

# PEKING REVIEW

32

August 7, 1964

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism And Its Historical Lessons for the World

Comment on the Open Letter of the  
Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (9)

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi*

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- Refutation of the So-Called State of the Whole People
- Refutation of the So-Called Party of the Entire People
- Khrushchov's Phoney Communism
- Historical Lessons of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

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

**August 6, 1964**

# U.S. Aggression Against Viet Nam Democratic Republic Means Aggression Against China

Since the United States has lit up the flames of a war of aggression, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has gained the right of action to fight against aggression; all countries upholding the Geneva agreements have also gained the right of action to assist the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its fight against aggression.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the socialist camp; no socialist country can sit idly by while it is being subjected to aggression. Aggression by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China. The Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by without lending a helping hand.

*Following is the full text of a statement issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China on August 6, 1964. — Ed.*

ON August 5, U.S. naval aircraft made a surprise attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, successively bombing the areas of Nghe An, Hon Gay and Thanh Hoa. Thus U.S. imperialism went over the "brink of war" and made the first step in extending the war in Indo-China. The situation is of the utmost gravity. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has lodged a strong protest with the U.S. Government. The Chinese Government fully supports the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

It must be pointed out that these U.S. acts of aggression are wholly premeditated. On August 2, a U.S. warship had intruded into Vietnamese territorial waters, and the Vietnamese people of course had the right to act in self-defence. Although on that occasion the U.S. side had suffered no losses, the U.S. Government took advantage of it to create the so-called Tonkin Gulf incident and cried about a provocation against the U.S. Navy. Thereupon, the United States moved its armed forces, calling in a great number of war vessels from the Taiwan Straits and Hongkong to gather together off the coast

of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In the evening of August 4 the weather was very bad in this region. Even U.S. reports admitted that the visibility was very poor. But suddenly a dispatch from Washington alleged that U.S. vessels discovered war vessels of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam from afar and that a so-called engagement occurred. U.S. President Johnson then called one meeting after another and created the myth of a second Tonkin Gulf incident. He issued a statement and called for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. These are the pretexts created by the United States for bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and extending the war in Indo-China.

In fact, the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident of August 4 never occurred. That night the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam did not have a single war vessel on the waters where the U.S. warships were. The U.S. Government alleged that the U.S. Navy had hit and sunk two war vessels of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. But it cannot bring forward any evidence. The spokesman of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam pointed out that the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident was a sheer fabrication. The facts have proved and will continue to prove that this so-called incident is an



out-and-out lie purposely fabricated by U.S. imperialism in order to extend the war in Indo-China.

The attempt of U.S. imperialism to hoodwink public opinion by this story of the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident absolutely will not succeed. The fact is that before this U.S. imperialism had already made many armed provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On July 30, U.S. imperialist warships intruded into the northern territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and shelled its Hon Me and Hon Ngu Islands. On August 1 and 2, U.S. aeroplanes bombed a border post and a village of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam close to the Laotian border. The bombing of coastal towns of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on August 5 was a pre-meditated move made by U.S. imperialism to extend the war step by step. The people of the world will by no means be taken in. The U.S. imperialists' crime of deliberately expanding the war can by no means be covered up.

The Government of the People's Republic of China hereby solemnly declares: The flames of a war of aggression against the Democratic Republic

of Viet Nam were lit by the United States. Since the United States has acted this way, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has gained the right of action to fight against aggression, and all the countries upholding the Geneva agreements have gained the right of action to assist the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its fight against aggression. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the socialist camp, and no socialist country can sit idly by while it is being subjected to aggression. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and China are neighbours closely related to each other like the lips and the teeth, and the Vietnamese people are intimate brothers of the Chinese people. Aggression by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China. The Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by without lending a helping hand. The debt of blood incurred by the United States to the Vietnamese people must be repaid. The U.S. Government must immediately stop its armed provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and its armed encroachments on the latter's sacred territory, airspace and territorial waters. Otherwise, the U.S. Government must be held responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## U.S. Imperialism Must Immediately Cease Its Armed Aggression Against Viet Nam Democratic Republic!

*Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of August 6.—Ed.*

ON August 5, naval and air forces of the U.S. imperialists launched a surprise attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, wantonly attacking its coastal cities and towns. An extremely dangerous situation has thus been created in Indo-China.

U.S. imperialism is becoming ever more rabid in stepping up its armed incursions into the territory, territorial waters and airspace of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

*Special Supplement*

On July 30, the United States and the Nguyen Khanh puppet regime sent naval vessels to shell the Hon Me and Hon Ngu Islands, territories of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

On August 1, U.S. aircraft intruded into the D.R.V.'s airspace from Laos, carrying out bombing and rocket raids.

