

PEKING REVIEW

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July 24, 1964

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Oppose U.S. Aggression! Defend Peace in Indo-China!

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(p. 14).

Indonesia As I See It

An on-the-scene report

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Vol. IV

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

July 24, 1964 Vol. VII No. 30

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The Chinese Government issued a statement on July 19, declaring that China "will by no means sit idly by while the U.S. extends its war of aggression in Viet Nam and Indo-China."

Ten thousand people met in the capital on July 20 to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva agreements and voice support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression.

• Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent greetings to the Second Summit Conference of African States held in Cairo.

• Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent a message to A.I. Mikoyan congratulating him on his election to the presidency of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

• The Chinese press published:

— the major points of a political resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela adopted at its Sixth Plenary Session. The resolution declares that the bulk of the Party's forces must be devoted with the greatest determination to the armed struggle.

— a statement of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) welcoming the June 11 joint statement of the Communist Parties of New Zealand and Indonesia. Voicing support for the Southeast Asian people's anti-imperialist struggle, the statement reiterates the need to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

— extracts of an article in the latest *Malayan Monitor*, written on the 16th anniversary of the Malayan people's armed struggle, denouncing the modern revisionists' plan to use "U.N. forces" against the national-liberation movements.

— a resolution of the First National Conference of the Indonesian Communist Party, held July 3-5, declaring the P.K.I. opposed to an international meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties forced through in a hurry.

Chairman Mao Receives Peking Opera Artists

Cries of "Long Live Chairman Mao!", cheers and warm applause greeted Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Government on July 17 when they received participants in the current Festival of Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes. Delegates to the conference on the political theory course for college and middle school students, now being held in Peking and graduates of the Central Theatrical Institute's class for students of various nationalities in the Sinkiang Autonomous Region also attended the reception.

On the same evening, Chairman Mao and other leaders of the Party and state saw *Capturing the Tiger Mountain*, one of the hits of the festival presented by a Shanghai troupe describing how a detachment of the People's Liberation Army wiped out a gang of Kuomintang bandits in northeast China during the War of Liberation. After the performance, Chairman Mao went on stage to congratulate the company.

China Greet's Polish Liberation Day

July 22 was the 20th anniversary of Polish Liberation Day. The previous day, leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and state, Chair-

man Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Chu Teh, Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party and state congratulating the Polish people on their achievements in building socialism.

Noting that the Chinese and Polish peoples have cultivated a profound friendship in their common revolutionary struggle, the message said: "To safeguard and strengthen this friendship is not only in complete accord with the fundamental interests of the people of our two countries, but also in the interest of the solidarity of the socialist camp. As they have done in the past, the Chinese people will continue to strive, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to strengthen their friendship and solidarity with the Polish people and the solidarity of the socialist camp, combat the imperialist policies of aggression and war and preserve world peace."

The message reiterated that China supports "the Polish people in their struggle against the aggressive and revanchist policies of West German militarism fostered by U.S. imperialism."

Greetings were also sent by Foreign Minister Chen Yi to his Polish counterpart.

In Peking, the China-Poland Friendship Association gave a cocktail party celebrating the occasion. The Lichiao Sino-Polish Friendship People's Commune entertained members of the Polish Embassy with a Chinese film.

Tibetan Ex-Rebels Return Home

The Tibetans have a saying: "When there is no tea, one thinks of the tea plant; when one gets old, he gets homesick." But this is not the only reason for the recent return home of two groups of Tibetan rebels who fled the country in 1959 when the armed rebellion of the traitorous clique of the upper social strata in Tibet was crushed. In late June and

early this month these 22 former Tibetan rebels and their 76 dependents came back and surrendered their weapons to Chinese People's Liberation Army frontier guards stationed somewhere in Tibet. They came back, in their own words, under the influence of the policy of leniency proclaimed by the Chinese Communist Party and Government. This can be summarized as: no punishment for past misdeeds; rewards to those who do meritorious service. Life abroad, admitted Laerab, one of their chiefs, was "very hard." "We were short of food and clothing," he said.

Ragged and undernourished when they arrived, the former rebels and their people were given tea and *tsampa* (the Tibetan staple made of parched barley) as well as other immediate necessities. After medical treatment, they enjoyed a rousing welcome home. At the meeting to welcome them ten who had performed meritorious services were given rewards up to 1,700 yuan. It was announced that in accordance with the returnees' wishes the People's Government would help them to settle down. Each of them would receive 30 yaks and sheep in addition to other daily necessities. Laerab was appointed a counsellor of the county government of Dzomba.

Palho Yulgya, a former rebel and headman in Dratung, returned to Tibet with his family in September last year. He too is now a counsellor of Dzomba County, where he lives happily with his wife. His two children are studying in Shigatse. His youngest daughter fell sick and died while they were abroad. In a recent interview with Hsinhua, he said: "I was fortunate to be able to bring back my two elder children. I shall teach them to take the right path and be useful to the people. I committed crimes, but the government has overlooked my past misdeeds and opened a broad path for me. I rejoice at the beginning of my new life. . . ."

Chiang Army-men Cross Over Into Yunnan. Others too are having better second thoughts: in the first half of this year, 120 officers and men

from among the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek troops who fled over the Chinese border of Yunnan Province returned and gave themselves up to frontier guards of the P.L.A. They returned because of dissatisfaction with the misrule to which they were subjected in the Chiang army and because they were no longer willing to serve U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang. On their return home they were given work in accordance with their wishes and arrangements were made for them to rejoin their families. Those who brought arms with them or performed other meritorious deeds were given monetary awards in accordance with the National Defence Ministry's rules in this matter.

Pakistan Trade Minister In China

Pakistan's Minister of Commerce Wahiduzzaman called Pakistan's new air service to China a link in the strong chain of Sino-Pakistan friendship. He recently confirmed for himself the efficiency of that link when a regular PIA flight brought him to China for a visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

Mr. Wahiduzzaman and his party enjoyed a very full 9-day tour from July 10 to 18. This included a trip to the northeast. There they visited the steel city of Anshan, and plants in Shenyang making textile and heavy machinery. They went sight-seeing in Shanghai in the east and in Canton in south China and visited a number of rural people's communes.

In Peking, the Pakistan Minister and his party were received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai. Talks were also held with China's Foreign Trade Minister Yeh Chi-chuang on the further development of economic and trade relations between the two countries. The talks, says the communique issued afterwards, "were conducted in an extremely friendly and frank atmosphere and the outcome was satisfactory."

(Continued on p.28.)

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Full Support for Vietnamese Government's Just Stand

- The Chinese people will by no means sit idly by while the United States extends its war of aggression in Viet Nam and Indo-China.
- China has exercised the utmost self-restraint regarding the stepped up U.S. planning for a fresh military adventure. However, there is a limit to everything. The United States would be mistaken if it should think that it can do as it pleases with impunity in Viet Nam and Indo-China. It is not yet too late to return to the 1954 Geneva agreements. An extension of the war will certainly bring no good to the United States and its followers.

Following is a translation of the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China, issued on July 19, supporting the Vietnamese people in their opposition to U.S. aggression. — Ed.

TEN years have passed since the signing of the Geneva agreements on restoration of peace in Indo-China. On this day after ten years, there is still no peace in Indo-China; what is more, heavier clouds of war are hanging over the area. France has withdrawn in accordance with the Geneva agreements. But the United States has come in. U.S. imperialism has been grossly violating the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Indo-Chinese states, crudely interfering in their internal affairs and carrying out direct armed aggression in southern Viet Nam and in Laos. Here lies the root cause of the steady worsening of the situation in Indo-China in the past ten years.

On July 21, 1954, when agreement was reached at the first Geneva Conference, the U.S. delegate solemnly declared that the United States would refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb the Geneva agreements. However, facts over the past ten years prove that it is precisely the United States which has violated the Geneva agreements by the use of force.

Hardly had the ink on the 1954 Geneva agreements dried, U.S. imperialism rigged up the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and insisted on placing south Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia under the "protection" of this military bloc. At the same time, the United States energetically fostered a puppet regime in south Viet Nam for practising fascist rule over the people there and instigated the puppet clique in south Viet Nam to reject the reasonable proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in pursuance of the Geneva agreements for general elections in 1956 in order to realize the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam, and thus plunging the 30

million Vietnamese people of one and the same blood into the miseries of prolonged division.

U.S. imperialism has committed glaring violations of the Geneva agreements. It has sent great numbers of military personnel and introduced large quantities of military equipment into south Viet Nam and set up many military bases there. U.S. imperialism has been directing the puppet clique in south Viet Nam in subjecting the peace-loving south Vietnamese people to frenzied political persecution and has trained, equipped and directed the south Vietnamese puppet troops numbering several hundred thousands for sanguinary armed suppression of the bare-handed south Vietnamese people. In defiance of the strong condemnation and opposition by the people of the world, U.S. imperialism launched in 1961 a criminal, undeclared "special war" in southern Viet Nam. Owing to the criminal activities of the U.S. aggressors, more than a million innocent Vietnamese people have in the past ten years been cruelly massacred, persecuted or imprisoned.

The great south Vietnamese people have been carrying on heroic and unyielding resistance. They would rather die standing than live on their knees. An awakened people is invincible. Facts have increasingly shown that U.S. imperialism is a mere paper tiger before the Vietnamese people who dare to fight. However, U.S. imperialism will never give up till its doom. It is trying hard to step up its planning for a fresh military adventure. Lately, it has ceaselessly clamoured for an extension of the war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On the other hand, it is trying to drag its allies down into the mire and make them share responsibility with the United States for extending the war and to utilize the United Nations for enlarging its aggression in southern Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China. At the same time, the United States has perpetrated direct armed intervention in Laos and aggravated the serious situation there; and it has

intensified its subversive and disruptive activities against the Kingdom of Cambodia, which consistently pursues a policy of peace and neutrality. As a result of all this, the peace of Indo-China and the whole of Southeast Asia is gravely jeopardized, and the Geneva agreements face the crudest challenge and the danger of being wrecked.

The Chinese people have always cherished fraternal feelings towards the people of Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese states. They cannot but feel extreme concern and show deep sympathy for the Indo-Chinese peoples in their present lot. Nevertheless, China has exercised the utmost self-restraint. Since China has signed the Geneva agreements, it abides by them in good faith. Despite the fact that the United States has introduced tens of thousands of its military personnel into southern Viet Nam and Laos, China has not sent a single soldier to Indo-China. However, there is a limit to everything. The United States would be wrong if it should think that it can do whatever it pleases in

Viet Nam and Indo-China with impunity. We would frankly tell the United States: the Chinese people will by no means sit idly by while the United States extends its war of aggression in Viet Nam and Indo-China. It is not yet too late to return to the 1954 Geneva agreements. An extension of the war will definitely bring no good to the United States and its followers.

The Chinese Government fully supports the just position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as expressed in its statement of July 15. The Chinese Government holds that it is time to stop U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in the Indo-Chinese states and uphold the agreements reached at the two Geneva Conferences. The Chinese Government hopes that the signatories to the Geneva agreements and all other countries interested in the peace of Indo-China will seriously face up to the grave situation created by U.S. imperialism in this area and speedily take measures to check the further worsening of the situation.

Tenth Anniversary of Geneva Agreements

Sino-Vietnamese Solidarity in Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

JULY 13 to 20 witnessed new demonstrations of China-Viet Nam unity and co-operation. In addition to observing the 1954 Geneva agreements signed a decade ago, throughout China the week marked the Chinese people's all-out support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression.

During the week, Chinese people's organizations pledged their firm solidarity in statements or messages sent to their counterparts in Viet Nam. Included were the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the China Peace Committee, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China.

A photo exhibition on the patriotic anti-U.S. struggle of the Vietnamese people opened in Peking on July 18. A new postage stamp was issued July 20 by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications to mark the signing of the Geneva agreements and express solidarity with the Vietnamese people. A collection of Vietnamese poems entitled *Fighting South Viet Nam* was published in Chinese by the Writers' Publishing House in Peking. Viet Nam's feature and documentary films were shown in major cinemas in the capital.

Members of the China-Viet Nam Friendship People's Commune on the outskirts of Peking met on

July 19 to demonstrate their support for the Vietnamese people's struggle. Mass meetings to observe the tenth anniversary of the Geneva agreements and support the Vietnamese people's struggle were held in many major cities of China, such as Peking, Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and Nanning.

Peking Meeting

The nationwide activities of the "week of common struggle in support of the Vietnamese people's opposition to U.S. aggression" reached their climax on July 20 when more than 10,000 people in the capital met in the Great Hall of the People. The meeting was attended by Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Peng Chen and Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi. Among the guests present were Tran Tu Binh, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to China; the delegation of the Viet Nam committees for world peace and for Afro-Asian people's solidarity led by Tran Huy Lieu; and the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation headed by Thich Thien Hao. Friends from Laos, Thailand, Nepal, Japan, Indonesia, Mali, South Africa, Angola, Mauritius, Uganda, the Congo (Leopoldville), Bolivia, Albania, the United States and New Zealand also were present.

The meeting was addressed by Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee; Tran Tu Binh; Tran Huy Lieu; Thich Thien Hao; Mme. Phay Boun Pholsena, Chairman of the Women's Union of Laos; Singama Luvila, representative of the National Council of the Liberation of the Congo (Leopoldville); and Haruo Okada, Japanese Socialist Party Diet Member. They all hailed the great victories won by the Vietnamese people in fighting U.S. imperialism. They strongly condemned U.S. acts of aggression in Indo-China and other parts of the world.

In Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, a rally was held on July 18 to welcome foreign friends who had come to take part in observing the tenth anniversary of the Geneva agreements. In his speech at the meeting Kuo Mo-jo, head of the delegation of the China Peace Committee and the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, warmly praised the south Vietnamese people's victories in their patriotic anti-U.S. struggle and pledged firm support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people for the peaceful reunification of their country.

During the entire week, the Chinese press gave wide coverage to activities supporting the Vietnamese people and marking the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Geneva agreements. On July 20, all leading Chinese newspapers published editorials. *Renmin Ribao's* leader was entitled "Oppose U.S. Aggression and Defend Peace in Indo-China."

