any incriminating evidence. This makes a mockery of the rule of law in Brazil and its dignity; it makes nonsense of Article 141 of the Brazilian Constitution which stipulates that the freedom and personal security of foreigners should be protected and that no one should be deprived of any human right on account of his religious faith or political views.

The arrested Chinese went to Brazil in accordance with agreements reached between China and the departments concerned in Brazil and with the approval

of the Brazilian Government. They hold legal permits for residence issued by the Brazilian Government. Their journalistic and trading activities to promote friendship between the peoples of the two countries have violated no Brazilian law. According to universally recognized international law, every country must protect the person and security of foreign citizens who legally live in that country. Unwarranted persecution of them is clearly an act that violates international law and places a heavy responsibility on the country concerned. A coup d'etat is an internal affair of a country and the new regime, like the old, should protect the lives and property of foreign residents. The coup d'etat authorities in Brazil should assume their international obligations towards foreign citizens who legally reside in that country. On no account should they crudely violate the basic principles of international law and basic human rights and undermine the elementary trust that must be observed in international contacts; still less should they unjustifiably arrest and try innocent people. Since the arrest of these Chinese personnel, international public opinion has protested to the Brazilian authorities on an increasingly extensive scale, demanding the immediate release of the detainees. This shows that international justice brooks no violation and that persecution of the innocent will never succeed. If the Brazilian authorities insist on going their own way, things will certainly go hard for them.

U.S.-Engineered Anti-China Plot

Why, after all, do the Brazilian authorities want to persecute these Chinese in defiance of international justice? Countless facts in the past three months have shown that this act of persecution is an anti-Chinese political conspiracy engineered by U.S. imperialism. Everybody knows that it is U.S. imperialism which instigated the military coup d'etat in Brazil to overthrow the Goulart government. After the coup, the Brazilian authorities made mass arrests throughout the country. Terror reigns supreme in Rio de Janeiro. The arrest of Chinese personnel is part of the U.S. imperialists' anti-China plot. At the behest of U.S. imperialism, the Brazilian authorities have no scruples about framing the Chinese on charges of "subversive activities" and "espionage." U.S. imperialist agents in conjunction with agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang specially sent to Brazil have been plotting to get these nine Chinese personnel indicted on trumped-up charges. U.S. news agencies, the Chiang gang's newspapers and several reactionary pro-U.S. newspapers in Brazil have joined in a raucous chorus cooking up various "charges" against the arrested men. At one time, the Brazilian authorities suddenly declared that the fund being used to prepare the Chinese exhibition was actually financing "subversive activities"; next, the Chinese were accused of carrying forged banknotes with them; at another time the material used by the Hsinhua correspondent in his journalistic activities and a vocabulary used for studying Portuguese were cited as an evidence of Chinese "espionage" while the contacts between him and the press officials of the Goulart government were also regarded

as "espionage." Even a silk banner presented as a token of friendship by the All-China Students' Federation to the Brazilian National Students' Union became "incriminating" evidence. An article describing the "fire bird," an early prototype of the rocket in ancient China, was said to be an account of "designs of a rocket bomb in the shape of bird" made by the Chinese. (This article has been published in the press of West Germany, Japan, Spain, Finland, Italy and many other countries.) A list of Brazilians to be "assassinated" was fabricated with the names of Brazilian generals ticked off "to be killed, hanged, shot or drowned," as if these generals were toys to be played with. But all of these fantastically fabricated pieces of "incriminating evidence" have proved to be useless. Nobody, not even their fabricators, believes them. In an April 24 dispatch from Brazil, Kurzman, a correspondent of the U.S. *Washington Post*, wrote that although the Brazilian authorities had arrested the Chinese personnel, there was no evidence showing their "involvement" in Brazil's domestic affairs.

The activities of the Chinese personnel in Brazil are open and above board. All they did was aimed at promoting friendship between the peoples of the two countries. They have always been received in friendship by the Brazilian people. No shameful frame-up will succeed against them; nor will it do any damage to their reputation. They have waged an heroic struggle, including a hunger strike, in protest against their unreasonable arrest and the inhuman treatment to which they have been subjected. But the U.S. imperialists have not ceased their criminal acts.

May saw a new development in the persecution of these Chinese citizens.

On May 8, five weeks after their arrest, Colonel Luis Franca of the Brazilian Army Police suddenly released to the press a "letter" allegedly proving them guilty of "espionage." The following day, during a television interview, Colonel Gustavo Borges, security chief of Guanabara State, produced a "diary" alleged to belong to a Chinese named "Wang Chin"; a "pistol with a silencer" which, it was asserted, would be used to "assassinate" a certain unnamed "president"; and a uniform which appears to be so magical that whoever wears it can start a revolution. Colonel Borges declared that these were "iron-clad proofs of the subversive activities of the arrested Chinese."

Fabricated Evidence

This is a frame-up of unprecedented cynicism. When the Chinese personnel were arrested, all their belongings were thoroughly searched by the police. Published photographs show that some of them wore only a shirt and trousers while being taken to prison. Then, five weeks after their arrest the so-called "proofs" suddenly turned up. Where did they come from? Has Colonel Borges who talked this nonsense about "iron-clad proofs" forgot that he himself had admitted that nothing of a compromising nature had been found after more than eight hours' search of the

Chinese personnel by the police under his direction? We would like to ask: Isn't it too late now to fabricate evidence against these Chinese? What is more important, the Brazilian authorities have found it utterly impossible to prove that the "letter" and other things belong to the arrested Chinese.

Clearly, the various fantastic crimes with which these men were falsely charged have all proved worthless. The Brazilian authorities could produce nothing to substantiate their case, so now the special agents of the U.S.-Chiang gang have come to give them a hand by forging evidence so that the Chinese can be tried and sent under escort to Taiwan. What sort of rubbish are these items of "incriminating evidence"? Even the most cursory analysis reveals the truth.