On August 2, a U.S. warship again engaged in provocative actions in the D.R.V.'s territorial waters. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was therefore compelled to act in self-defence and to drive the U.S. warship out of its territorial waters.

On August 5, fabricating out of nothing a so-called incident in which American warships were alleged to have been attacked for the second time by D.R.V. torpedo boats, the U.S. Government used this as a pretext to launch a surprise attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On the same day, Johnson openly ordered U.S. armed forces to "take action." McNamara brazenly declared that air strikes on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam had begun.

This U.S. imperialist armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is an open challenge to Asian and world peace. The Chinese people will not sit idly by! Nor will the peace-loving peoples of the world sit idly by!

This surprise attack launched by the U.S. aggressors against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was wholly premeditated. To cover up this U.S. imperialist crime of spreading the flames of war in Indo-China, Johnson has made up the lie that U.S. warships were "attacked for a second time." The Viet Nam News Agency has pointed out in an authorized statement that this was an out-and-out fabrication of the U.S. imperialists. This lie of the U.S. Government is full of holes and contradictions. Reporting on the "new attack" on U.S. warships, official Washington sources and U.S. news agencies first claimed that "four" PT boats were involved in the engagement; then they stated that "six to ten" PT boats had made the attack. They also made out that after "three hours" fierce fighting two PT boats were "sunk" and two others "damaged." However, they could not furnish a single piece of evidence of all this.

On the other hand, since August 2 the U.S. Government has held a series of emergency meetings and, as some news reports say, was ready to "take action against north Viet Nam." Since August 3, ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet have been heading from the Taiwan Straits and Hongkong to the waters off the coast of Viet Nam. By August 4, there were already more than ten. All this has utterly exposed the U.S. Government's vicious scheme to deliberately extend the flames of war in Indo-China.

The territory, territorial waters and airspace of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are sacred and inviolable. Every sovereign state in the world has the right to defend its territory, territorial waters and airspace and employ all legitimate means of self-defence to repulse foreign aggression. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam naturally has every right to counter-attack in self-defence against U.S. imperialist armed

aggression. The Vietnamese people have the right to do so whenever the United States violates the territory, territorial waters or airspace of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Wherever the enemy attacks, the Vietnamese people have the right to beat them back on the spot. A spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam clearly declared to the whole world in a statement on July 31: "Should the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen be so rash as to take action against the north, the entire Vietnamese people from north to south, millions as one, will stand up and wipe them out, smash all their aggressive moves in the north and defeat them in the whole of the country." This demonstrates the unshakable, iron will of the Vietnamese people to resist aggression and defend their motherland; it is their solemn, resolute and resounding reply to the aggressive U.S. moves.

We must tell the U.S. aggressors in all seriousness: the day has long since passed when you could commit aggression while the countries which were its victims could not counter-attack in self-defence but submit and were at your mercy. We warmly congratulate the air defence units of the Viet Nam People's Army on their victory in the heroic battle on August 5 in which five U.S. aircraft were shot down and three damaged. If the U.S. imperialists, defying just denunciation by world public opinion, dare to continue to extend their armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, they will inevitably receive due punishment at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese people.

As China is a fraternal neighbour of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Chinese people resolutely support all the just actions of the Vietnamese people in resisting U.S. aggression and defending their motherland. Whenever the U.S. imperialists invade the territory, territorial waters or airspace of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Chinese people, without hesitation, will resolutely support the Vietnamese people's just war against the U.S. aggressors. The Chinese Government has served serious warnings on the U.S. Government on many occasions that should it dare to launch an attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Chinese people will absolutely not stand by with folded arms or sit idly by without lending a helping hand. The U.S. Government must immediately stop its act of armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, otherwise it must bear all the grave consequences arising therefrom. Do not say then that you have not been warned beforehand.

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

August 7, 1964 Vol. VII No. 32

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August 7, 1964

## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The highly successful eight-week Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes ended on July 31 with a ceremony attended by Party and state leaders.

- The Chinese Government on August 2 gave a reply to the Soviet Government's proposal to convene a 14-nation conference on Laos this month.

- August 1, China's Army Day, was celebrated by officers and men of the three services and civilians throughout the country.

- The 23-member National Committee of the Games of the New Emerging Forces of the People's Republic of China was founded in Peking with Ho Lung as its honorary chairman and Jung Kao-tang its chairman.

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent greetings to Ludwig von Moos, President of the Swiss Confederation on the occasion of Switzerland's National Day.

- M'hammed Yala, the first Algerian Ambassador to China, presented his letter of credence to Chairman Liu Shao-chi on August 2. Ambassador Yala arrived in Peking on July 24.

- The Chinese press published:

- extracts of two articles in the July 24 *Akahata*, organ of the Communist Party of Japan, entitled "A Reply to Zhukov's Open Charges" and "Refutation of the Attacks by Radio Moscow and Other Quarters."