Vietnamese People's Struggle

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Geneva agreements, it is only natural for the Chinese people to pledge anew their support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression in violation of the Geneva agreements. This was emphasized by Liao Cheng-chih in his speech at the Peking meeting. "The struggle of the Vietnamese people," he said, "to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression, uphold the Geneva agreements and defend peace in Indo-China is also the Chinese people's struggle. The Chinese people are always closely watching the U.S. imperialists' aggressive and adventurous activities. They will never sit idly by when a socialist, fraternal country is subjected to outside aggression."

In the past ten years, he recalled, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has consistently respected and implemented the Geneva agreements on Viet Nam. Now, he pointed out, it has issued a statement demanding that U.S. imperialism immediately stop its war of aggression in south Viet Nam and withdraw its troops and weapons there, leaving the Vietnamese people themselves to settle the question of the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam. At the same time it called upon all countries concerned to stop U.S. imperialism from carrying out its policies of aggression and war in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. "All these demands," declared Liao Cheng-chih, "are completely just and fully accord with the spirit of the Geneva agreements."

Chen Yi Reiterates China's Support

In his reply to Xuan Thuy, Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi on July 19 expressed China's firm support for the views and demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. "The present grave situation in Indo-China," he stressed, "is created by the U.S. imperialists' violations of the Geneva agreements and their aggression and intervention in Viet Nam and Indo-China. The Chinese Government holds that the correct means to solve the questions of Viet Nam and Indo-China is peaceful negotiation and not the use or threat of force, and the correct way is to abide by and not to continue to violate the Geneva agreements of 1954 and 1962, to check and not to tolerate U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in southern Viet Nam and Indo-China."

Liao Cheng-chih paid high tribute to the great significance of the stern struggle waged by the south Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. "Which, after all, is powerful, the strength of the people, or that of imperialism? The revolutionary or the counter-revolutionary armed forces? In their victorious armed resistance to 'special warfare,' the south Vietnamese people have given a resounding reply, acquired important experience and set forth a clear example to inspire the fighting will of the revolutionary people."

Praising the resolute resistance put up by the people of Indo-China against U.S. imperialism, *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial stressed the role of the Vietnamese people. The great people of south Viet Nam, the editorial said, have carried on an extremely arduous struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, liberating a large area of south Viet Nam and achieving brilliant victories. The people of the northern part of Viet Nam, the editorial went on, have exerted themselves to build socialism, vigilantly defended the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and dealt continuous blows at sabotage and provocations by U.S. imperialism and its flunkies.

U.S. Crimes Exposed

The Geneva agreements were intended to create favourable conditions for the people of the countries of Indo-China to find peaceful solutions to their own problems. But immediately after the agreements were signed, U.S. imperialism rigged up the SEATO military bloc and openly declared that south Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia were under the "protection" of this bloc. It has carried out unprecedentedly ruthless suppression of the south Vietnamese people, and, since 1961, conducted its inhuman "special warfare" against them.

But the present situation of the revolutionary struggle in south Viet Nam is excellent. U.S. imperialism is finding itself tightly encircled by the people there.

"In order to save itself from a fiasco in Indo-China," said the *Renmin Ribao* editorial, "U.S. imperialism is struggling in desperation, making intensified efforts to plan the extension of its aggressive war in south Viet Nam and its military adventure in Laos. It is doing its utmost to drag some of its allies into the morass and to internationalize its war of aggression in south Viet Nam. Recently, it has attempted to use the U.N. for intervention in Indo-China. U.S. imperialism has even openly clamoured about extending the war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This means that U.S. imperialism is endeavouring to tear the two Geneva agreements to pieces and there is the danger that the flames of war it has kindled in south Viet Nam and Laos will spread to the whole of Indo-China and even all Southeast Asia."

As a participant of the 1954 Geneva Conference, China has always strictly abided by the Geneva agreements and done everything in its power to safeguard them. Despite the fact that in the past ten years U.S. imperialism has committed all kinds of crimes in Viet Nam and the rest of Indo-China, the *Renmin Ribao*

editorial emphasized, "China still maintains that if the United States stops its aggression and intervention it is possible for the questions of Indo-China to be peacefully settled on the basis of the Geneva agreements."

"If the Johnson Administration regards the Chinese people's attitude of extreme self-restraint as a sign of weakness and thinks that it can continue to do as it pleases in Indo-China," warned the *Renmin Ribao* editorial, "it would be a serious miscalculation. In its statement issued on July 19, the Chinese Government clearly stated: 'The Chinese people will by no means sit idly by while the United States extends its war of aggression in Viet Nam and Indo-China.' The Chinese Government and people always mean what they say. The U.S. Government would be well advised to bear this in mind."

In a similar vein, the Peking meeting's message of support to the Vietnamese people also warned: "The Chinese people cannot be expected to look on with folded arms in the event of any invasion of their fraternal neighbour—the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. They always mean what they say."

Ten-Year Record

U.S. Crimes and Defeats in South Viet Nam

During the last ten years U.S. imperialism has:

- introduced into south Viet Nam large amounts of weapons and war equipment including: 700 planes, about 100 large and small war vessels, an aircraft carrier, a great many motor-boats, hundreds of amphibious tanks, thousands of armoured cars and war vehicles, and hundreds of thousands of tons of military hardware;

- set up 111 airfields, and many naval and military bases, barracks, and strategic highways;

- spent nearly \$2 million a day for financing its dirty war in south Viet Nam;

- mustered a force of 25,000 U.S. troops and about 500,000 puppet troops using up-to-date weapons and equipment.

The U.S. imperialists and puppet troops have:

- carried out 80,000 "mopping-up" operations, set up thousands of prisons, and herded more than 5 million people into about 8,000 "strategic hamlets" and "prosperity zones";

- raped more than 30,000 women including old women, young girls and Catholic sisters; and burnt alive or disemboweled more than 4,000 people;

- sprayed chemical poisons over many areas, destroying tens of thousands of acres of crops and fruit trees, poisoning tens of thousands of people;

- destroyed thousands of shrines, churches and temples and killed tens of thousands of religious believers.

South Vietnamese people fight back:

- In about 64,000 engagements, from the beginning of 1961 to the end of June 1964, the south Vietnamese people's armed forces wiped out or put out of action over 323,000 enemy troops including 2,281 U.S. aggressors.

- They downed or damaged 1,363 enemy planes, destroyed or damaged more than 1,000 amphibious armoured vehicles, sank or damaged 620 vessels, derailed 55 military trains and captured over 35,000 guns and cannons of varying size.

- Over 65,000 puppet officers and men deserted in the same period.

- After July 1963, of 8,000 "strategic hamlets" less than 1,600 remained.

- The south Vietnamese people have greatly expanded the liberated areas from Tay Nguyen to the Mekong River.

(Figures used here are based on the Communiqué issued by the South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency.)

The Second African Summit Conference

THE Second Summit Conference of African States opened in Cairo on July 17 in an atmosphere of solidarity against colonialism and imperialism. Heads of state or government or their representatives from 33 independent African countries attended the meeting. Nationalist party leaders from other African countries still under colonial rule were present as observers.

The 16-point conference agenda included discussions on decolonization, the fight against racial discrimination, the setting up of a supreme African command, recommendations of the third session of the council of foreign ministers of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.), appointment of a permanent secretary of the O.A.U. and fixing the date and venue for the next meeting of the African heads of state and government.

The conference was opened by U.A.R. President Gamal Abdel Nasser, as head of the host country. He called for joint efforts by independent African countries to step up their pressure on the remnants of imperialism on the continent until the last vestiges of colonial domination were removed from Africa. He also called for joint endeavours for world peace which he stressed must be a peace "based on justice" and not "the peace of the fait accompli."

Other speakers at the summit conference stressed unity against imperialism. They pledged support to those peoples who are still under colonial rule and denounced imperialism and colonialism as the common enemy of the African people.

This voice from Africa was hailed by the peoples the world over who take the deepest interest in the advance of the African people's struggle against imperialism.

Chinese Leaders' Greetings

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, sent a joint message of greetings to the summit conference which reads in part as follows:

"The Chinese Government and people have always sympathized with and supported the African peoples in their struggle to strengthen their solidarity and end colonial rule. We are glad to see that since the First Summit Conference of African States held in May last year, solidarity and co-operation between African countries have been further strengthened and new victories have been won in the African peoples' struggles against imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard their national independence. We are confident that, through the concerted efforts and strug-

gles of the African countries and peoples, a new Africa will emerge — an Africa which is independent, united, prosperous and strong and free from imperialism and old and new colonialism.

"May the Second Summit Conference of African States make new contributions towards further promoting the African countries' solidarity and co-operation, supporting the African peoples who are fighting for independence, strengthening Asian-African unity, combating imperialism and old and new colonialism and defending world peace."

In Peking the heads of African diplomatic missions gave a reception marking the opening of the conference. Among the guests of honour were Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi. In his speech Vice-Premier Chen Yi paid tribute to the African peoples and wished the conference every success. He said:

"We wish to pay tribute to the people of the new emerging African countries who are marching forward victoriously along the road of independent development. We resolutely support them in their just struggle against control, intervention, subversion and aggression by imperialism and old and new colonialism; we resolutely support them in their great efforts to consolidate their national independence, safeguard their national sovereignty and develop their national economies and cultures.

"We wish to pay tribute to the African peoples who are fighting heroically for independence and freedom. We condemn the Portuguese colonialists for the bloody atrocities they have perpetrated in their attempts to suppress the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea by armed force with the support of U.S. imperialism. We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to oppose the colonial authorities' plot of creating another 'Union of South Africa' and in their demand for national independence. We firmly support the African peoples still under colonial rule in their struggle for independence and freedom and we will support them until final victory.

"We wish to pay tribute to the South African people in their struggle. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn the colonial authorities of South Africa for their policy of racial discrimination and firmly support the South African people's struggle against colonial rule and for national liberation. Our position has been consistent and our attitude is open and above-board. Those who spread rumours and slanders against us in this respect will not succeed in covering up their own ugly features.

"We wish to pay tribute to the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) who are holding aloft the banner of Lumumba and waging patriotic armed struggles against enslavement by old and new colonialism. Recently, the old and new colonialists headed by the United States have been working hand in glove to step up armed repression against the Congolese people on the one hand and on the other, use such scum of the Congo nation as Moise Tshombe in a political intrigue of so-called 'national reconciliation' which is simply an attempt to crush and disintegrate the patriotic forces of the Congo, perpetuate their control over this heartland of Africa and undermine the African people's cause of unity against imperialism. We know, however, that the Congolese people and the other African peoples will see through this plot of old and new colonialism and will not fall into their trap."

Concluding his speech, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said:

"Together with the governments and peoples of other Asian-African countries, the Chinese Government and people stand ready to raise still higher the militant banner of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, further develop the Bandung spirit, make joint efforts and march forward shoulder to shoulder in preparing for the successful convening of the Second Afro-Asian Conference and striving for new successes in the cause of Asian-African unity against imperialism."

African People's Victory

In the meeting hall of the summit conference, the seats prepared for the Congo (Leopoldville) were vacant as a result of the opposition of the ministerial council of the Organization of African Unity to the participation by Tshombe, assassin of the Congolese national hero Patrice Lumumba. Commenting on Tshombe's failure to worm his way into the African summit conference, *Renmin Ribao* in a commentary on July 18 wrote: "This is a major victory of the African peoples

in their cause of unity against imperialism and a strong support for their Congolese brothers' struggle for independence."

The Commentator pointed out that Tshombe's shameless attempt to get into the conference was masterminded by U.S. imperialism. In order to suppress the Congolese people's revolutionary struggle, the U.S. imperialists, in league with the old colonialists, decided to put Tshombe back in power. One of the reasons why he was so hurriedly installed in office at the beginning of July was that they wanted to enable him to take part in the conference due to start on July 17 as "Premier" of the Congo and thus gain legal status for his puppet regime in the African community. "This in fact was an attempt to compel the African countries and people to recognize the swallowing up of the Congo by U.S. imperialism as a fait accompli."

"But this is not all," the Commentator continued. "U.S. imperialism is also plotting to direct 'Premier' Tshombe to ask the other African countries to dispatch troops to help the imperialists and their lackeys suppress the Congolese people and so realize their sinister scheme to make Africans fight Africans. The resolute opposition of the O.A.U. ministerial council and many heads of African states to Tshombe's participation is, therefore, a telling blow against this U.S. imperialist scheme."

"Since being sent back to the Congo, Tshombe has faithfully carried out the will of his imperialist masters by actively working out military measures to suppress the Congolese people and at the same time he displays the flag of 'national reconciliation.' Passing himself off as a 'neutral,' he has been spreading lies in an attempt to disintegrate and demoralize the patriotic Congolese forces and win support from other African countries so that he can deceive more people at home. The African summit conference's rejection of his participation is a merciless exposure of Tshombe's true colours as a running dog of imperialism," the commentator concluded.

Indonesia — As I See It

by YANG CHUN-FONG*

I HAVE just returned from a one-month visit to Indonesia, where I had a much appreciated opportunity of going places and seeing things. Since this is the first time I have been in Indonesia, I do not pretend to have learnt much about the land and its people. The more so, because Indonesia is a country of widely scattered islands and my trip, owing to pressure of time, was limited to a few major cities in Java. However, even judging from what little I have been able

to see, I must say that my brief visit has proved extremely interesting and enlightening. I left for Djakarta, filled with expectations; I came away, deeply impressed.

Before my departure from Peking I took time out to read some books and magazines about Indonesia. Many friends, Chinese and Indonesian alike, were kind enough to brief me on what life in Indonesia is like. I was given to understand that over there in Djakarta it is terribly hot and that I would do well to take three shower baths every day to keep myself physically fit. In China we think of the weather in terms of spring, summer, autumn and winter. But in Djakarta it is

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summer all year round and people speak of the weather in terms of rainy and dry seasons.

From the first day of my arrival in Djakarta and afterwards wherever I went, in Surabaya, Semarang, Jogjakarta, Solo and Bandung, the one common question my Indonesian friends asked me with obvious concern was: "How do you find the weather here? It is too hot for you, isn't it?"