The "pistol with a silencer," for instance, is large enough to be seen without the help of a magnifying glass. But it was found, not during the more than eight hours' search of the Chinese, but allegedly in their car more than a month after their arrest. What is this if not a frame-up? It is alleged that the pistol was to be used for "assassination of a president." But which president? President Goulart? Isn't he still living? Or President Castelo Branco? But he became president after the arrest of the Chinese. Moreover, is it possible to engage in "subversive activities" with the aid of a pistol alone? Wouldn't it have seemed more serious if Colonel Borges had planted a machine-gun instead of a pistol in the car of the Chinese?

Now take the "uniform." It is alleged that this "uniform" with its special insignia was to be worn by members of the Brazilian Peasants' League when they launched a revolution. According to the Brazilian press, the reason why it is used as "incriminating evidence" is that on the cellophane wrapper in which the uniform was packed, the names of a number of organizations are printed to "look like a sickle—a Chinese communist emblem." What a lovely fairy tale! What have the Chinese personnel to do with this uniform? How can a sickle symbolize Chinese communism? In addition, can anyone launch a revolution in Brazil just by wearing this uniform? Being a "colonel," Borges can't be too young. Why is he going in for this child's play?

The fake letter written by the U.S.-Chiang agents in Chinese was used as a principal piece of "incriminating evidence" and a photograph of it was published in the Brazilian paper *Jornal do Brasil*. This letter was forged so fantastically that a mere glance at it shows the stupidity and shamelessness of the authors.

According to the "letter," "Comrade Cheng" had worked in Brazil. He went to Switzerland in March, 1963, to meet "Comrade Wang," but failed to see him, so he left this letter in Switzerland.

Since "Comrade Cheng" had "worked" in Brazil, the following questions arise. Who is he? When did he go to Brazil? What Chinese organization did he represent in Brazil? Did the Brazilian Government

issue him the necessary visa to enter the country? Did it grant him a residential permit? Can the Brazilian authorities now produce the relevant documents?

A non-existent "Comrade Cheng," leaving a letter in Switzerland, frankly tells "Comrade Wang" to conduct "espionage activities" in Brazil—this is the fictitious basis on which the whole plot of the invented "letter" rests. Colonel Franca asserted that the "letter" was found in "an unloaded flashlight" more than one month after the arrest of the Chinese. The colonel is clearly not too well versed in making up lies! According to him, a Chinese brings a letter from Switzerland with him to Brazil, a letter which, supposedly written on March 20, 1963, proves him to be a spy. He hides it away for a year until it is found after his arrest to be used as evidence against him. Could anyone believe such a tale? This clearly reveals traces of the method customarily used by the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents in framing up innocent people: they always "obtain" the fabricated evidence they need from the victim.

Who are the authors of the "letter"? The strange style, tone and phraseology of the "letter" let the cat out of the bag. Though the photograph published in the Brazilian paper *Jornal do Brasil* only shows part of the "letter," it can be seen that it contains many complex Chinese characters no longer in use in China since the reform of the written language and several instances of the use of ungrammatical sentence structures and phrases. This is clear proof that the authors have not lived in New China and know nothing about the new habits of the Chinese people or about the use of simplified characters in China since the language reform. This "letter" thus turns out to be iron-clad proof—that the U.S.-Chiang agents have concocted forged evidence.

There is another item of "incriminating evidence"—the "diary" of Mr. "Wang Chin." Among the arrested Chinese, there is no one by the name of "Wang Chin." It is said that in the "diary" found after the arrest of the Chinese, entries ran up to April 4 this year. This means that following the arrest of the Chinese on April 3, this Mr. "Wang Chin" continued to make entries in his "diary" in prison. According to the "diary," its writer was invited to lunch with President Goulart and his press secretary, Raul Francisco Ruff. He 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 Vice-President of the Brazil-China Cultural Association of Rio de Janeiro, and Joao Etcheverry, director of the newspaper *Ultima Hora*. What is strange is that all these activities have now been listed as crimes. 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 the President lawfully elected by the people, to make social contacts with celebrities and keep in touch with the director of a large and influential newspaper!

The big political conspiracy directed by U.S. imperialism in collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique to persecute Chinese personnel through the instrumen-

talities of the Brazilian authorities has thus been fully exposed as one piece of forged evidence after another is produced.

The Brazilian authorities are attempting to frame a charge of interference in Brazil's internal affairs against the Chinese by using forgeries from U.S.-Chiang agents. But this attempt will never succeed. The People's Republic of China bases her policy on the famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and she never interferes in the internal affairs of other countries; Chinese personnel abroad never take part in the political activities of their host countries. The Chinese personnel stationed in Brazil cannot be associated with any deeds in violation of China's foreign policy of peace. The unjustifiable act of persecuting Chinese personnel cannot in the slightest impair the international reputation of New China. On the contrary it will only further expose the hostility of U.S. imperialism to China and the vile means it uses; it will do further serious damage to the international reputation of Brazil and increase its own isolation in the world.

Brazilian Authorities Face Grave Choice

World public opinion is now condemning with one voice this disgusting act of political persecution. The Brazilian authorities are faced with a grave choice. If they respect international trust and treasure the friendship between the Chinese and Brazilian peoples, they should immediately free the nine Chinese. This is what is expected of the Brazilian authorities. If they continue to serve U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek clique scorned by the whole world and, using the fantastic "incriminating evidence" fabricated by the agents of the U.S.-Chiang gang, bring the Chinese personnel before a military tribunal for trial, they will reap bitter fruit indeed. Any sentence passed by the military tribunal will be null and void. Moreover, since all the forged evidence is in fact genuine proof that the Chinese personnel are innocent and the U.S.-Chiang clique is engaged in an act of political persecution through the instrumentality of the Brazilian authorities, the military tribunal will be turned virtually into a court for trying the agents of the U.S.-Chiang gang. The Brazilian authorities will find it more difficult to save their face; they will become the target of ridicule of the world's people. Which way should they go? The Brazilian authorities should give this the most careful consideration and turn back from the wrong path.