- excerpts from *Akahata*'s July 30 editorial denouncing splitters at home and from abroad for trying to undermine the 10th World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs and calling for unity for the success of the conference.

- full text of the opening speech by C.P.J. Chairman Sanzo Nosaka at the meeting in Tokyo commemorating the 42nd anniversary of the C.P.J. on July 9.

- the report "Our Party's Revolutionary Tradition and the Present Road of Advance" by Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the C.P.J. Central Committee given at the same meeting.

## Peking Opera Festival Ends

The Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes has well and truly launched Peking opera on a new path of development. For two months — a month longer than scheduled — festival entries played to full audiences in the capital's largest theatres. It ended at an animated ceremony on July 31.

Press, radio and TV gave it the fullest coverage. "The festival has written a new page in the history of Chinese theatre," the *Renmin Ribao* said. "It is a victory for Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art,

a victory for the socialist revolution on the cultural front," summed up Hsinhua.

From first to last the festival has had the guidance and help of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. Public interest was keen from the start and snowballed as it progressed. A total audience of no less than 200,000 people in the capital saw the festival shows. Hundreds of thousands more saw or heard them on TV or radio. Peking opera fans were naturally there in full force, but



what was especially noteworthy were the numbers of young workers, peasants, servicemen, students, cadres and Young Pioneers who crowded in to see Peking opera with a new interest. Many who didn't care to see the traditional shows before because of their somewhat "out of this world" character found themselves absorbed with these new Peking operas on contemporary themes which are real and near to them. The mass of workers, peasants and soldiers clearly like these new operas and are all for seeing their contemporaries take the stage.

### "More Gains Than Expected"

Many festival productions presented their revolutionary themes with high standards of artistry and earned enthusiastic applause. The consensus of opinion was that "the gains were greater than first expected." As *Renmin Ribao* reported: "Many who were sceptical of reform have cast away their doubts; those who were for reform are now more confident than ever."

The festival was a great inspiration to all who took part in it. It ended on a note of confidence in the future success of efforts to pioneer new modern paths for Peking opera.

### Serving Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

The closing ceremony, held in the huge round theatre of the Peking Exhibition Centre, was attended by Chou En-lai, Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Lo Jui-ching and other leaders of the Party and the state.

Shen Yen-ping, Minister of Culture, presided, and the band struck up the popular tune, *Socialism Is Good*, when he declared the meeting open. Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party, was the first speaker. He congratulated the festival on its double harvest — victory in revolutionizing Peking opera art and in bringing about an ideological revolution in Peking opera circles. He expressed the hope that Peking opera artists would become revolutionaries through and through; called on them to guard against self-conceit, study

Marxism-Leninism, the works of Chairman Mao and forge close contacts with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers so as to turn the ranks of Peking opera artists into an army dedicated to the creation of a socialist, popular literature and art.

Twelve festival participants representing actors and actresses, directors and the various opera companies also spoke. They unanimously agreed that they had learnt a great deal from the festival. It had enabled them to visualize the great changes now taking place in the art of Peking opera and see its bright future. They pledged to forge ahead unswervingly in the direction indicated by the Party and Chairman Mao, to persist in the revolution to the end and devote themselves to the staging of Peking operas on revolutionary, contemporary themes. They undertook to work heart and soul for the workers', peasants' and soldiers' cause of socialist revolution and construction.

Tsao Yu, the famous Chinese playwright, spoke on behalf of the capital's artistic and literary circles. He warmly hailed the great success of the festival.

Minister of Culture Shen Yen-ping congratulated the more than 2,000 actors, actresses, musicians and other people in the profession who took part in the festival and presented mementoes to the 29 Peking opera companies which had presented the festival programme of 35 new Peking operas on revolutionary, contemporary themes.

### "To Be Opposed by the Enemy — A Good Thing"

*Renmin Ribao* marked the end of the festival with an editorial call to carry the socialist revolution on the front of art and literature to the end. It quoted a saying now common among the Peking opera artists: "To play a role in a revolutionary play, you must first become a revolutionary."

Referring to the silly slanders heaped on the festival by the imperialists and modern revisionists, *Renmin Ribao* said: "The performing

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## Mao Tse-tung's Works in Braille

Sightless readers in China can now read the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. This volume has been published in braille by the Braille Printing House of the Chinese Association of the Blind, Deaf and Mute.

While work on a braille edition of the first three volumes of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* is going ahead, blind readers can already buy braille pamphlet editions of "On Practice," "On Contradiction," "Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art."