Revolutionary Furore

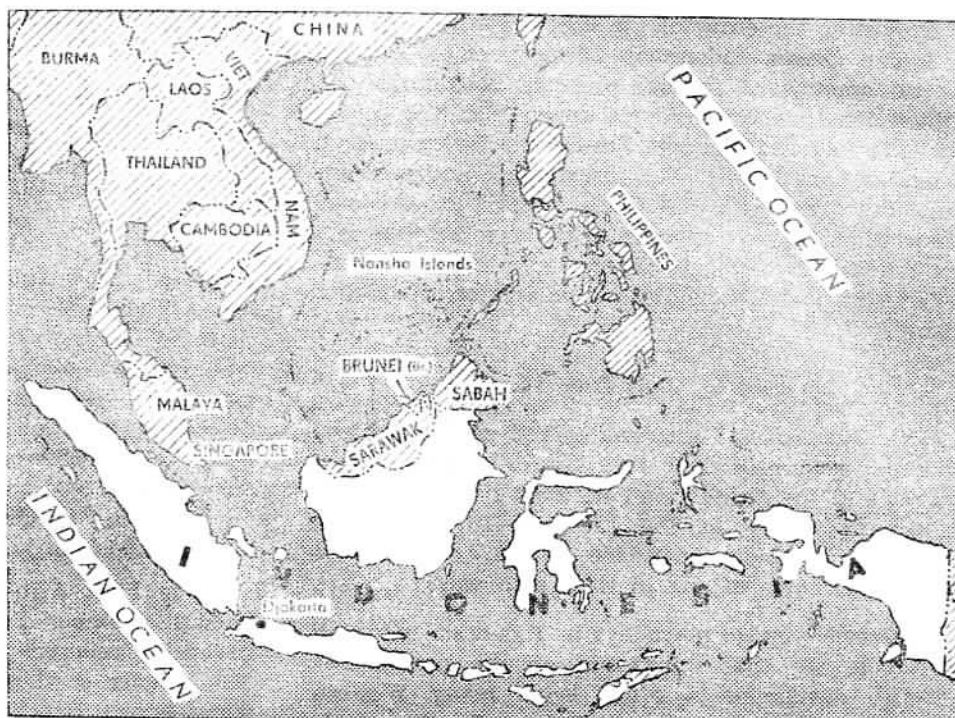
To this I invariably replied: "Yes, it's a bit too hot around here. But, honestly, it is not as hot as I feared it might be. However, in another respect it has turned out much hotter than I expected. What I mean to say is the revolutionary furore of the Indonesian people and the exceedingly heart-warming reception accorded me during my trip. I have not yet found a thermometer to measure the temperature of this revolutionary furore and warm reception. A political barometer will do the job, I suppose. Needless to say the higher this temperature rises, the more comfortable I feel. I rather like it, you know."

Political Ferment. What strikes me most in Indonesia these days is the nation's throbbing political life. Here you see a country in political ferment, in revolutionary mood. You need not stay long to feel the beat of the political pulse. Everywhere you hear people talking about revolution, or more specifically, about the Indonesian revolution.

Of course different speakers may have their own interpretation of revolution. From the political point of view, what is most significant is that the ideals of revolution are so popular with the Indonesian people that public leaders, whatever their political colouration, consider it advisable to come out under the banner of revolution in order to win popular support. This serves as a straw to show in which way the political wind is blowing in Indonesia.

A Fighting People

A revolutionary people is a fighting people. They stand firm in safeguarding their national rights and interests. They face up squarely to imperialist threats and aggression, instead of taking it lying down or turning the other cheek. Their political motto is an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Neither pressure nor



Sketch Map by Su Li

threats from any quarter can swerve a revolutionary people from the course they have embarked upon. Here are just a few examples to show what I mean.

The Stick and the Carrot. Early in May Washington turned the heat on Djakarta in an attempt to compel Indonesia to give up its fight against Malaysia. A spokesman of the U.S. State Department said on May 6 that future aid to Indonesia depended on Djakarta's maintaining good relations with its neighbours, and he let it be known that the U.S. programme of aid to Indonesia had already been curtailed. Playing with U.S. aid both ways—as a big stick as well as a piece of carrot, Assistant Secretary of State Bundy arrogantly warned that the U.S. might suspend all aid if Indonesia continued its "aggressive" policy towards Malaysia. In this way U.S. imperialism hoped to force Indonesia to back down on the Malaysia issue. "The Indonesian economy," as Bundy put it, "is in serious shape and in the near future it could collapse." In other words, U.S. imperialism reckoned that Indonesia, because of its economic difficulties, would bow to U.S. pressure.

Standing Up to U.S. Pressure. But the purse-proud moneybags in Washington reckoned without their host. The days are gone, gone for ever when Indonesia could be browbeaten or pushed around at will. Voicing the sentiment of the Indonesian people who have a high sense of national pride, President Sukarno solemnly declared that Indonesia would accept aid with no strings attached from any country, but if aid was offered to Indonesia with conditions, then to hell with such aid. Although the President named no names, it is quite clear whom he was talking to.

Protesting the entry of the U.S. Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean, Indonesian newspapers emphasized that no amount of foreign pressure or threats can frighten the Indonesian people away from the course they have followed, Seventh Fleet or no Seventh Fleet. Indonesian opposition to U.S. interference and pressure is not limited by any means to mere verbal protests and denunciation. Mass action on a nationwide scale has been taken. The boycott of American films has far-reaching implications, political as well as economic and cultural.

Masters in Their Own House

The Indonesians I met and talked with acted and talked as masters in their own house. They are just as jealous of their rights and national honour as they are acutely aware of the responsibilities involved. They have complete confidence in their ability to manage their own affairs in their own way.

Wherever you go nowadays in Indonesia, you will not fail to see that things are on the move. The rapid-fire developments often leave many Western observers bewildered and perplexed. In the single month of May when I was in Indonesia, one important event followed another in quick succession. Just a few are listed here. With respect to the struggle against Malaysia, President Sukarno in his May Day speech reiterated Indonesia's determination to crush Malaysia and issued on May 3 his action command to volunteers, better known as the Dwikora for fighting Malaysia. Also in May the Manikebuists (followers of the Cultural Manifesto) were banned by special presidential decree for their vacillating attitude towards the revolution, and the boycott of American films got under way in Djakarta and other leading cities throughout the country. On May 23 the Communist Party of Indonesia marked its 44th birthday, defining as its immediate task the battle against three evils — Malaysia, rural "devils" and modern revisionism. It will be interesting to note that the Indonesian Communist Party with a membership of more than 2.5 million stands first among the Communist Parties outside the socialist camp. A really exciting and event-packed month, was it not?

Banteng Spirit and Bandung Spirit

The Banteng spirit and the Bandung spirit are much talked about these days in Indonesia. President Sukarno and Communist Party Chairman Aidit in their public addresses often referred to the Banteng spirit of "Ever Forward, No Retreat." The following popular song describes the Banteng spirit in practice.

*Go forward bravely to uphold truth.
Go forward bravely, our rights are at stake.
Go forward bravely, kick out the aggressor.
Let's go forward all together, we're sure to win.
Let's go forward all together to fight the aggressor,
There is nothing we fear,*

*We must attack,
Go forward, we're sure to win through,*

The New Emerging Forces. Indonesia, it seems to me, attaches great importance to the promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity, to the unity of the New Emerging Forces. The English terms "New Emerging Forces" and "Old Established Forces" are in current use in the Indonesian language. In fact, they have become part and parcel of the Indonesian language just as the French terms "esprit de corps" and "fait accompli" have been accepted as standard usage in English. Indonesian speakers in their public speeches and private conversation use "New Emerging Forces" without having it translated into Indonesian and people understand it completely. To co-operate with and rely upon the new emerging forces of Asia and Africa in combating imperialism and colonialism constitutes an important link in Indonesian policy.

The First Afro-Asian Conference of 1955 formulated the famous Ten Principles as guiding principles governing relations between the Afro-Asian countries. The essence of these principles is summed up in the world-known Bandung spirit, laying down a firm foundation for Afro-Asian solidarity. Since the Bandung Conference a series of conferences and events aimed at promoting Afro-Asian unity have taken place. There were the Games of the New Emerging Forces, the preparatory meeting of the Second Afro-Asian Conference, the Third Afro-Asian Film Festival, just to mention a few. As the host country to these gatherings, Indonesia has made a notable contribution to the common cause of Afro-Asian solidarity in fighting imperialism and colonialism and in supporting the national-independence movement.

The Battle Against Malaysia

Fighting Malaysia is the talk of the day in Indonesia. The reason is not difficult to find. Running counter to the principle of a nation's right to self-determination, Malaysia, a neo-colonialist puppet show stage-managed by Britain with the support of the United States, not only threatens Indonesia's security but also endangers peace in Southeast Asia. In Djakarta you see volunteers from all walks of life undergoing military training everywhere. Wives of cabinet ministers have been trained to administer first-aid and operate military field canteens. Government agencies are modelled on military lines. For example, there are the Koti (Supreme Operation Command), the Kotoe (Supreme Economic Operation Command) and the Kotrar (Supreme Operation Command for Tightening Up the Apparatus of the Revolution), etc. As a result of the intensification of the movement against Malaysia, more and more people are coming to realize that the battle against Malaysia is linked up to helping the people of North Kalimantan achieve their national independence. At the May Day celebration held under the auspices of Sobsi, D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, led the audience in chanting the slogan — "*Ganjang Malaysia, Bebaskan Kalimantan Utara! Lawan*

Tengku, Bantu Azahari!" ("Fighting Malaysia, Liberate North Kalimantan! Oppose Tengku, Support Azahari!") Twenty-three people's organizations in Djakarta on May 25 sponsored a drive to support the struggle of the North Kalimantan people for national liberation. It is steadily dawning on the Indonesian people that the fight against Malaysia is essentially a battle against neo-colonialism in defence of national liberation.

A Unifying Factor. Moreover, the struggle against Malaysia has had a tremendous impact on Indonesia's internal politics. For one thing, it is a powerful unifying factor, rallying the Indonesian people, irrespective of political affiliation or religious belief, in a common fighting cause. For another, it serves as a driving force in consolidating the home front. As the battle against Malaysia unfolds, a growing number of people are coming to the conclusion that Indonesia's political and economic power must be enhanced if the fight against Malaysia is to win final victory. In other words, pressing political and economic problems have to be straightened out. The formation of the Kotrar, the streamlining of the Kotoe and the mounting popular demand for an early establishment of a Nasakom* cabinet are indicative of this trend.

How to Resolve Difficulties

Indonesia is a land of great promise. It is also a land not without contradictions or difficulties. This is nothing strange. In the final analysis, revolution involves a ceaseless struggle between the new revolutionary forces and the old reactionary vested interests. It is only natural that contradictions and difficulties should exist in Indonesia. For example, Indonesia is facing economic difficulties. Inflation and rising prices present a big headache. Dr. Subandrio, the First Deputy Prime Minister, in a speech called public attention to the gravity of the situation. However he cautioned against pessimism and expressed confidence to keep the situation in hand and solve the problem step by step. Indonesia's economic difficulties have their social and historical background. Long years of Dutch colonial rule followed by Japanese military occupation, with their attendant ruthless exploitation and plunder left Indonesia's economy in a mess. The growth of Indonesia's national economy had been disastrously handicapped and retarded. Time and painstaking efforts are needed to clean things up and get rid of the economic backwardness left over from history. Indonesia's con-

* Nationalists, religious groups and Communists.



Indonesian women volunteers on parade

frontation policy towards Malaysia necessitates corresponding readjustments in the economic field to meet the new situation. Apart from that, imperialist interference and sabotage also adds to Indonesia's economic difficulties.

Self-Reliance. Attaching increasing importance to the policy of self-reliance in building up their country, the Indonesian people are trying to work out their economic problems in their own way. At the same time Indonesia is expanding its economic co-operation with the new emerging countries of Asia and Africa. Given time and correct policy, Indonesia, with its rich natural resources and hard-working revolutionary people, will certainly be able to solve its economic problems.

History teaches that it is through an endless process of resolving contradictions and overcoming difficulties that revolution goes on until victory is won. Contradictions and difficulties are nothing to be afraid of. The most important thing is which way one is going. From what I have been able to see, Indonesia is moving in the right direction. The road ahead may be long and rocky. However, the revolutionary Indonesian people, I am sure, will march down the road with the firm resolve that they can and will reach their goal.

Palm-Firm Character. Palm trees are to be seen everywhere in Indonesia, at the sea shores, on mountain tops, in the meadows and fields. Overseas Chinese in Indonesia call Djakarta the city of palm trees. Indeed, palm trees have much to do with the daily life of the Indonesian people, and are symbolic of the Indonesian national character. They stand firm and erect, storm or no storm, never bending or breaking.

The Banteng spirit and the palm-firm character of the Indonesian people highly impressed and inspired me during my trip. The more I think of it, the more I like it. Now back in Peking, it is not without a strong feeling of nostalgia that I look back upon those memorable days I have had in Indonesia.

Resolution of First National Conference Of Indonesian C.P.

Develop and Strengthen Unity in the International Communist Movement on the Basis of Marxism-Leninism

On July 15, "Harian Rakjat," organ of the Indonesian Communist Party, published the text of the resolution adopted at the First National Conference of the Indonesian Communist Party under the title "Develop and Strengthen Unity in the International Communist Movement on the Basis of Marxism-Leninism." Following is a translation of the full text. — Ed.

HAVING discussed the speech of Comrade Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, and particularly the international questions and the development of the present international communist movement, the First National Conference of the Indonesian Communist Party held in Djakarta from July 3 to 5 pointed out: The struggle of the world's peoples, the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in particular, against imperialism headed by the United States is increasingly on the upsurge, and the process of selection, crystallization and consolidation in the international communist movement is developing daily. This is precisely as what the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party in December 1963 summed up. In the most vulnerable areas and in the centres of revolutionary storm, for example, Southeast Asia, the blows dealt by the people at imperialism have not only brought them new victories but also defended and strengthened the socialist countries and the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

Facts have proved that the policy of ogling and flirting with the imperialists, the policy of nuclear blackmail or the hullabaloo about "revolution through the peaceful road" cannot make the people of different countries relax their struggle for independence, democracy, socialism and peace. The lessons of the recent Brazilian reactionary coup, which hits at the revolutionary movement and abolishes democratic rights, show how dangerous it is to emphasize one-sidedly and give prominence to the "peaceful road," as the experience of the struggle of the Indonesian people themselves has also proved that only when they do not give up the weapons in their hands, can they carry the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism through and win success.