Just world public opinion is further exposing and condemning this international political conspiracy directed by U.S. imperialism as a criminal act that shamelessly tramples underfoot the guiding principles of international law and violates basic human rights. The Brazilian authorities are called upon to cease their persecution and trial of these Chinese personnel and immediately restore their freedom to them so that the principles of international law and human rights will be upheld and international justice and truth will triumph.

Convene a World C.P. Conference For Unity, Not a Split

Statement by the Presidium of the Japanese Communist
Party's Central Committee

Following is a translation of the statement issued on June 20, 1964, by the Presidium of the Japanese Communist Party's Central Committee under the title "An International Conference of Communist Parties Should Be Convened to Achieve Genuine Unity, Not a Split." Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

I

THE present-day international situation shows that so long as the international communist movement and the socialist camp stand united on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and so long as they unite in the direction of waging unflinching struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, they will be in a position to change, to a still greater extent, the world balance of forces, making it unfavourable to imperialism and the forces of reaction but favourable to the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement and the forces struggling for peace, independence, democracy and socialism.

This is seen clearly in the incontestable fact that in south Korea, south Viet Nam, Laos, Cuba and many other parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America the people's struggles being waged against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war are rapidly gaining momentum, dealing heavy blows at imperialism and isolating it more and more.

It is to be regretted, however, that despite this, constant moves are being made feverishly to foment and aggravate disunity in the international communist movement. **Recently, the leaders of certain Communist Parties have again called for the early convening of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, and have gone so far as to declare openly that it is time to take collective measures. One is forced to conclude that these activities are aimed at leading present disunity to the point of an irreparable split.**

On the other hand, a number of fraternal Parties are against hurriedly convening an international conference now; they propose that adequate conditions be prepared before such a conference is convened.

Akahata carried an editorial on November 10, 1963, under the title: "Strive for Genuine Unity and Development of the International Communist Movement." This was published in accordance with the resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the Party's Central Committee. In this and other articles, our Party has made clear its stand that it is against the convening of an international conference which would "only make the disunity in the international communist movement and the socialist camp irreparable," but is for the "convening of an international conference when necessary preliminary consultations have been held to the fullest extent not only between the Soviet and Chinese Parties, but among the other fraternal Parties as well, and when adequate preparations have been made to ensure conditions under which international unity can be realized on a basis of principle."

But now some people talk about taking "collective measures" and even make it clear that they do not scruple to bring about a split. This is an attempt to put the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp into still greater danger and so we have to reiterate our position on this issue, proceeding from our consistent, principled stand for an international united front against imperialism and for the genuine unity of the international communist movement.

II

Our Party is convinced that under present circumstances there is increasing importance in the proposal to "convene an international conference when necessary preliminary consultations have been held to the fullest extent and when adequate preparations have been made to ensure conditions under which international unity can be realized on a basis of principle." In seeking a correct solution to the question, it is necessary to recall the course of events up to the present.

The Moscow Statement was unanimously adopted after frank and comradely discussions at the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. In spite of this, disunity in the international communist movement continued to grow and it has reached the present

complex state. This is the unfortunate result of the fact that the leaders of certain fraternal Parties have never ceased trampling upon that unanimously adopted statement.

The most important factor in the extension of disunity in the international communist movement was the public denunciation of other fraternal Parties which started less than a year after the Moscow meeting and was intensified at subsequent fraternal Party congresses. No matter what arguments are advanced, such action is clearly a crude violation of the principle laid down in the Moscow Statement: "Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations." Matters might perhaps have taken a different course if the Moscow Statement had not been crudely violated in such a way.

This is the attitude adopted by these persons: they provoked open polemics, brought political and economic pressure to bear on those fraternal Parties and fraternal countries which rejected their unjustified denunciations, and extended differences of opinion to such an extent as to worsen state relations. Then they talked about stopping open polemics while themselves continuing their attacks on fraternal Parties and fraternal countries and openly indicated that they would not tolerate the Parties under attack making replies.

Thus, when the open polemics had been started and when they had been misrepresented in the Japanese bourgeois press, and on radio and television, it was wholly justifiable under the circumstances for our Party publications to give Party members and readers a comprehensive, necessary account of the questions at issue and to present the contents of the debate independently.

However, the leaders of some fraternal Parties, while injecting their viewpoints and articles in every possible way into Japan and our Party, opposed, interfered with and criticized by every means our necessary independent presentation of the contents of the debate, particularly when we published articles which were not to their liking.

Now that the open polemics, having taken the course described above, are going on extensively on a worldwide scale and since their contents are vitally related to the defence of Marxist-Leninist principles and the unity of the international communist movement, our Party is duty-bound, as an independent member of the fighting ranks of the international communist movement, to acquaint its members and supporters independently with the contents of the debate and to take certain necessary measures in connection with these problems. We shall continue to reject firmly all unjustified interference in and criticism of our independent action.

It is in this way that certain persons have all along been trampling on principles governing relations among

fraternal Parties and fraternal countries, which are clearly stipulated in the Moscow Statement—the principles of independence, equality, mutual support, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and comradely co-operation.

Our Party has worked consistently for the genuine unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement and has always disapproved of attacks on other Parties at fraternal Party congresses. We have in general maintained a serious attitude towards the open polemics. However, **following the signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty, some foreign forces have been attacking our Party by name and interfering in our affairs. Moreover, some Parties have given open and organized support to Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and other renegades from our Party and have carried out other activities against our Party which are clearly disruptive. In these circumstances, we resolutely oppose their interference and are forced to exercise the right to reply openly to open attacks.**

As decided at the Seventh Plenum of our Party's Central Committee and as a political Party responsible to the revolutionary struggles of the Japanese people and, in part, to the international communist movement, this is our bounden duty.