The differentiation and selection taking place within Communist Parties in many countries have shown that the ranks of the world Marxist-Leninists are becoming stronger and stronger daily. On the contrary, the activities of the modern revisionists to erode, split and betray the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and old and new colonialism have been daily exposed. The Shiga-Suzuki revisionist group and its followers have been expelled from the Japanese Communist Party and this is one more victory among many other victories. This has not only strengthened Japanese Marxist-Leninist ranks but also international Marxist-Leninist forces. The National Conference welcomes this victory with great pleasure.

With regard to the attitude of the Indonesian Communist Party towards the split in the international communist movement and the way to settle it, the conference reaffirms and reiterates the attitude of adhering to Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, and the attitude of independence and equality which the Indonesian Communist Party has taken all along, and it considers this attitude to be correct and important.

The increased sharpness of the differences in the international communist movement is reflected in the fact that at present there are four kinds of Communist and Workers' Parties in the world. Every Communist Party and Workers' Party should take this into account in a responsible manner. Therefore, on the question of the possibility of holding an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the National Conference reiterates the attitude of the Indonesian Communist Party from the very outset, that is, before the holding of such a meeting, it is necessary and important to make full preparations and it is necessary and important that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China hold bilateral talks at a time suitable to them so as to reach agreement on the differences of views between the two Parties. Meanwhile, it is also necessary to hold bilateral talks between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Albanian Party of Labour and between the other Parties in accordance with the principle of independence and equality.

In this respect, the conference welcomes with pleasure the talks in early June between the Indonesian Communist Party and the New Zealand Communist Party and their joint statement, and stresses the importance of developing such bilateral talks.

The conference emphasizes that an international meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties held forcibly or in a hurry without full preparation will surely fail to achieve the purpose of strengthening unity in the international communist movement and will only bring about a formal and open split on a world-wide scale. The Indonesian Communist Party should of course refrain from doing so.

The National Conference holds that only by taking an objective attitude and exercising the greatest possible patience in settling the differences of views and preparing for the holding of bilateral talks among the fraternal Parties in accordance with the revolutionary

principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and the principles of proletarian internationalism can a broad avenue be opened to the creation of favourable conditions for the holding of an international meeting of all Parties.

The National Conference declares that the Indonesian Communist Party is determined to do all it can to develop and strengthen unity in the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Let us develop and strengthen unity in the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism!

The First National Conference of the
Indonesian Communist Party

Djakarta, July 5, 1964

What's Behind Khrushchov Group's Opposition to "Personality Cult"?

"Zeri i Popullit," organ of the Albanian Party of Labour, has devoted an article to upholding Stalin's revolutionary cause and exposing Khrushchov's opposition to the "personality cult" as a means of glossing over his anti-Marxist line of betrayal. Entitled "Completely Unmask the Dangerous Schemes of the Khrushchov Group in Its So-Called Opposition to the 'Personality Cult,'" the article was published on June 12, 13 and 14. Extracts of the article follow. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

STALIN was a great revolutionary leader who rendered outstanding, historic service to the Soviet people and the international working class, the article says. If what the revisionists call the personality cult manifested itself in his actions as a leader, then grave responsibility also rests on Khrushchov, Mikoyan and their like who were aware of this, but, instead of making any criticism, they lauded Stalin as "father, wise teacher, and talented leader of the Soviet Party and people and of the workers of the world" and so on and so forth. This shows that they were hypocrites and traitors in disguise.

At one time Khrushchov called Stalin a revolutionary and an outstanding Marxist-Leninist, and at another, defamed him in dirty language. While loudly criticizing Stalin's "personality cult," he is irresistibly fostering a personality cult of himself.

This shows that Khrushchov and his group's hue and cry about the "personality cult" is nothing but a farce, a demagogic trickery.

This hue and cry has been raised by the Khrushchov revisionist group with ulterior motives.

First, it is designed as a smokescreen to justify, cover up and put across its anti-Marxist, opportunist line of betrayal in the entire international communist movement—the line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful transition" and "humanitarian, democratic and liberal socialism."

Secondly, it is designed to gag the Marxist-Leninist parties which uphold Stalin's thoughts and revolutionary work and oppose the betrayal by Khrushchov and his followers so as to discredit these parties, thus removing the obstacles to his revisionist road. It is also intended to be used as a means to exert pressure on other Parties, interfere in their internal affairs and get rid of leaders not to his liking.

The Aim Is to Abolish Proletarian Dictatorship

The article says that one of the principal objectives of the modern revisionists in their attempt to cause the socialist system to degenerate and to undermine it is to discredit and liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. They hurled the most shocking calumnies against Stalin. By so doing, they in fact directed their attack against the dictatorship of the proletariat. They tried their best to describe it as terror, a police regime, the negation of democracy, a system that must be liquidated as quickly as possible.

The "crimes" which Khrushchov accused Stalin of were fictitious and the "facts" he cited were fabrications and distortions.

The real purpose of the Khrushchov group's opposition to Stalin is to abolish the dictatorship of the prole-

ariat, change the socialist system and introduce "liberalization." The slogan "liberalization" has become a main aspect of the scheme of the enemies of socialism to cause the socialist system to degenerate and liquidate it. The modern revisionists' theory of the "provisional" dictatorship of the proletariat and "state of the whole people" is a big concession of principle to the renegades of the working class, to the chieftains of the Right-wing social democratic parties, to the bourgeoisie and imperialism. And the conversion of the Soviet Union to a "state of the whole people" is in reality the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a great betrayal of the socialist cause.

Refuting Khrushchov's argument that "the danger of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is excluded," the article says that in fact the danger of the restoration of capitalism exists in all socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, and the source of this danger lies not only in the pressure likely to come from imperialism but in revisionism that strives to cause socialism to degenerate. In addition to the case of Tito in Yugoslavia, the fact that the Khrushchov revisionist group could usurp the state and Party leadership in the Soviet Union clearly proves that the danger of the restoration of capitalism through the degeneration of the socialist state power is a real danger.

The article declares that in their unbridled attacks on Stalin and his work, the modern revisionists first direct their attack against the Leninist principle which Stalin resolutely defended, namely, in the struggle of the working class to overthrow capitalism and in the period of building socialism and communism leadership must be assumed by a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party.

The frantic anti-Stalin propaganda campaign is aimed precisely at attaining the anti-Marxist purpose of causing the proletarian revolutionary parties to degenerate and liquidate it.

Khrushchov's "creative new discovery" on the transformation of the party of the working class of the Soviet Union into a "party of the entire people" is also a link in the chain of treacherous activities of the modern revisionists for liquidating the Marxist party of the proletariat. This is in fact tantamount to denying the leading role of the working class in the struggle for realizing communism and is an out-and-out anti-Marxist-Leninist theory.

On the road of liquidating the revolutionary party of the working class of the U.S.S.R., the Khrushchov group took another step after the 22nd Congress: It "reorganized" the whole Party "on the basis of production." Two parallel Party organizations were established in the same area, one for industry and another for agriculture. The central idea of the entire "reorganization" is to lead the Party organizations away from political problems and direct all their attention to economic questions, to replace political leaders in the Party by economic leaders. The aim is, in effect, to

transform the political party of the working class into a simple economic organization, which in essence, means the liquidation of the Party.

Since Khrushchov and his group usurped Party and state leadership, every door has been thrown open for the uncontrolled influx of all anti-Marxist and anti-socialist views, tendencies and influences into the whole realm of the spiritual life of the Soviet Union.

As a matter of fact, nearly all Soviet literature created in the thirty years under Stalin's leadership has been wiped out and all Marxist-Leninist theories on art and literature have been subjected to attack. At the same time, the bourgeois idea of ideological coexistence in art and complete freedom for different trends of art is being preached. The revolutionary traditions and the historical optimism of Soviet literature have been forgotten and circulation of large numbers of decadent works vilifying and defaming socialism has begun.

Every year, hundreds and thousands of "tourists" from the United States and other capitalist countries visit the Soviet Union; visits of vast numbers of artists, sportsmen, men of letters, businessmen, ministers and senators are exchanged; decadent Western books, journals, and films are put into unrestricted circulation, and radio and television programmes are freely exchanged. All this has been done at a time when cultural and art exchange with those socialist countries adhering to the Marxist-Leninist position has been blocked and no stone has been left unturned to prevent people from listening to Radio Peking and Radio Tirana and a strict quarantine on all publications of the Marxist-Leninist parties has been imposed.

All this is the consequence of the Khrushchovian line of multilateral "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The Soviet Union no longer jams the "Voice of America" which is very popular there. Many important American publications are now available in the Soviet Union and the Soviet press publicly expresses the desire to write more about life in the United States.

To Make the Socialist Economy Degenerate

In the few years since the Khrushchov group's assumption of power, a series of measures has been taken in the Soviet Union and "reorganizations" have been carried out in the economic field. These measures and reorganizations are in essence a dangerous distortion of the economic laws of socialist construction and lead to the degeneration of the socialist system.

For years Khrushchov has made a lot of noise about "material incentive" being the motive force of construction and placed "personal material interests" above everything else. This inevitably leads to the neglect of social interests, and the placing of personal interests above social interests, causes people to devote themselves to profit-making and personal enrichment, weakens their socialist consciousness, revives the vestiges of capitalism among them, helps the growth of different trends of bourgeois individualism and nurtures various kinds of parasites, speculators and anti-socialist ele-

ments. Facts prove that this is precisely what is now happening in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov is exerting himself to push Soviet society back to capitalism. One of the consequences of his policy of "personal material interests," which seems to be also one of his principal objects, is the creation of a privileged stratum, of a new "aristocracy," which, proceeding from its narrow interest, supports the revisionist, anti-socialist, anti-revolutionary and nationalist line of Khrushchov and his renegade group. It is precisely the creation of such a privileged stratum which constitutes at present the social basis of the spread of revisionism in certain socialist countries.

Khrushchov has gone so far as to reduce the ideal of communism and the fight for communism to efforts to stuff one's belly with a plate of goulash. Such a vulgar conception clearly has nothing to do with the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific communism. It inevitably results in deviation from proletarian internationalism and withholding support from the revolutionary movement in other countries. It leads to narrow egoism and nationalism.

In agriculture, Khrushchov has got himself into a blind alley by such policies as the reclamation of wasteland, the reorganization of machine and tractor stations and the development of maize production. Now he is pinning all his hopes of salvation on the development of the chemical industry.

The Khrushchov group has had to import more than 10 million tons of grain from Canada, Australia, the United States and other places to meet domestic needs. This is something which has never happened before in Soviet history.

The article points out that indisputable facts show with increasing clarity that the line followed by Khrushchov and his renegade group in the name of "combating the Stalin personality cult and its consequences" is actually a line of causing the socialist economy to degenerate into capitalism according to the pattern of Tito's Yugoslavia.

A Line of Capitulation to Imperialism

The facts have shown that with the lapse of time, people see more and more clearly the fundamental difference between the two diametrically opposed lines in foreign policy: Stalin's Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist line and the opportunist line of capitulation and betrayal followed by Khrushchov and his group.

For a long period, the Khrushchov group has not only renounced the road of resolutely and systematically exposing imperialism but has taken the path of spreading pernicious illusions about U.S. imperialism and its chieftains, thus lulling the people's vigilance and leading them away from their staunch struggle against imperialism. Because the Khrushchov group has completely surrendered to the atomic blackmail of imperial-

ism and has sunk to the position of bourgeois nationalism, it attempts to improve relations with the United States at all costs and does not scruple to sacrifice and trample on the vital interests of various socialist countries, the revolutionary movement and the oppressed peoples. It tried by hook or by crook to disarm the People's Republic of Albania and to conduct subversive activities against her. In the Sino-Indian border clashes, it not only stood on the side of the Indian reactionaries but colluded with the U.S. imperialists in supplying them with supersonic aircraft, arms and other material to facilitate their aggression against the People's Republic of China. In the face of Kennedy's threats, it unhesitatingly and promptly withdrew the missiles it had shipped to Cuba. After signing the partial nuclear test ban treaty, concluded between the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain, Khrushchov is now trying by every means possible to reach an agreement with the U.S. imperialists on the so-called prevention of nuclear proliferation. These steps are aimed at establishing the nuclear monopoly of the United States and the Khrushchov group, and constitute a betrayal of the first order. After signing the notorious Moscow treaty, the Khrushchov group went ahead to take steps designed to cover up U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, spread illusions and hoodwink the people of all countries. The agreement on the reduction of fissionable materials concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States and the Soviet government proposal on renunciation of the use of force for the solution of territorial disputes and boundary questions are both aimed at achieving these purposes.

The article points out that the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, have always been the most ferocious enemies of the Soviet people. They have not given up and will never give up their line of sabotage and aggression designed to bring the Soviet Union to its knees. Therefore, by allying itself with the imperialists to oppose the true allies of the Soviet Union—the various socialist countries and the revolutionary movement for national liberation—the Khrushchov group is weakening the Soviet position and exposing the people of all nationalities of the Soviet Union to great danger.

The anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary and perfidious stand of Khrushchov and his group finds particularly clear expression in his concept of peaceful coexistence. Khrushchov's line of peaceful coexistence is in effect one of going over to the side of and allying itself with imperialism.

Substituting Nationalism and Great-Nation Chauvinism for Proletarian Internationalism

The characteristic of the line taken by Khrushchov on relations with the fraternal Parties and the socialist countries and in dealing with the revolutionary movement and the national-liberation movement is to substitute nationalism and great-nation chauvinism for proletarian internationalism.

The article says: 1. Under the pretext of the increasing possibility of many countries of the world effecting a "peaceful transition" to socialism in our epoch, the Khrushchov group intimidates the people of all countries by alleging that the road of non-peaceful transition to socialism will lead to armed clashes between countries and even to worldwide thermonuclear war. In fact it renounces revolution and refuses to support the revolutionary movement of other countries. The Khrushchov group has submitted to the nuclear blackmail of U.S. imperialism, sought by every means possible "peaceful coexistence" and "multilateral co-operation" with the "rich" and "powerful" imperialist countries, sacrificed the interests of the working people of all countries without hesitation and has taken upon itself the task of checking revolutionary struggles. This is bourgeois nationalism pure and simple.

2. The Khrushchov group has continuously spread illusions alleging that colonialism has been completely or almost completely eliminated, that it is possible to realize the liberation of the peoples through "peaceful coexistence" and general and complete disarmament, that it is possible to liquidate colonialism through the United Nations and that the imperialist countries will extend enormous aid to develop the economically backward areas. At the same time, it tries to frighten the people of all countries by alleging that "a single spark will touch off a universal conflagration." This shows that instead of giving resolute support to the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle of the peoples, the Khrushchov group is trying its best to stop and stamp out this struggle.

3. Under the pretext of "international division of labour" and "specialization," the Khrushchov group tramples upon the principles governing relations among the socialist countries, and, through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance or in other forms, forces other socialist countries to accept measures detrimental to their economic independence and national sovereignty. It tries its best to detach key economic branches from the control of the countries concerned and sets up many "supra-governmental" organizations, that is, a government over and above the governments of other socialist countries. This is a crude violation of the sovereignty of these countries. All these measures are simply a manifestation of great-nation chauvinism and are not different from capitalist "economic integration."

4. The Khrushchov group has violated and continues to violate brutally the principles governing relations among the Communist and Workers' Parties, which are stipulated explicitly in the 1960 Moscow Statement, and has attempted to impose its line of revisionism and betrayal on the other fraternal Parties and force them to accept resolutions adopted by one Party. It has extended ideological differences to state relations.

5. Because of all their anti-Marxist viewpoints and anti-internationalist actions, Khrushchov and his

group have become the most dangerous splitters in the socialist camp, the world communist movement and the international democratic movement and its organizations. They have revised the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and thus undermined the basis for the solid unity of the world communist movement.

Of late, in its splitting and sabotaging activities, the Khrushchov revisionist group let loose a new offensive against the People's Republic of China, the Albanian Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist parties. This offensive is intended to bring about a complete and open split in the communist movement and the socialist camp.

The article says: It can now be seen with increasing clarity that the anti-Stalinist line is one of betraying proletarian internationalism, of national egoism and great-nation chauvinism, of breaking the unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement, and betraying the interest of the world revolutionary movement.

A Major Question of Principle

It points out that what attitude to take towards Stalin and how to appraise his viewpoints and his work is a major question of principle and is of vital importance for the whole communist movement and international workers' movement.

Therefore, the struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists over the question of Stalin is indeed a struggle over a question of principle. It is in fact a struggle over a vital, fundamental question of principle: whether to remain loyal to the fundamental historical experience of the Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U., to the road indicated by Lenin and Stalin, or to take the road of betraying socialism and causing it to degenerate, the road towards the restoration of capitalism, the road of national egoism or great-nation chauvinism, the road towards a split and capitulation to imperialist and bourgeois ideology?

Concluding, the article says that Khrushchov's revisionism has become the greatest menace in the history of the international communist movement, the most ferocious and dangerous enemy of socialism and communism, undermining the unity of the socialist camp and the world revolutionary and liberation movements and bringing incalculable harm to the cause of socialism, revolution, national independence, democracy and world peace.

Therefore, to unmask Khrushchov and his revisionist group and to defend Stalin and his work firmly is to defend Marxism-Leninism, the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the Soviet Union and the historical achievements of the Soviet people, revolution and socialism and communism. This is the primary task now facing all revolutionaries and all true Marxist-Leninists.

Bringing Up Heirs for the Revolution

THE matter of bringing up worthy heirs to the proletarian revolution—of raising new generations who will steadfastly carry the socialist revolution through to the end, occupies an important part of the attention of the Chinese people today. Since early July, *Renmin Ribao* and many other papers and magazines have been giving frontpage prominence to editorials, features and news reports on this subject and they promise further discussion, more stories and information on it in the future.

Raised with special authority by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, this question is one of the utmost historical importance. It is a question, in the final analysis, of how to ensure that the revolution, won by the older generation at the cost of such sacrifices, will be carried on victoriously to the end by the generations to come; that the destiny of our country will continue to be held secure in the hands of true proletarian revolutionaries; that our sons and grandsons and their successors will continue to advance, generation after generation, along the Marxist-Leninist, and not the revisionist, path, that is, advance steadily towards the goal of communism, and not to retreat to make room for a capitalist restoration.

The period of socialism, the period which China is now going through, is a historical period of transition from capitalist to communist society. Classes and class struggle continue to exist in this period and the question of "who will win?" is still not finally resolved. It appears that this period of transition will take five to ten generations or even longer to complete itself.

The struggle to win over the youth is an important aspect of the class struggle in this period of socialism. The enemies of the revolution of every kind are doing all they can to influence the youth and drag them on to non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary paths. There is no lack of statements by such reactionaries as the former U.S. Secretary of State Dulles or the former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Hilsman to show that U.S. imperialism pins its hopes on the degeneration of China's younger generation and counts on China's youth of the third or fourth generations to bring about a so-called "peaceful evolution" in our country—back to capitalism.

The question of educating and training our revolutionary heirs is therefore regarded as a most important matter that concerns the long-term advance of the cause of socialism and communism, not only in the next 100 years, but in the further future.

The following are *résumés* of three news features carried in the Chinese press in the past

fortnight. They give an idea of how this task is being tackled.

Their Eyes Are on the Future

During the course of the socialist education movement last year in the Taiyangsheng (Sunrise) People's Commune, in Kaiping County of Liaoning Province, a number of facts came to light which alerted the Party branch of the Hotun Brigade that the class enemy had not been inactive. They had set their dark hands on the youth—doing their utmost to poison their youthful minds and corrupt them. This drove home the urgency of the task of training up a staunch revolutionary younger generation.

Early this year, the Hotun Party branch mapped out a 10-year plan for the development of agriculture in its area. This is a well-thought-out plan that doesn't forget to include a housing project to take care of the population increase. With a determined spirit of self-reliance, they put forward the slogan "Plant trees first and build houses next." The project envisages, among other things, that beginning this year 20,000 trees will be planted each spring and autumn of every year for five years in succession. That will be about enough to solve the question of lumber ten years hence.

While formulating the plan, members of the Party branch already felt the need for a contingent of young people to help mobilize and organize the commune members to put the plan into execution. So they took a special look at the situation as regards membership: they had altogether 19 Party members in the brigade and seven of these formed the Party committee, the average age of whose members was 41. Who would take over the work of leadership here ten years hence, 20 years hence?

They approached this question with special care, because they had learnt a sharp lesson in 1961. At that time they had picked a young man to train, but because their method was wrong, and their choice not right, the youngster had grown self-conceited, isolated himself from the masses and later sank so low as to make some even more serious mistakes. So this time they made a close study one by one of all the brigade's 242 young men and women, weighing their merits and shortcomings again and again until finally they came out with a list of 14 young activists, nine men and five women, all, with the exception of one, being Youth League members. Of the 14 selected, 12 came from poor peasant families; and one from a lower-middle peasant and one from a middle peasant family (he was a descendant of a revolutionary martyr). In cultural level,

12 had six years of primary schooling, one had finished junior middle school and one had a college education. All 14 have shown that they have these good qualities: they have a firm proletarian stand in struggle against the enemy; they are resolute in carrying out the Party's policies and directives and are conscientious both in work and study; they subordinate their own interests to those of the collective, show a deep concern for the collective and the life of the masses, have a good style of work, a high prestige among the masses and are active in all political movements.

The Party branch has also worked out a whole set of measures to help raise the general ideological and political level of these 14 young people. Each of them has been put under the wing of a veteran cadre for advice and training.

This painstaking work is already yielding results. Six of the 14 are now considered to have acquired the qualifications required for Party membership. Following their good examples, more and more young people have become activists of the brigade, and the brigade now finds in its young activists a powerful force for socialist construction.

Training Ground for Revolutionary Cadres

Shortly after liberation, the Shihchingshan Power Plant in suburban Peking was assigned the dual task of "first, sending out electricity and second, sending out men." Following out these instructions, in the last 15 years the plant has given the state 13 groups of leading cadres, a total of more than 300, for appointment to posts in other places. These include a dozen or so factory directors, and many shop foremen and secretaries of Party branches and committees. All were trained on the job and over the years, the plant has evolved a whole set of measures for cultivating young people.

The Shihchingshan Power Plant is an old works with a long revolutionary tradition. One of its characteristic features is that it has a relatively large number of old workers who with their intimate knowledge of the past are better placed to realize how good the present is. These veterans play an important part in the Party's programme of bringing up the new generation of revolutionary workers.

The plant makes a regular practice of giving all new workers three months' special training before they get down to work. During this period, veteran revolutionaries and old workers help them to raise their level of class consciousness by educating them in the ideas of the revolution, collectivism and the stand of serving the people, with particular emphasis on class education and education in the revolutionary traditions.

When this training period is over, old workers are assigned to take responsibility for training one or two of the newcomers in their work. They help the latter mainly in three ways: by helping them raise their political and ideological level; by teaching them production techniques; by fostering in them a style of simple living

and hard work. From among these new workers, advanced elements are picked out and then "young shoots" are chosen from among these advanced elements to be cultivated into full-grown "trees," that is, men and women who will staunchly carry forward the revolution.

This work of training and cultivation is a painstaking process. In general, it involves giving these "young shoots" steadily more responsible jobs in production or additional work such as being secretary of Youth League or Party branch. Here, on the job, they are taught how to do political and ideological work well and how to master the mass line in their method of work. Whenever special political movements are organized, they are given the chance to steel themselves in the class struggle through concrete work. And when veteran cadres are absent, they are asked to stand in and do the work of the veterans so that when they finally take over, they are fully equal to their tasks.

Li Hsi-ming, now secretary of the plant's Party committee, is a case in point. An underground Party worker prior to the liberation, when he was 24 he was picked out as a promising "shoot" by the plant's Party committee after a close study of his records. At 26, he became a deputy secretary of the Party committee, and with the help of the secretary, learnt to handle things in the plant. During this time, he made a diligent study of Chairman Mao's works and the policies of the Party. He regularly went down to do a spell of physical labour at basic units where the work was toughest, and helped to solve key problems in production. When the secretary was transferred to another place, he was promoted to his present post. In the seven years as secretary, he has consistently maintained his close ties with the mass of workers and his fine working style of making strict demands on himself. In the Party committee, he always listens carefully to the opinion of other members and sticks to the principle of collective leadership. In this way, he rallies the entire leading body of the plant in close unity, and sees to it that the Party's policies are carried out both in the letter and spirit.

Li Hsi-ming and the rest of the young cadres raised in the plant have won general acclaim as worthy heirs to the revolution and emulators of their revolutionary predecessors.

Keep Power in Proletarian Hands

An anti-chemical company of the Chinese People's Liberation Army forces stationed in Canton has distinguished itself for its good work in promoting soldiers to be officers. Of the company's nine officers, seven have come from its own rank and file. In the last few years, it has altogether promoted 23 men to officer rank. Many of them have been sent to reinforce the leading cadres of other P.L.A. companies.

The Party branch of this company bases its work on a series of directives issued by the Military Committee of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and the General Political Department of the P.L.A. concerning the training of young revolution-

aries and on the idea of upholding the "four firsts" (that is, giving first place to the human factor, political work, ideological work and living ideas), which are the P.L.A.'s basic experiences in political work. A deep understanding of the great significance of paying attention to the human factor has enabled it to see that this work concerns the big question of fostering and maintaining the revolutionary spirit of the P.L.A. and ensuring that the power is always in proletarian revolutionary hands. Consequently, the entire Party branch has taken up this work most seriously and worked out a concrete plan for fostering young revolutionary officers.

The company keeps two sets of records, one for picking squad commanders from the ranks and the other, higher officers from among the squad commanders. The Party branch examines every rank-and-filer who has completed one year's service, picks out those who have a good class origin, and are politically progressive, conscientious in work, capable and close to the masses, and then re-examines the selected ones, one by one in detailed discussions. Detailed personal accounts of candidates so chosen are then entered into the records.

Private Wei Kuang-chai was selected in this way. Of poor peasant origin, he became a squad commander in 1961. Wei's records, put briefly, are: Accepted as a member of the Communist Youth League before completing one year's service; accepted as a Communist Party member in September 1960; elected a "5-good" soldier over a number of years and twice elected the company's "Good Party Member." In 1961, he became a "Good Squad Commander" and in January this year

was promoted a platoon commander with the rank of second lieutenant.

Officers above the rank of squad leader are chosen with even greater care. The Party branch first examines one by one those squad commanders who have served two years, selects those who are the firmest in their revolutionary stand and are exemplary in all respects, and then submits the name list for the higher authorities' approval before the names are entered into the record. Second Lieutenant Chu Kuang-shou who was promoted a platoon commander in May last year, was one such good squad leader. Under his leadership, his platoon got excellent marks twice in marksmanship tests, and won a place on the "4-good" platoon list at first-round choosing.

The two records keep detailed accounts of every trainee including, among other things, his class background, political ideology, military training and knowledge, organizing ability and state of health. The Party branch takes this task of training new revolutionary cadres as a part of its regular work and links this with the work of developing "5-good" soldiers and "4-good" platoons.

All candidates are given guidance in studying Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works so that they are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and can become Party members, proletarian fighters and all-round developed "5-good" soldiers before they are promoted to be officers. They are given ample opportunities to do political and ideological work and to master military techniques so that once they become officers they can carry out their duties loyally with confidence and efficiency.