III

At the present moment the leaders of some foreign Communist Parties talk about convening at an early date an international meeting to take "collective measures." What after all do they mean by so-called collective measures? Does this really accord with the guiding principles governing relations between fraternal Parties set forth in the Moscow Statement?

The "collective measures" referred to by certain people can only be construed as meaning something like the criticism and disciplinary measures taken by the congress and Central Committee of a Party within their competence and according to the principle of democratic centralism. Such measures are not applicable to relations between fraternal Parties today.

The Congress and the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Comintern) were once leading organs of the Communist Parties of all countries when these were branches of the Comintern. In that period these leading organs even made decisions to dissolve a certain Party. But all fraternal Parties are now independent and equal and no superior organ exists. Therefore, it is not worth refuting any unilateral convening of an international meeting to take the above-mentioned "collective measures" in any form. Only Marxist-Leninist principles and resolutions worked out in common and unanimously adopted are to be observed by all Parties. The Moscow Statement confirms that when differences of views occur between fraternal Parties the approach should be to hold meetings or bilateral talks to get acquainted with each

other's views and positions, to work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals. Working out common views through consultations between fraternal Parties stems naturally from the fact that all fraternal Parties are independent and equal and that no superior leading organ exists.

The erroneous idea, held by certain people, of attempting to resolve differences of views between fraternal Parties by majority vote, has long been bankrupt after being vetoed by the Moscow meeting in 1960.

Those who now again clamour for "collective measures" and "majority votes" are in fact trying to place themselves in the position of leaders of the international communist movement, and force others to accept their views and opinions. In the end, this will inevitably lead the differences of views to an organizational split. To insist on acting like this while talking loudly about the "unity" of the international communist movement and the socialist camp is entirely self-contradictory. Besides, even if certain people unilaterally issue the appeal for the convening of an "international meeting," such a meeting cannot be a *bona fide* international meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

In order to achieve genuine unity in the international communist movement and the socialist camp, such action must be firmly opposed so that no one may be allowed to engage at will in such divisive activities in the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

If a Communist Party of any country forsakes its independent stand and uncritically follows the behests of a certain person of a certain Party, this will be of no help whatsoever to the genuine unity of the international communist movement and is disloyal to proletarian internationalism. On the contrary, it will eventually only bring harm to the revolutionary cause of the people of its country and the international working class, and weaken the genuine unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp. To put a gloss on this viewpoint and describe it as proletarian internationalism and international discipline is the most disgraceful dogmatism and just a fig leaf to cover up the betrayal of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism.

IV

In the international communist movement, "unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled," (the Moscow Statement).

But genuine unity of the international communist movement can be achieved only on the basis of the

principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and only when the principles of independence and equality of all fraternal Parties are observed. **There can be no unity without principle, and it is impermissible to act in such a way as to impose one's own views on others in defiance of the principles of independence and equality.**

Talks between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China and meetings of various other Parties in preparation for an international conference are all necessary preparatory steps for the success of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Though at present identical views have not been reached as to when and how such talks and meetings will be held, proposals which contain various points in common now already exist. To make no patient efforts for the further exchange of views on these questions and hold practically no talks between individual Parties and no meetings for preparatory work, but to attempt to jump over all this and unilaterally convene an international conference—this will not strengthen unity, whatever the pretexts, but will inevitably lead to an irrevocable split.

Disunity arising from differences of opinion within the international communist movement has also brought difficulties to the international democratic movement. A road of advance can be opened for the international democratic movement if one refrains from using a majority vote to impose certain positions or views on others but discusses problems on which opinions differ, and if concerted action is taken on problems unanimously agreed upon in conformity with the unanimous appraisal of U.S. imperialism by the Communists of all countries as laid down in the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement and in accordance with the scope and character of the different mass movements. This idea has been put forward time and again by Japanese Communists and progressives at all the meetings of international democratic organizations. As demonstrated by the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs last year, if this reasonable way were adopted, a certain degree of unity and progress could be achieved at meetings of the international democratic movement even when the controversy over a series of questions of principle continues within the international communist movement.

If, instead of exerting efforts in this direction, persistent attempts are made to use the majority vote to force others to accept certain positions and views, and especially the policy of abandoning the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle and embellishing U.S. imperialism in clear violation of the Moscow Statement, the international democratic movement will be further weakened and disunity more difficult to overcome. This can only gladden U.S. imperialism and the forces of war, aggression and reaction.

To resolve the differences of views in the international communist movement, our Party has, in principle, favoured the convening of an international meeting, but we once again declare our firm opposition to holding such a meeting which in practice would be aimed at leading the disunity of the international communist movement to the point of an irreparable split.

We once again appeal to all fraternal Parties: to achieve genuine unity and not a split it is necessary first of all to exert untiring efforts in conformity with the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and the guiding principles governing relations between Marxist-Leninist parties so as to prepare the necessary conditions for the success of an international meeting.

We also want to avail ourselves of this opportunity to appeal to all Communist Parties and democratic forces to make common efforts for genuine unity and not a split in the international democratic movement, to see that the practice of mechanically imposing certain positions and views on others be stopped and to develop

common action on points of agreement in accordance with the policy of the effective struggle against the forces of war and aggression.

The Japanese Communist Party has consistently defended the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism under difficult and complex conditions and has grown stronger in the course of struggle against opportunism of different shades and hues.

Our Party will in the future raise still higher this glorious and invincible banner, defend the revolutionary banner of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, unswervingly promote the revolutionary cause of opposing U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital and, at the same time, steadfastly continue to exert independent and positive efforts for the formation of an anti-imperialist international united front and for the achievement of genuine unity in the international communist movement.