Peking Opera Festival

SECOND SPRING

by YUAN SHIH-HAI¹

IN the past, we Peking opera actors had an old saying: "Men of the same trade are enemies." This aptly describes the relationship between man and man in the old society of cut-throat competition. But now, "we men of the same trade"—enthusiasts for Peking operas on revolutionary themes—are comrades-in-arms; keen to develop our common art, we take the liveliest interest in each other's achievements. Take myself for example, I saw most of the 35 plays entered in the festival, but I went three times to see *The Revolution Has Its Heirs*, produced by the Harbin Peking Opera Troupe from Heilungkiang Province in the northeast. My special interest here was to learn how to improve my own troupe's festival production, *The Red Lantern*², which used a different libretto adapted from the same story and was still being rehearsed. In the past six weeks, like most of my colleagues, I have done my best, amid a crowded schedule of rehearsals and seeing and

giving performances, to find time to attend many discussions as well. I thoroughly enjoy these, not only because what I hear there is most useful, but also because the comradely concern shown on such occa-

¹ Yuan Shih-hai is a well-known Peking opera actor. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, he has gone on tour to Burma, Indonesia, Japan, India, Canada, Cuba and many other Latin American countries. Reviewers and audiences both at home and abroad have widely acclaimed his performance in the role of Monk Lu Chih-shen, one of 108 Heroes of the Marshes in *Wild Boar Forest*, an opera based on the classical novel *Water Margin*.

² In this opera the author acts the role of Hatoyama, commander of a Japanese gendarme force. Set in the year 1943, the play's theme is the anti-Japanese struggle waged by the Party underground in northeast China occupied by the Japanese imperialists.

sions is deeply inspiring. We regard every production, no matter whose, as our own. Every achievement made, no matter by whom, is a joy shared by all in common.

What Successes Taught Us

There has been much to share. Several operas on contemporary revolutionary themes have been most successful. Such fine works as *By the Chienkan River*, *Sparks Amid the Reeds*, *Taino* and *The Red Lantern* are notable for their singing and characterization. Good dancing and acrobatics were the features of *Raid on the Tiger Regiment* and *Forcing the Tatu River*. Particular mention must be made of *Tiger Regiment* by the Shantung Peking Opera Troupe. In several scenes the troupe showed amazing skill, grace and artistry in tumbling and gymnastics. We were all deeply impressed by their perfect timing and deportment, agility and confidence in the most difficult manoeuvres. It is no exaggeration to say that in artistry this play even outshines the famous traditional play *Yentang Mountain*.

In our discussions, we unanimously agreed that these plays on modern themes are unmistakably Peking opera. The applause of our audiences and the fact that tickets were sold out way ahead were their endorsement of our efforts. We agreed that by reforming Peking opera, we have embarked on the right path and we determined to do still better in portraying the workers, peasants and soldiers of our times.

The joy we shared, however, was much more than having staged some successful plays. Even more important are the wonders the festival has opened our eyes to: by staging these plays on contemporary revolutionary themes we have greatly widened the scope of subject matter and enhanced the powers of expression of Peking opera art; we have immensely increased its vitality and broadened its prospects. The question of how to make Peking opera better serve the working people is on the way to being solved.

Contrary to what many people thought, depicting present-day life, instead of lowering, raises demands on Peking opera as a performing art. It is now seen that its basic training must be more exacting. We Peking opera actors in the old days had a saying: "An actor at 40 lives on what he has." That is, he has no more to learn, nor is he capable of learning anything new. I am 48 now, and talking with my over-40 colleagues, I found that we all feel that we have a great deal to learn today, and that we have actually already learnt many new things in practice on the current stage.

Old Society Commercialized Peking Opera

I began my Peking opera schooling at 11, and at 18 I was a professional actor. That is, I have worked 37 years on the stage. Past events are still fresh in my memory and it is deeply moving to see the flourishing state of our art today.

When I first embarked on my professional career 30 years ago in Shanghai, that was a metropolis of

pleasure-seekers and vice. Profit-minded businessmen regarded Peking opera as just another way of making money. In a production of *Pilgrimage to the West*, in the banquet scene in which the Dragon King entertains Monkey Sun Wu-kung, such people actually introduced a fantastic parade of eight nearly naked females in gauze costumes. Singing melodies totally out of harmony with Peking opera these presented wine to the Dragon King, then, dancing a so-called "4-strip" dance, they presented longevity peaches to Monkey Sun. In such circumstances, it was no easy matter to put on a genuine Peking opera.

Big Development Since Liberation

With liberation, Peking opera gained a new lease of life.

The Chinese Communist Party put forward the policy in art and literature of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" and "weeding through the old to let the new emerge," and this has been spring breeze and warm sunlight enabling Peking opera, which was withering, to blossom again.

A great deal of good work has been done in re-editing plays on the existing repertoire. Many traditional plays had fine elements existing side by side with dross; by restaging them to bring out their positive values and give them new content, they have been turned into works of art that can stand the closer scrutiny. Examples are legion. Theatre-goers abroad are not unfamiliar with some of them like *The Reconciliation of the General and the Prime Minister*, *Wild Boar Forest* and *The White Snake*.

The policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" has brought China's traditional opera art as a whole to a flourishing state. Thanks to this policy, we in Peking can now enjoy operas performed by visiting troupes in a wide variety of local styles (their number approaches 400!). This has given us Peking opera actors a lot to learn from. Just to cite one example. That little one-act play *Autumn River* in which the actress Tu Chin-fang has won and is still winning many European admirers on her current tour, is performed in the style of Szechuan opera, and not in its original Peking opera form. Speaking of Szechuan opera, believe it or not, many of us Peking opera actors before liberation didn't even know such a thing existed.

In building up our repertoire, there is one other aspect which deserves particular attention: guided by the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom," many new historical plays have been written and staged by Peking opera troupes in all parts of the country. Many have become very popular, like *Lin Chung Joins the Liangshan Rebels*, *Three Attacks on Chu Village*, *Heroine Tang Sai-erh* and *Women Generals of the Yang Family*.

The progress of our art also finds expression in the training of new actors and actresses. What worried us Peking opera actors most before the liberation in

1949 was the fact that no successors to our art were being trained. Under Japanese imperialist occupation all the Peking opera schools in Peking closed down one after another. This process began in 1941. No such schools existed outside Peking, so for a period of eight years up to 1949, the training of Peking opera actors was suspended completely.

The newly founded People's Government had a thousand and one things to do. But even under such conditions, the Chinese Communist Party did not neglect China's traditional arts, Peking opera included. Soon after liberation, the Chinese Opera School came into being. Immediately afterwards, the Peking Opera School was set up. Like bamboo shoots springing up after a spring shower, Peking opera troupes were formed in all parts of the country. Today, with the single exception of Tibet, all provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities have their own Peking opera troupes. And not only this: every Peking opera troupe has a youth troupe attached to it for the training of young actors and actresses. This has greatly strengthened our sources of reinforcements. Many new talents have come to the fore in this current festival, a fact that has most deeply touched and impressed us.

The new achievements in our art since liberation have left an indelible impression on the minds of actors of around my age and older. These successes are in themselves an education to us and help to quicken our own advance. This renaissance of Peking opera following the long, hard time of frosts and snows we called the First Spring.

Problems of Growth

But this does not mean that we have had no problems. On the contrary, we have many problems, and we feel them more acutely with each passing day.

All Peking opera actors could easily observe one thing: Since liberation, plays on contemporary revolutionary themes have been staged by quite a number of local-style opera troupes. Public response to these has been exceptionally warm. The earlier ones included *Little Son-in-Law* in *pingchu* style, a play dealing with the evils of marriages arbitrarily arranged by parents; *Thaw on an Ice-bound River*, another *pingchu* opera on the reform of prostitutes; *Spring Comes on the Heels of Winter*, a Honan opera dealing with the movement for co-op farms; and *The Lohan Coin*, a Shanghai opera propagandizing the New Marriage Law. Once produced these and many other plays have gone on being staged for hundreds of performances. As to recent plays on class struggles in the countryside, such as *The Seal* and *Chaoyang Ditch*, produced in a number of local styles, these have enjoyed a popularity both in town and country that far surpasses any previous works. But how were things with Peking opera? Our stage was still reigned over by emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, talented scholars and elegant beauties. From the point of view of depicting the life of our times, Peking opera was backward. Consequently, in

terms of attendance it also began to lag behind. In short, no small crisis confronted Peking opera.

Life itself posed the question: Do we want and can we make a revolution in Peking opera so that we too can perform plays on a wide range of contemporary themes?

At first the answers to this question were quite varied. Many people naturally thought first of all about Peking opera's fixed body of strict conventions of acting and staging, costume and music—conventions evolved during its two-hundred-year-old history. These conventions rule every movement of the actor's hand or foot. How could present-day people be portrayed if these conventions were strictly observed? Would the result still be Peking opera if the conventions were not followed? How could you act in Peking opera style without the traditional long beards and long, white silken sleeves?

We did make some experiments. But as we had not yet emancipated our minds, we lacked determination. Our experiments were not too successful and the matter was quietly allowed to drop. But the problems nevertheless remained. Since they were questions raised by our times of progress, there was no way for us finally to avoid them.

Peking Forum Points the Way

In August last year, China's traditional opera artists and workers held a discussion in Peking which lasted more than a month. The central question on the agenda was: What new demands has the new socialist era of today made on Chinese traditional operas and what should we workers in operatic circles do to meet these demands and keep pace with the advance of our times?

The consensus of opinion at the meeting was: Times have changed. Audiences have changed. The demands of audiences and their artistic tastes too have changed. In a word, the masses ask for a socialist art and literature which conforms to the socialist economic base. On the Peking opera stage they want to see the heroic people who are building socialism.

Our answer to this was that from then on we would go into the thick of life, to get to know the labouring people, their thoughts and feelings, their ways and habits and on this living basis make creative use of traditional conventions and evolve new ones which are both rooted in tradition and yet well suited to depicting today's working men. We were all willing to devote ourselves heart and soul to this task of opening up a new road for the advance of Peking opera.

Nine months have passed since the Peking forum. As evidenced by the current festival these have been nine meaningful months. The purpose of this festival was primarily to swap experience and learn from each other. But it was also a review of our work in the past nine months. The operas presented on contemporary revolutionary themes show that we have not

forsaken what is fine in our tradition, but have brought it closer to the masses and made it more vital. These new operas have opened our eyes more fully to the importance of fusing the conventions of the art with the dramatic situation being presented as well as with the psychological traits of the characters. This understanding will certainly have an important bearing on the further improvement of our traditional operas and new historical operas.

We are just witnessing the beginnings of Peking opera on contemporary themes. There is a long way still to go. But as it is, we can already foresee a flourishing situation in which we will have a Peking opera stage made more vital and even more brilliant with a sparkling repertoire of plays on contemporary themes, traditional plays and new historical plays. Little wonder that we Peking opera actors should have hailed this time as the Second Spring in the art of Peking opera!

Agricultural Science Serves the Farms

by LIN SHAN*

New China's agricultural scientists plan their efforts in co-ordination with current tasks on the nation's farms and the long-term planned perspectives of its developing socialist agriculture. Working closely with the collective farmers, they have big achievements to their credit, particularly in boosting farm yields. The contrast with pre-liberation days both in their status in society and progress in their science strikingly demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system.

AGRICULTURAL science in old China was backward and rested on very weak foundations. The few research institutions and experimental farms that existed were poorly equipped and under-staffed. They had never had sufficient funds for substantial research work. Even if, despite everything, an agronomist got successful results in his research work, it was extremely unlikely that they would be fruitfully applied on the nation's farms. Worthwhile scientific endeavours bogged down in the general economic collapse of the country caused by the ruling reactionary regime and its imperialist backers.

Creating a Modern Agro-Science Structure

Liberation fundamentally changed this situation. Fully alive to the importance of the agricultural sciences, the Communist Party of China and the People's Government have most actively fostered their growth. Within a few years of liberation the state had established seven large regional agricultural research institutes and many experimental farms on a provincial scale. Step by step it created a network of institutions devoted to agricultural science and techniques. These now study all the major branches of agricultural science. They cover all the various agricultural regions of the country and work in close contact with the rural people's communes.

In 1957, the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Science was established in Peking. Today, as the key centre of studies in this field, it supervises the work of 26 research institutes and large laboratories.

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Every province, autonomous region and large municipality now has comprehensive or specialized agricultural science institutes. These are also found in most of the special administrative regions and in a number of counties and cities. The newly opened farm areas or grasslands of Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia and Heilungkiang Province also have their own agricultural research centres. All these institutions work on the special scientific and technical agricultural problems of their localities.

In the counties there are seed farms to multiply good strains, seed stations to popularize their use, agro-technical stations to spread tested farming methods, as well as stockbreeding and veterinary stations.

The People's Government invests large sums each year in agricultural science. In setting up or aiding the many research institutions mentioned above, it has supplied them with a great deal of modern equipment and has thus provided favourable conditions for their work. Of key importance are the large number of students who graduate each year from China's more than 30 agricultural colleges. They go to reinforce the scientific and technical personnel working in the research institutes and associated enterprises and also the state farms and the rural people's communes where quite a lot of scientific work is also being done. Excluding faculty members of agricultural colleges, China now has over 14,000 agricultural research personnel. This nationwide network of institutions to develop agricultural science and techniques is being steadily strengthened.

Some Notable Successes

Step by step the country has moved out of its pre-liberation backwardness in the agricultural sciences. Big advances have been made in selecting and breeding improved strains of seed and animals. Since 1955, when farm co-operatives were set up throughout the countryside, farmers and scientists have jointly collected 180,000 specimens of 35 kinds of crops. Out of these, scientists have selected and bred large numbers of fine strains for general use in suitable areas. Since

1958, they have selected 487 good strains of 20 kinds of crops which yield around 10 per cent more than ordinary strains. These improved strains are being sown on a steadily expanding acreage.

Similar lines of research and selection have been followed by research institutes on 256 local breeds of livestock and poultry and 145 of these have been certified for general rearing in suitable areas.

Plant protection specialists have had great success in combating many destructive insect pests and plant diseases. Locusts in the past caused calamitous crop losses. Historical records show that over a period of some 2,600 years they did extensive damage to crops on an average of every three years. Locust plagues sometimes so thoroughly destroyed vegetation that entire peasant communities were forced to flee their homes and farms. Following studies in the locust-affected areas, agricultural scientists were able to recommend methods of wiping out these pests with chemicals and by transforming the physical conditions of the areas. The locust pest is now virtually under control.

Similar success has crowned the scientific war on wheat midges. These were at one time found in 17 provinces and caused losses of from 10 to 20 per cent of the annual wheat crop. Use of effective insecticides has now cut losses from this cause to around 1 per cent of the annual crop. Prior to liberation it was not exceptional for wheat nematode to destroy over a quarter of a million tons of a year's crop. Most of the infested regions are now practically free of it.