(Continued from p. 10.)

More recently, the United States has transferred many men of its "special forces" from Okinawa to Taiwan to train Chiang Kai-shek's "special forces." John C. MacKercher, spokesman of the U.S. Taiwan "Defence Command," declared bluntly that the United States would teach the armed agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang to "carry out airborne operations . . . and infiltration into the opposition's rear areas."

Top U.S. military and political chieftains, including Dean Rusk, Harry D. Felt and Commander of the U.S. 7th Fleet Thomas Moorer, have repeatedly gone to Taiwan, where they truculently made military dispositions to create tension in the Taiwan Straits, and openly declared that "the United States is willing to risk war with Red China."

Troops of the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek gang have frequently staged joint exercises in landing operations and nuclear warfare with the Chinese mainland as their target. The United States has stepped up the training and equipment of the Chiang Kai-shek troops and intensified its war preparations. For instance, since February this year, the United States has equipped a "Hawk" missile battalion for the Chiang Kai-shek gang and supplied it with a number of F-104G jet fighters and seven warships.

These aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism are closely related to its policy of creating tension in the Far East and, in particular, its policy of aggression in Southeast Asia. Last year, when the United States was intensifying its "special warfare" in south Viet

Nam, six groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents sneaked into the areas of the former Hai Ninh Province of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in July and October in an attempt to set up bandits' bases and engage in sabotage activities. Again, in the recent period, when the United States was actively extending its aggressive war in south Viet Nam, a number of vessels of the U.S. 7th Fleet, which had been engaged in spying and harassing missions along China's coast, were sent to the South China Sea to threaten war. More recently, when the United States was sabotaging the Geneva agreements and flagrantly subverting the Laotian Government of National Union, U.S. military aircraft intruded over China's Yunnan Province for reconnoitring and provocative purposes, and bombed the quarters of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Khang Khay, Laos, killing one member of the mission and wounding five others. This was an open provocation against the Chinese people, and an extremely grave step for enlarging armed intervention in Laos.

The facts mentioned above show that the U.S. Government not only has stubbornly pursued a policy of hostility towards the peoples of China and Asia, but is making greater efforts to push its adventurist war policy in Southeast Asia in active preparation for extending its aggressive war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China.

The 650 million Chinese people are watching closely and vigilantly the military provocations by U.S. imperialism and are ready at all times to smash its aggressive war plots. The day will come when accounts are settled and the U.S. aggressors punished as they deserve for their criminal military provocations against the Chinese people.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. Raids Against Cuba

Bombs and Lies

Three times within a fortnight the State Department has been caught lying about piratical U.S. raids on other countries. Despite Washington's denials it has been proved the chief culprit in recent air bombings in Laos and the Congo. Now after the usual official U.S. hums and haws when Cuba protested over an invading aircraft shot down after bombing a Las Villas sugar mill on June 19, two captured airmen have confessed that their plane was owned by a U.S. "aviation corporation" in Florida: it took off from Brown Airport, south of Miami, after being loaded there with bombs, they owned.

Of course this is not the first time U.S. pirate planes have bombed Cuba. In the last two months there have been more than 470 U.S. provocations against the island republic. There have been a number of cases of U.S. soldiers in Guantanamo shooting and wounding Cuban guards at their posts. The U.S. is suspected too of dropping bacterial bombs on Sancti Spiritus in Las Villas Province. When to these acts of gangsterism are added Washington's continuing spy flights and its cries for "meaningful infiltration of Cuba, and a concerted effort to topple the

[Cuban] regime" (Senator Hart), the face of the U.S. aggressor is revealed for all to see.

Cuba has not been cowed. Premier Castro has said that the revolution will continue. Prepared for any eventualities, including U.S.-launched invasions, the Cuban people are girding themselves for a long, unyielding struggle against Yankee imperialism. The shooting down of the Florida plane shows that they are prepared to give it to the invaders in the eye.

Brazilian Coupists

Gorillas Run Wild

Three months after they staged the coup, the Washington-backed Brazilian military "gorillas" have exposed their true fascist character and are finding themselves increasingly isolated.

The reign of terror, at first directed against Goulart and the Left, has been extended to include a wide range of political forces. "Special investigation committees" have been set up at all levels to screen public servants. The "blacklist" lengthens daily. The arrests have continued and altogether more than 40,000 people have been clamped into prisons, which are so packed that ships'

cabins are being used to take the overflow. Besides those reported earlier, the imprisoned are now known to include Deputy Francisco Juliao, leader of the Peasant League in the Northeast.

Castelo Branco, the shot-gun president, has

put off until 1966 the presidential elections required by the Constitution to be held in October next year. He has signed a law banning strikes "for political purposes" and forbidding stoppage of work by government employees. More recently, in a move antagonizing the Social Democratic Party, the gorillas have deprived Kubitschek, leader of the party and former president, of his political rights. So they have turned against themselves the two leading parties in the country—Goulart's Labour Party and the Social Democrats.

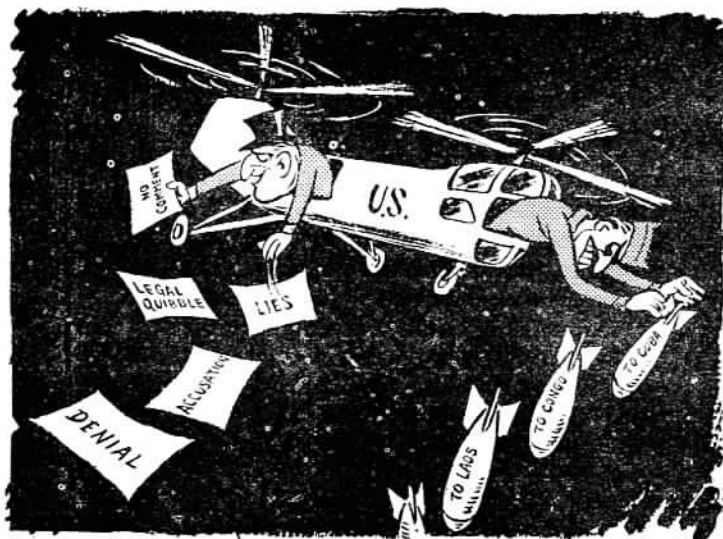
Even conservative Brazilian papers are coming out to denounce the repression. "There is a reign of violence and stupidity around us," wrote *Correio da Manhã*. It reported that "any political or military person who does not applaud the triumphant movement (of the coupists) is liable to find his name on the blacklist." "Nobody feels himself safe," declared *Jornal do Brasil*. When the military took over the Para state government, all shops and buildings there flew flags at half mast in protest.

Only the Johnson Administration is gloating over the "favourable turn" for U.S. investments. Castelo Branco has tabled in the subdued Brazilian congress amendments to the law introduced by President Goulart which limited to 10 per cent the amount of their profits which foreign companies can send abroad annually. Already, U.S. and U.S.-controlled international financial organizations have granted the coupists more than 350 million dollars in aid. Now the door is wide open to Wall Street, but will the Brazilian people tolerate it for long?

Tshombe Out of Storage

The Plot Thickens

Tshombe, Union Miniere's man from Katanga and darling of the old colonialists in the Congo, is back again in Leopoldville after a year in Europe. He has returned just when the country's patriotic armed struggle is gaining ground, when despite intensified American military as-



Deeds v. Words

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

sistance the Adoula troops are suffering defeat after defeat, and when the "U.N. forces" are scheduled to withdraw.

A week before Tshombe's return, Adoula's "Defence Minister" Anany admitted that the regime was "in danger of being swamped" by the guerrillas and spoke of the need to "open political round table talks" with participation by Tshombe and other political exiles. Upon arrival, Tshombe immediately saw Kasavubu and Adoula, the leaders of the fast-disintegrating regime. He declared that "a total and sincere reconciliation of all Congolese is the only chance of saving this country from misery and anarchy."

Tshombe was very active while in Western Europe. From his temporary abode in Spain, he made several trips to Belgium and France. Recently he held talks with Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak and U.S. Ambassador in Brussels Douglas MacArthur. In London he was accorded "V.I.P. treatment" and "held important discussions with influential personalities. Observers think it relevant that his visit coincided with the official tour of Britain of the Congolese Army Chief of Staff General Mobutu." (*Ghana Times*, June 10)

Western press reports reveal that Tshombe is returning to the Congo to make a political deal with the Adoula group, perhaps to form a "national conciliation government" to replace the present discredited regime. Significantly, Washington, while stepping up its own military interference, is lining up with the old colonialists in its efforts to use the Congolese Right-wing forces to weaken and divide the patriotic forces who have taken the road of armed struggle.

African T.U. Congress

Keynote on Anti-Imperialism

Bamako, capital of the Republic of Mali, played host to the All-African Trade Union Federation when it met on June 10-14 for its second congress. The first was held three

years ago in Casablanca when this organization representing the trade unions of Africa came into being and dedicated itself to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, old and new, and feudalism.

Trade union leaders from some thirty countries were at Bamako. They met at a time when the situation as regards revolution in Africa is developing in the people's favour. Mahjoub Ben Seddik of Morocco, the federation's president who was re-elected to serve another term, delivered a policy report. He called on the African working class to press on with the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, work for complete liberation and fulfil the great task of building a new Africa.

John Tettegah, the secretary-general, who reported on the federation's work over the past three years, told the conference how the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which is dominated by the American A.F.L.-C.I.O. has tried to undermine the African workers' movement. The struggle for African unity, he said, must needs be anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist in character. Neo-colonialism may have different features in different places, but all its forms had the same fundamental aim — to keep the politically independent countries under economic subjugation.

Both the policy and work reports were endorsed by the delegates in their discussion. A general resolution was adopted at the closing session. It emphasized the need for unity among African workers in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

U.S. Dole or National Pride

Pakistan Makes Its Choice

Let the American loan suspension go hang. That was how Pakistan reacted when Washington decided to withhold previously agreed upon credits for the construction of a modern airport at Dacca in East Pakistan. The suspension, which came immediately after Pakistan and

China agreed to open an international airline between the two countries, was aimed at wrecking the agreement. But the American global strategists miscalculated.

In Karachi, a spokesman of the Ministry of Defence announced on June 10 that Pakistan would do without the American loan and build the airport with its own funds. A budget allocation, he said, for both foreign exchange outlay and rupee expenditure has been made and the project would be completed by the middle of 1967. By dispensing with the American loan Pakistan need not, as otherwise it must under the original commitment, purchase all essential materials from the United States and engage American technical consultants. Now, besides other advantages from self-help, the project will cost less.

The decision taken by the Government to construct the Dacca aerodrome out of Pakistan's own resources rather than submit to blackmail has been acclaimed throughout the country. Maulana Asadul Quadri, President of the Organization of Religious Leaders, declared that it has heightened the sense of self-respect of every Pakistan patriot. The press hailed the move, too. "We are pleased," said *Anjam* on June 12, "that our government is not influenced by American pressure. Pakistan does not sacrifice her national prestige for American dollars." *Hurriyat*, in its editorial on the same day, said "Pakistan has accepted the challenge and gave a befitting reply to America who wanted to exert pressure on her."

When the choice had to be made between national pride and the American dole with all its accompanying insolence and insults, Pakistan preferred to uphold the honour of its people. Like Indonesia and Cambodia which only yesterday threw American "aid" back in the teeth of its "donors," Pakistan, by deciding to resist American pressure and build with its own resources, shows that self-reliance is a weapon which can help the new emerging countries safeguard their national independence.