The production and use of modern farm chemicals has played a key role in the battle against plant pests and diseases. Only a dozen or so insecticides were available and in use in old China. Modern synthetic insecticides were practically unknown, but New China's factories are now manufacturing scores of farm chemicals including such effective insecticides as hexachlorocyclohexane (666), E 605, rogor, toxaphene, zineb and D.D.T.

The battle against animal diseases is also going well. In pre-liberation years cattle died of rinderpest by the hundreds of thousands and even by the million in a single year. Hog cholera killed millions of pigs annually. Today rinderpest has been wiped out in China. Hog cholera and other major animal diseases such as pleuro-pneumonia of cattle, anthrax, sheep pox and Newcastle disease are being brought under control. China has begun producing at low cost more than a dozen kinds of attenuated virus vaccines; these have played an important role in combating the above-mentioned diseases.

Agricultural mechanization has started and is spreading to more and more farms. Scientists have played a major role in this by helping to select or design the types of farm machines best suited for use under Chinese conditions. Eight types of tractors

are in regular production. Several kinds of irrigation and drainage equipment are being popularized.

Such are some of the highlights of the work being done by the country's agricultural scientists and technicians.

Policies and Programmes

Correct implementation of the guide lines and policies set by the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government has been decisive in achieving these successes. These define service to farm production as the basic aim and guiding principle of research in the agricultural sciences.

The farm sciences, of course, have their origin in agricultural work and develop with the progress of agriculture. Agricultural science in China gains vitality from its close link with the practical work of the peasants, and in solving practical and theoretical problems connected with the growth of a socialist agriculture. In fact, the validity and effectiveness of agricultural theories and techniques can be tested only on the farms.

At the present stage in China, the specific tasks of agricultural science in serving farm production have been defined as being to help implement the National Programme for Agricultural Development which was adopted by the National People's Congress in 1960 to speed the growth of a socialist agriculture and the building of a new socialist countryside. Under that general directive, agricultural science aims to help carry through the technical reform of agriculture, make the fullest and most efficient use of the nation's land and water surface, and promote the all-round development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, rural side-occupations and fishery.

In the field of production, the central aim of the programme is to raise per-mu yields on existing farmland, and agricultural scientists have been called upon to give priority to research directed to this aim in order to bring about a swift increase in the nation's output of grain and other crops.

In their effort to raise farm output, China's agricultural scientists are guided by the Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture put forward by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This sums up the rich practical experience of China's peasants in the light of modern science. It directs the farmers' attention to eight practical measures for raising bigger crops: deep ploughing and soil amelioration, rational use of fertilizers, the building of water conservancy works, selecting and popularizing good strains of seed, rational close planting, plant protection, improved field management and improvement of tools.

Three Strands in Farm Science

New China's agricultural science is being carried forward by three mutually integrated lines of study. These are: 1) systematic study and summing up of the

accumulated experience of the peasants in getting higher yields; 2) study and development of the rich legacy of the nation's traditional agricultural science and 3) vigorous development of modern agricultural science and techniques. The peasants' experience in farming is rich and so is the legacy of traditional farm science but only when both are allied to modern agricultural science is it possible to raise the farm sciences as a whole to a higher level and meet the nation's needs in building a modern socialist agriculture.

The farming experience of China's peasants, tested by centuries of practice, is an inexhaustible source of knowledge for agricultural specialists. It is being studied, systematically and comprehensively, to put it on a scientific foundation. Especially valuable material has been obtained from studies of peasant experience in raising bumper crops. To cite only one instance: a team of experts on crop cultivation, plant physiology, soil and fertilizers, joined forces to study the methods used by the national model farmer Chen Yung-kang in raising nearly 1,000 *jin* of late rice per *mu* in the Taihu Lake district in Kiangsu Province. Scientifically checked and systematized, this method is now being popularized and farmers are using it successfully over a large area.

Now a characteristic feature of Chinese farming practice, this close co-operation between scientists and farmers takes other forms too. Research institutes have invited quite a number of experienced farmers to become associate members and have helped them to perfect innovations they were working on. Peasant seed-breeder Kung Wen-sheng of Honan Province was helped in this way to breed six new strains of wheat which are now being widely planted in many wheat-growing areas.

The nation's libraries contain a rich literature of traditional agricultural science accumulated over more than 2,000 years. In recent years scientists have been studying this intensively and sifting out its useful elements. Besides annotating a number of the most valuable classical books on agriculture, they have translated whole sections of these books into modern Chinese so that more people can study and use them for reference. Likely methods mentioned in these volumes have been scientifically tested and a number adopted into modern farming practice. In veterinary science, the art of curing many animal diseases by traditional Chinese acupuncture has been studied and improved upon. A growing number of veterinarians have mastered and are using this skill.

This study of contemporary peasant practice and of old and traditional methods goes hand in hand with the promotion of modern agricultural science and techniques. Large sums allocated by the Government for modern laboratories and experimental farms have enabled agricultural scientists to undertake new large projects. The use of tracer atoms, ionizing radiation, supersonic waves, infra-red and ultra-violet rays, ultra-micro-analysis and other modern techniques has vastly

extended the range of Chinese scientific studies and raised them to a higher level.

From Labs to Fields

When new farming methods are developed in laboratory research and the experimental farms, they still have to be tested and adapted to normal field conditions before they can be popularized on a mass scale. Applying the results of carefully controlled undertakings of laboratories or experimental farms to normal production on the peasants' farms comes up against many new problems connected with a specific locality's natural and socio-economic conditions. To facilitate popularization, New China's agricultural scientists have worked out a research regime which integrates the work of laboratories and experimental farms with hundreds of rural research bases set up in the countryside. Here scientists and peasants in joint experiments and tests integrate laboratory findings with the farmers' practical experience. If successful, the resulting methods are then popularized on the spot and later spread further afield.

The peasants like this way of doing things. To give one example: Instructed to find better ways of improving saline and alkaline land, research workers of the Institute of Soil and Fertilizers of the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Science, as part of their investigations, set up a research base in a heavily salined area of the Hongmen People's Commune in Hsinhsiang County, Honan Province. Working with the peasants there for three years, they drew on local experience and all available scientific findings to work out a set of farming techniques for leaching the salt and alkalis out and cultivating the area. As a result, last year they harvested an average of 168 *jin* of barley per *mu* on a 700-*mu* tract which had been considered barren because of its heavy contamination with salt and alkalis.

Planned Development

The big effort China is making to develop her agriculture along planned, socialist lines demands an overall plan for agricultural science. The Twelve-Year Plan for Scientific and Technical Development worked out by the state in 1956 does in fact include a section on agricultural science. This placed this branch of science on the road of planned development. In February 1963 the national conference called jointly by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council mapped out a long-term plan for agricultural science and techniques based on this Twelve-Year Plan.

This plan is comprehensive but naturally gives priority to certain selected fields. While it emphasizes major scientific and technical problems closely concerning current farm production, it directs suitable attention to the needs of long-term growth. In formulating their own annual plans of work, research units take these plans as their guides and have made solid advances. There is still much to be done, however, to meet all the needs of socialist agriculture and catch up with the world's best.

SCULPTURE

Sculpture of Our Time

Two recent exhibitions of sculpture from Szechuan and Shanghai have attracted special attention. Both displayed the works of young sculptors: mostly art school teachers or students in their twenties. The Szechuan products were shown in Peking, while Shanghai staged its own show. The 130 pieces all told, were in a variety of forms, figurines or monumental figures in the round, bas-reliefs, busts, heads, single and group figures. The notable fact, however, was that in total these works showed a growing maturity among young Chinese sculptors in portraying new socialist themes in a distinctly national style.

The art of sculpture is a powerful means of commendation. Down the ages, it has been effectively used by the slave-owners, the feudal nobility and the bourgeoisie to extol their gods and goddesses, heroes and heroines. Today, New China's sculptors are putting their art at the service of the working class—the class that now carries the main weight of historical advance on its shoulders as the leader of socialist revolution and construction, and it is only natural that they should wish to produce laudatory images of the advanced people of the new era—the era of proletarian, socialist revolution and the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle throughout the world.

Most of the works in these two exhibitions were of the new socialist men and women of China. Others portray heroes and martyrs of Chinese revolutionary history and of the awakening peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Among the portraits and figures was a bust of Chairman Mao and a full-length figure of him with Young Pioneers; there were several figures of workers. Some were shown at their daily jobs, at the bench or at the controls of an engine, others were symbolic figures; there were several figures of peasants, including a Tibetan shepherdess; and frontier guards on duty. Many aspects of

socialist life in China are represented by these figures and there is a dignity in their bearing, an air of confidence and drive about these representatives of the working people that is new in Chinese sculpture.

The Tibetan shepherdess modelled by Kuo Chi-hsiang of Szechuan on strong and simple lines, is an ordinary, healthy, happy Tibetan lass. But here, as in most of the works shown, the sculptor has sought to stress the spiritual outlook, the inner feelings of his subject. One is struck by the confidence and optimism with which this woman faces life. Such a portrayal would have been impossible in the old Tibet. She embodies the spirit of the emancipated serfs, now the masters of their land.

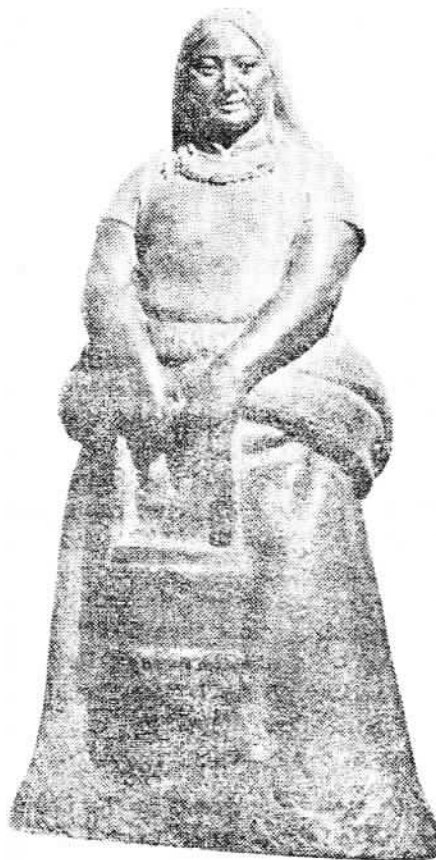
Shanghai sculptor Chen Tao-tan's old peasant arrests attention with his weather-beaten face, a smile of complete assurance, and a pair of eyes that see visions of the future. From his militant bearing and the faded uniform on his shoulders, one surmises that he is a Red Army

veteran. One feels that, whether with rifle or hoe, his is a revolutionary's road.

In these likenesses of the Chinese people, their leaders, inspiring both respect and love; village children, in whom innocence blends with keen intelligence; People's Liberation Army men, frank, unsophisticated, lionhearted; or of young African freedom fighters—the artists have succeeded in giving concentrated and typical expression to the new people of the new age. They are at once a source of aesthetic enjoyment and spiritual encouragement.

Techniques and modes of expression are varied. Carving in wood or stone is practised, together with modelling in clay for later casting in bronze. In some one sees traces of ancient sculptural techniques of the Sung Dynasty genre stone sculptures of the Tachu area in Szechuan Province, and of the decorated tomb bricks of the Han Dynasty; in others, marked Western influences. But essentially these are efforts in entirely new directions for Chinese art. Past ages held no examples for the representation of proletarian fighters or of their allies in the great revolutionary struggles of today. Faced with a new reality with new people, new ideals and sentiments, China's young sculptors have to make their own way. The freshness and vitality of their creative work as shown at these exhibitions come from a daring, creative spirit that takes as its guide the demands of an art of a mass character and of a national character. The exhibits show many innovations in form and content, texture and materials.

Guided by the Chinese Communist Party's art policies, the artists have "gone out among the masses"—living and working in the rural people's communes, factories, coastal islands and old revolutionary bases. The students of the sculpture department of the Szechuan school, for example, spend a third of each year in this way. This has helped them to identify themselves with the masses and given them that intimate knowledge of contemporary life which is indispensable in grasping the essence of each living subject.



Tibetan Shepherdess
Sculpture by Kuo Chi-hsiang

The works shown are far from perfect; there are various defects. This, however, cannot obscure the main and general achievement. In the first years after liberation, some sculptures produced were somewhat superficially symbolic or sentimental. Compared to these, the new sculptures mark a big advance. They leave a strong impression of militancy and power. They show that a socialist sculpture is developing in China along with a new generation of sculptors.

DOCUMENTARIES

How They Reached the Top

News of the Chinese mountaineers' conquest of Mt. Shisha Pangma, the world's last unclimbed peak above 8,000 metres, stirred the land when it was announced in early May. Watching the documentary film the climbers brought back, millions are now living through the experience of that feat.

The film records not only the great moments on the way to the top, but the hard, painstaking planning and

preparation for the undertaking. It shows the climbers, tiny black figures against a boundless expanse of dazzling ice and snow, moving steadily up the steep ascents. It takes the audiences with them as they make their way through a labyrinth of seracs and across deadly crevasses. Caught in a blinding snowstorm at 6,800 metres, the climbers manifest that comradeship and collective spirit which battles and wins over the anger of the skies where no individual effort could have succeeded. The film sets down the last exciting hours, when ten climbers made for the summit. Fatigue and rarefied air made that last 20-metre slope with a 50 degree gradient a gruelling ordeal — but it was done. And then, the exquisite moment of triumph as they set foot on the summit, the exhilaration as they held up the crimson Chinese national flag and watch it wave over the peak.

More than anything else, the film has caught the revolutionary comradeship, optimism and the hardness of the climbers. A typical instance of this is a scene it caught at Camp II at an altitude of 5,800

metres, when exhausted as they were, some of the men stretched their legs in a Sinkiang dance.

Laurels go to the cameramen of the Central Newsreels and Documentary Films Studio. They braved extreme hardships to bring back this precious record, climbing as far up as 6,300 metres before they finally gave in. The remainder of the way up was shot by members of the expedition, who show themselves to be excellent cameramen as well.

SHORT NOTES

Soldiers Paint Soldiers. Arranged at the Peking Museum of Chinese Art, the current, third exhibition of art from the People's Liberation Army is one of the biggest art shows held this year. Over 650 works are displayed, including Chinese paintings in traditional style, oils, sculptures, New Year pictures, woodcuts, posters, and other works of graphic art. Figure paintings predominate. They reflect from many angles the life and heart and mind of the P.L.A. today. They were made by generals, officers and rank and file, as well as professional soldier-artists.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p.4.)

Since the conclusion of the trade agreement in 1963, the volume of trade between China and Pakistan has grown considerably and the range of goods exchanged increased. However, both parties, says the communique, expressed the wish to develop their economic and trade relations still more on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The talks not only fostered the development of such economic relations, but further strengthened the bonds of friendship already existing between the two countries, the communique declares.

A Pakistan businessmen's delegation led by Mohamed Siddique Dawood also visited China about the same time to explore the fruitful pos-

sibilities of co-operation in expanding the two-way volume of trade between China and Pakistan.

Chinese Exhibition in Dar-es-Salaam

"Thanks, China — congratulations on your great achievements!" is one of the many entries in the visitors' book at the Chinese Economic Construction Exhibition which opened on July 12 in Dar-es-Salaam, capital of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Covering a floorspace of 2,000 square metres, the exhibition was visited by more than 50,000 people during its first two days. Rashidi M. Kawawa, Second Vice-President of the United Republic, cut the ribbon at the opening ceremony.

Addressing the guests at the opening, Chinese Ambassador Ho Ying gave an account of the achievements of the Chinese people in socialist

construction. He pointed out that the recent visit of Vice-President Kawawa to China and the agreement on economic and technical co-operation signed by the two Governments had not only greatly promoted mutual understanding between the two countries but also ushered in a new stage in the development of friendly relations between them, based on equality, mutual assistance and genuine co-operation.

Praising the exhibition in his speech, Vice-President Kawawa expressed confidence that it would make for closer relations between the two countries. Recalling his recent visit to China, he said, "Tremendous strides have been made in China in the war against poverty, ignorance and disease, and it is probably safe to say that more has been achieved for ordinary people there in the last 15 years than in all the previous thousands of years of China's proud history."

ROUND THE WORLD

Africa

The Road to Freedom

Mid-July found representatives of 13 African nationalist parties fighting for their countries' freedom discussing in Cairo prospects for attaining their goal through revolutionary struggle. One and all they held that the oppressed peoples of Africa must take the path of armed struggle to gain independence. They expressed the hope that the meeting of the African Heads of State in Cairo will strengthen unity in the common struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Most of these countries lie south of the Sahara. For them the situation in Africa today is highly favourable for waging a struggle to end imperialist and colonialist rule. Since the First African Summit Conference of May 1963 great events have been taking place on the continent. But as victory of the African people followed victory the imperialist and colonialist powers have tried their best to cling to their grabbed territories. "In Angola," as Naledi of the Bechuanaland People's Party pointed out, "the imperialists are using force to maintain their rule. In South Africa and other countries they are using brutal methods to suppress the struggling people."

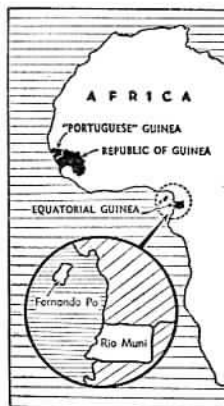
In such circumstances the one way forward for the oppressed people in Africa is revolution and armed struggle, the freedom fighters emphasized. Both Gumane and Santos of Mozambique said the Mozambique people have learnt from their own experience that only armed struggle can bring about an early liberation of their country. Kandjii and Mifima from Southwest Africa, endorsing this view, affirmed that the only language the colonialists and imperialists understood was force. Nkoana of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa maintained that economic sanctions and boycotts alone would not lead to the overthrow of the hated Verwoerd racist

regime. The need to meet violence with violence was stressed by the nationalist leaders.

All representatives of the 13 nationalist parties drew attention to the scheming of neo-colonialism and the danger it poses for the African people as old colonialism is being forced to depart from the scene. They put particular emphasis on fighting U.S. neo-colonialism which rules the roost in the imperialist camp. The nationalist leaders referred particularly to the current situation in the Congo (Leopoldville) where, with the support of the United States, Moise Tshombe, the murderer of Patrice Lumumba, the national hero of the Congolese people, has been restored to power. "The U.S. and other colonialists clashed at first," said Kandjii, "but now they are working together to suppress the Congolese people." Mpongo from Southern Rhodesia warned that what neo-colonialism has brought about in the Congo "must be a lesson to other newly independent African states."

More Take Up Arms

The armed struggle in the Congo is an example for those countries in Africa still under colonialist rule. After the tremendous successes won by the guerrillas in "Portuguese" Guinea, patriots in Equatorial Guinea have decided to take up arms to free their homeland from the Spanish colonialists.



Announcing the option for armed struggle, Atanasio Ndong Miyone, General Secretary of the National Movement for Liberation of Equatorial Guinea, denounced as a fraud the so-called referendum staged in

that country last December. He disclosed that the "autonomy" granted by Madrid did not in the least affect Spanish domination of the country; three-quarters of the land and all known natural resources are still in the hands of Spanish settlers.

Meanwhile, in South Africa, a new organization — the "African Resistance Movement" — has been set up dedicated to the overthrow of Verwoerd fascist rule. After the atrocious sentences recently passed on Nelson Mandela and others, it distributed leaflets in Capetown which declared: "The time for talking has passed. Let it be known that if we are forced to respond to violence we shall do so." Already African patriots have blown up an electric power pylon outside Capetown, bombed a post office in suburban Johannesburg, and damaged many power transmission lines in the Transvaal and Cape provinces.

Commonwealth Summit

Differences That Divide

After week-long wrangling the British Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference — the 11th since 1947 — ended on July 15, with differences among members stressed rather than solved. The conference's drafting committee sat through the night to draw up its communique but even then two extra sessions were required before anything like agreement was reached on the final wording. Bored correspondents, cooling their heels at Marlborough House, did not get the document to file their stories till midnight.

Apparently wishing to paper up the widening cracks in the Commonwealth structure, Prime Minister Douglas-Home told a press conference immediately after the closing session that differences would not be allowed to divide the Commonwealth countries. But the flurry of debate throughout the week and last-minute heated exchanges over a wide range of problems at the drafting committee pointed up real, sharp divergencies.

The British Prime Minister had tried to whip up anti-China sentiment, in an attempt to draw across the conference table a red herring of Chinese "subversion" and communist "infiltration." But apart from India, Australia and "Malaysia," Home's appeal fell on unsympathetic ears. The slanders levelled at China did not pass unchallenged. Many Afro-Asian leaders, joined by others, opposed writing any provocative anti-China paragraphs into the final communique.

Southern Rhodesia was an incubus from the start. Many Commonwealth prime ministers asked for an all-parties independence conference so that the people of Southern Rhodesia could achieve independence "at the earliest practicable time on the basis of majority rule." But Home prevaricated. As to the Verwoerd racist regime in South Africa, against which economic sanctions and an arms embargo were demanded, Britain again refused along with a few others. Only two countries, Australia and New Zealand, actively supported Britain on the question of "Malaysia," the neo-colonialist creature it brought into the world with American help.

If the previous Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in 1962 already exposed grave contradictions, this session sharpened them still further and accentuated the centrifugal tendency against Whitehall domination, as witness the proposal that future conferences go "on circuit" instead of being convened in London alone. The differences that divide the Commonwealth countries have become so marked that the question is now being freely posed in Britain itself — whether this "gigantic farce" can survive at all.

Civil Rights Act

Mississippi Gives the Lie

An article published in the London *Sunday Times* (July 5) explains why, in the state of Mississippi, U.S.A. (where three civil rights workers fighting Jim Crow recently fell victim to the racists and "disappeared"), only 24,000 out of 900,000 Negroes had the right to vote in 1962.

On paper, all a Negro has to do to be able to vote is to present himself at the local registrar's office and complete a form. But what in fact happens? This is what the *Sunday Times* reports: After a Negro sharecropper in Mississippi announced his intention to register, "his house was blown up. The sheriff arrested him for 'arson,' and arrested four other Negroes in the house for obstructing an investigation. Out of 55 Negroes who tried to register in Canton County, 37 were sacked from their jobs and the wives of 17 of the others were also dismissed." The newspaper then describes what is known as the "slow down" technique: "Last February, in a registration drive, 400 Negroes [were made to stand] in a harassed queue outside Madison's registrar's office. By the end of the day only seven had been admitted to the building and of these only four got as far as the test. All day long the police photographed the queue." "Many Negroes who attempt to register are picked up on a charge and then allowed bail for 1,000 dollars — as much as many earn in a year."

As one desegregationist lawyer asked, "when two Holmes County officers can shoot a Negro and get away with it, how devoted do you have to be to want to vote?"

There have been many laws giving the Negroes the right to vote in the U.S.A.; the recently passed Civil Rights Act is only the latest in a long line. As the Negroes in Mississippi know, it is window-dressing and changes nothing.

Indian Food Crisis

Bengal Famine Recalled

"Since the Great Bengal Famine of 1943 the food situation in Bengal has never been so bad as now. A situation reminiscent of those dreadful days is developing in Calcutta . . ." Thus wrote *Link*, the Indian weekly on June 28. But it is not just one state that has a food crisis on its hands. The situation became so bad in June that the chief ministers of the Indian states were summoned to a conference in New

THE PASSING SHOW

Busy Puppet

Tshombe, the notorious Union Miniere stooge, has become Congolese Premier as well as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Information, Planning and External Trade. Why the multiple posts? He told AFP: "I like to work!"



Delhi to devise ways and means to meet the crisis.

How much it was illness and how much it was the worsening economic situation that kept Lal Bahadur Shastri from attending the British Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London is anybody's guess. The fact that the new Indian Prime Minister found it necessary to stay in the country shows that things were really serious. The recent alarming rise in grain prices, he said, "threatened the very foundations of the Indian economy."

Shastri said the food prices had risen by 13 per cent and those of cereals by 16 per cent during the past year. Food grain prices had reached their highest level since independence. As a palliative the Indian Prime Minister held out the promise that the United States would continue to support the rice needs of India.

The jack-up of food prices partly due to crop failures but, according to Indian news reports, also caused by speculators' ruthless cornering of supplies has led to a spiralling rise

in the prices of other essential commodities. This caused another Indian weekly, *Blitz*, to complain: "The country is on the verge of a

catastrophe which brings back the nightmarish memories of the 1942-43 Bengal famine that struck down two and a half million innocent lives."

South Viet Nam Vignettes

A reading of the American press sheds some light on why U.S. public opinion more and more sees victory a remote possibility in Washington's 2 million-dollar-a-day-war against the south Vietnamese people. While only scratching the surface for its readers, a story of desperation comes through.

Agonizing Appraisal. "South Viet Nam's soldiers [Khanh's Wall Street financed troops, trained and led by American officers] are better-armed, better-equipped, better-fed and better-paid than the guerrillas. The Government soldier is accustomed to going to battle in armored personnel carriers, armored landing craft and helicopters. He places great dependence on modern air and artillery support.

"Viet Cong guerrillas [the people's forces led by the National Liberation Front] can be cut off from sources of supply and remain effective fighters for some time. They get weapons, ammunition and drugs they need by ambushing Government supply trains or capturing Government outposts.

"Cut the Vietnamese Army off from outside support, and, military men say, it probably would collapse in weeks.

"Americans still fly most of the planes in South Vietnam. Americans supply most of the artillery, ammunition and napalm bombs. Robbed of this support, the morale of the South Vietnamese armed forces would plummet."

This is how *U.S. News and World Report* (June 1) sized up U.S. odds in south Viet Nam just before State Department stripe pants and Pentagon top brass were closeted in Honolulu to think up new ways to press their losing war in Indo-China.

Unloaded Weapon Loaded. The day before Maxwell Taylor took up his

new "ambassadorship" there were two explosions in Saigon. The first blast came aboard a naval vessel in the harbour. The crew "were cleaning an unloaded weapon that wasn't unloaded." The second explosion was a grenade tossed into a police station. UPI reported that Saigon police sources regarded the two attacks as a co-ordinated job to coincide with Taylor's arrival.

Taking No Chances. According to *Time* (May 15), erstwhile south Viet Nam overlord Henry Cabot Lodge felt unsafe even in his barricaded and heavily guarded sanctuary in the American "embassy" before resigning his office. Lodge, said *Time*, took a rear elevator to his sparsely furnished fifth-floor office, unstrapped his revolver, put it into a desk drawer alongside a .357 Smith & Wesson Magnum. Nor does puppet premier General Nguyen Khanh take any chances. The south Viet Nam strongman nightly turns over his mattress and looks under his bed before bedding down to make sure the guerrillas are not up to any tricks. When Maxwell Taylor took over, his arrival "was marked by the tightest security precautions ever provided for an American dignitary in Saigon," reported UPI.

As Casualties Mount. More money and men are being thrown into the U.S. dirty war. A week after Taylor set himself up in Saigon it was announced from Washington that 600 soldiers were being added to American forces in south Viet Nam. Included were 300 members of the "special forces." In addition, reported UPI, "as many as 400 more advisers

are being sent to South Vietnam so that the number of Americans assigned to each South Vietnamese army battalion can be increased . . . there will be five Americans with an infantry battalion compared with three previously."

Chemical Warfare Used. The Federation of American Scientists, quoting Defence Department sources, confirmed that the United States was using chemical poisons in the war in south Viet Nam, according to a recent issue of *I.F. Stone's Weekly*. The federation said that "the U.S. is using the Vietnamese battlefield as a proving ground for chemical and biological warfare."

"New York Times" Counsels. "In a situation in which a military solution appears unlikely, the ultimate objective of all military and political activity in south Vietnam must be to create the most favourable climate for an eventual negotiated settlement that is the only alternative to an expanding war," declared the *New York Times* editorially on July 11.

Thinking Aloud. Taylor himself was reported cherishing no illusions about his task. "The road to success," he said on the day he arrived in Saigon, "is always long." But the road to destruction for U.S. imperialism in Indo-China can be short, too.



From *The Boston Traveler*

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