DANCE-DRAMA

"The Flames of Nghe-Tinh"

The Song and Dance Ensemble of the Viet Nam People's Army has brought a fine modern dance-drama to China. Its performances have stirred audiences in Canton, Nanking, Shanghai and Peking.

This full-length production of over two hours is a moving evocation of one of the great pages in Viet Nam's revolutionary history. The Communist Party of Indo-China (predecessor of the Viet Nam Workers' Party) was founded in February 1930. Three months later, the young Party was at the head of a mass revolutionary movement in Nghe-an, President Ho Chi Minh's native province, and neighbouring Ha-tinh. The French colonialist regime and domestic feudal reaction were overthrown and the power of the workers, peasants and soldiers was proclaimed — the famous Nghe-Tinh Soviet. The Soviet was shortlived — the enemy massed a crushing superiority of force against it — but it demonstrated the potential strength of the revolutionary labouring people and trained their ranks for victory in the August revolution in 1945.

In three acts of straightforward, realistic dance-drama, with a prologue and epilogue in symbolic terms, this historical episode is reflected through the story of Nga, a young peasant

woman, and her husband Quy, a worker. Both Party members, they lead the united front of villagers and workers in revolt against their oppressors and in the founding of the Soviet. In defeat, they meet death heroically, their faith in their cause undimmed, an inspiration to those who fight on.

This drama is enacted in dance and pantomime to music. Dancer Thanh Nga dances and acts with authority, in a fine characterization of Nga (alternately danced by Hoang My and Hien Anh). In the first act, Nga's old peasant mother kneels on the ground with other poverty-stricken villagers, pleading with the colonialists and their native puppets who wish to take over their land for a factory site. Nga comes in, gently raises her mother up, and calls for resistance. She takes a handful of earth from the ground and shows it to the villagers one by one as if to say: "This is our soil! How can we let these brutes take it away? Pleading will get us nowhere. We must fight!"

Nga's fearless character evidenced in this first appearance is shown unbroken in adversity in the second act. Arrested, tortured and weak, she is suddenly confronted in jail by her lovely younger sister, tortured too and almost lifeless. Passionate grief is fused into such scornful hatred of the enemy that they recoil before her.

Nga's indomitable spirit is finely supported by the music. The leit-

motiv that characterizes her in the first scene is beautiful, calm and serene, expressive of a young woman's hopes and aspirations. In the jail scene it becomes tumultuous, like the feelings racing through her heart. In the epilogue, it becomes dignified and courageous, the epitome of Nga's spirit as she goes to her death.

The dance-drama is the joint creation of the Army Ensemble and while the solos, making good use of mime, are strongly expressive of character, it is the group dances that are outstanding in their portrayal of the fighting spirit of the people. They have a strongly marked Vietnamese folk dance flavour. The May Day demonstration scene, the episode where the people rush to rescue Nga from the prefectural prison, the celebration after the Soviet is established and the subsequent scenes of resistance to the enemy attacks, leave a vivid impression of the ardour of mass action.

The dancing combines realistic modern dancing with folk movements. One of the gay celebration dances is based on the Vietnamese drum dance popular in the north of the country. In another instance the courageous character of Vietnamese women is brought out by dramatic dance action when, in a struggle with enemy soldiers, a piece of a girl's dress is torn off her shoulder. Led by Nga, a dozen women take their stand beside her, tearing their own dresses at the same place and advancing against the enemy whose leers turn to shame-faced retreat.

The music combines folk instruments with modern instrumentation. The single stringed Vietnamese lute makes a moving background to the drama of the meeting in jail of the two sisters. In characterizing the fighting spirit of the people, it has adapted two melodies that were popular in the days of the Soviet — *On the March* and *Joining the Red Guards*. These are subtly woven into the score and prove very effective.

The epilogue is at once dirge and triumph. Beneath the statue-like group of the heroes of Nghe-Tinh dimly seen, the new forces of the people's revolution press ahead in a



"Flames of Nghe-Tinh," Act II: Nga's rescue and the people's attack on the prefecture

Sketch by Jack Chen

triumphant surge of movement under a great red flag.

The artists of the Vietnamese ensemble have brought Chinese audiences a dance-drama that, with spirit and artistry, drives home its lesson of steadfast anti-imperialist action. It is an inspiring contribution to the growth of a revolutionary dance art.

PEKING OPERA

Festival in Full Swing

The current festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes continues to hold the centre of Peking's theatrical limelight. Five theatres have been simultaneously putting on shows since June 5. But the overwhelming demand for tickets still remains unsatisfied.

Of the 23 productions staged so far, five portray the exploits of revolutionary people's fighters, ranging from the Red Army's famous forcing of the Tatu River on the Long March to the feats of Chinese People's Volunteers in the Korean war. Five depict working-class life today and the workers' revolutionary struggles before liberation. These include *Never Forget*, originally a modern drama that had won great acclaim for the revealing glimpse it gave of an important but easily overlooked aspect of the struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideas in present-day life, and *Gate No. 6*, the play on their pre-liberation conditions originally written and produced by transport workers of Tientsin.

By the Chienkan River, *Two Girl Students* and *Li Shuang-shuang* are some that reflect contemporary life in the countryside; *Taino*, *Red Sun Over Mt. Koshan* and others portray the life of the national minorities. Still others, like *Spark Amid the Reeds* (see *Peking Review*, No. 24, 1964) and *Red Crag*, enact underground revolutionary activities before the liberation; the *Sales Counter* and others bring to the stage other aspects of contemporary life.

The consensus of opinion of audiences and critics, who have written copiously to the press, is that these performances have clinched the key

point that workers, peasants and soldiers of the new age can be successfully portrayed on the Peking opera stage. There have been some excellent characterizations: that of the People's Liberation Army scouts in *Capturing the Tiger Mountain*, the young girl of the Chingpo nationality in *Taino*, and the underground revolutionary heroine Ah Ching-sao in *Spark Amid the Reeds*, to mention just a few. What is more, these productions have opened up a variety of ways in which to adapt Peking opera traditions successfully to modern themes. Traditional acting and acrobatics have been excitingly adapted in *Raid on the Tiger Regiment* and *The Crossing of the Tatu River*; Peking opera melodies and singing were excellently arranged and executed in *By the Chienkan River* and *Taino*; and such operas as *Spark Amid the Reeds* and *Gate No. 6* were notable for their combination of singing, dancing and acting.

During the three weeks since the festival started, the over 2,000 Peking opera workers gathered in the capital have held a number of discussions on problems of common interest. They have unanimously agreed that in producing a good Peking opera on a contemporary theme the most important prerequisite is that the librettists, actors, actresses and others concerned should have gone out into the midst of contemporary life and got living experience in those places where the history of modern China is being forged. Only if the theatrical workers know modern life and modern people can they reflect it and them in terms of Peking opera.

This has been amply proved by the festival successes. The troupes which produced the hits had been frequently in touch with the workers, peasants and soldiers of the nation in the last few years, making regular visits and stays among them. Before *Taino* was staged, the leading actress lived with the people of the Chingpo nationality in Yunnan Province. She got immense help in creating her role from her talks with a woman county head, a vice-director of a people's commune and other Chingpo women who told her of their own experiences of oppression and revolt before liberation. For the benefit of the actors in *Gate No. 6*, the transport department of Tientsin specially unearthed from their "museum" a 4-ton cart which Tientsin "coolies" used to have to pull in the old days.

Another conclusion drawn was that contemporary operas, like traditional operas, demand the highest skill in all the four elements of Peking opera: singing, dancing, acting and acrobatics. *A Bucket of Manure*, for instance, is an outstanding example of creatively applying traditional conventions in depicting a peasant woman. The highest skill in those traditional conventions is demanded to "put over" the theme of this opera, and without that skill the theme alone, fine though it is, would be impotent to move audiences effectively.

Around a dozen more operas are scheduled for showing in July. Popular interest is still rising. The keen discussions aroused by this unique festival continue.

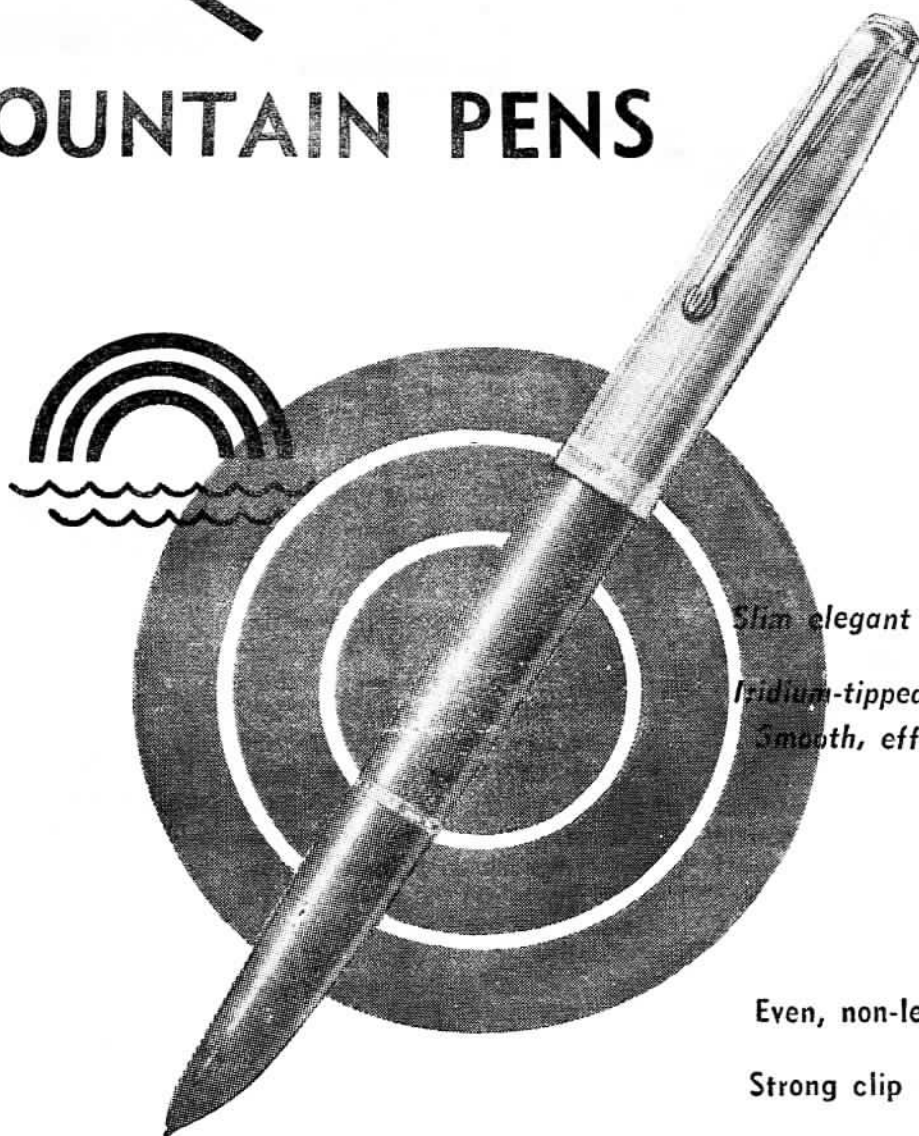


"Raid on the Tiger Regiment"

Sketch by Chou Ling-chao

Rainbow

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