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of Peking operas on contemporary themes is a great revolution. Who hates revolution most? The reactionaries at home and abroad. Although the imperialists and modern revisionists have little knowledge of Peking opera and have not seen any Peking operas on revolutionary, contemporary themes, they lost no time in acting as 'protectors' of the traditional art of Peking opera and frantically attacked the revolutionary movement in Peking opera the moment they heard that Peking opera was going to be revolutionized." The reason for that opposition, *Renmin Ribao* explained, was that these gentlemen saw that "as a result of its socialist transformation, the Peking opera will no longer serve just a small number of people and cannot be made a tool of the overthrown reactionary classes in their vain attempt to effect a 'peaceful evolution.'"

Quoting the well-known saying of Chairman Mao Tse-tung "it is a good and not a bad thing to be opposed by the enemy," *Renmin Ribao* concluded: "The frenzied attack on Peking operas with revolutionary, contemporary themes launched by the imperialists and modern revisionists has driven home the truth that what they are afraid of is exactly what we are happy with. The

more violent their vituperation, the more evident is the fact that by bringing about a revolution in our theatre, we have done the right thing and done it very well."

### **People's Militia Unit Honoured**

A people's militia unit in Liuchuang, Honan Province, has been awarded the title of "Heroic People's Militia Battalion" by the Central-South Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Headquarters of the Wuhan Garrison of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The Liuchuang People's Militia Battalion, has a history of 26 years. It fought more than 400 engagements against the Japanese invaders, their puppet forces during the eight years' War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the Kuomintang troops during the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945-49). It repeatedly repulsed these enemies' attacks on the liberated areas it defended and destroyed two K.M.T. aeroplanes, thus earning the name of "Bastion of the Yellow River Defence." Since liberation, the battalion has maintained its fine tradition of a high degree of class consciousness and enthusiastically answered the call of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to build up a people's militia on a big scale. The Liuchuang Militia Battalion, besides engaged in intensified military training, is also good on the labour front. Its members are always in the van of the villages' farm and other rural work.

General Chen Tsai-tao of the P.L.A. Wuhan Garrison, who read the citation at a meeting in Liuchuang, praised the battalion as a staunch and heroic militia force and an example to be emulated by other militia units. He commended the battalion for its readiness to combat the class enemy at any time, for its love for the collective and its revolutionary enthusiasm in production. Hsueh Ping-hua, the battalion's instructor, pledged that he and his comrades would pass on to future generations Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war and the revolutionary spirit of daring to fight and daring to win. "As long as there is imperialism on

earth," he said, "we'll never lay down our arms!"

Men and women members of the Liuchuang militia celebrated the occasion with a demonstration of their mine laying, swimming with arms, grenade throwing, shooting, bayonet practice and other military accomplishments.

### **Public Security Forces Cited**

Forty-four outstanding units and 58 individual members of the Chinese people's public security coastal defence forces, frontier guards and others on garrison duty have received citations from the Ministry of Public Security for distinguished service in the struggle against the enemy and in safeguarding the nation's socialist construction.

The citations were given at a recent conference of exemplary companies and individual soldiers.

One of the units cited was a company which has served for 12 years on the southeastern frontier. Awarded the title of "Red Outpost Company" by the National Defence Ministry, it was commended for smashing repeated enemy provocations and attempts at sabotage. Another company was cited for its outstanding work in protecting a remote railway line over 125 kilometres long. Among others cited were a company guarding a warehouse, which caught nine would-be saboteurs in the past ten years; a county security force stationed for 12 years on a snow-capped mountain 3,700 metres above sea level; a company guarding the capital's famous Tien An Men Gate and a unit in Kwangtung which was recently awarded the title of "Heroic Makou Fire Extinguishing Unit" which, in 1960, successfully put out a big fire at a paper mill and twice fought floods to save people's lives and property.

### **Asian-African Heads of State To Visit China**

His Majesty King Mohammed Zahir Shah of Afghanistan will pay a state visit to China during the latter half of October this year at the invitation of Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic will visit China at an appropriate time at the invitation of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai.

### **No "Two Chinas" in Gymnastics**

China has withdrawn from the International Gymnastics Federation in protest against the fact that that organization has been made a tool of U.S. imperialism's "two Chinas" policy and illegally accepted as a member the Chiang Kai-shek gang's so-called gymnastics organization.

Chu Teh-pao, the Chinese delegate to the 43rd I.G.F. Congress held in Zurich, Switzerland, in mid-July, lodged a strong protest against the illegal decision forced through the congress by the U.S. imperialists and their hangers-on and pointed out that it was in complete violation of the I.G.F. statutes stipulating that "one single national federation is recognized in each country." "Those who harbour ulterior motives in the I.G.F. have put themselves in the disgraceful position of serving the U.S. plot of creating 'two Chinas,'" he said. As President of the Gymnastics Federation of the People's Republic of China, Chu Teh-pao announced its withdrawal from the I.G.F. and severance of all relations with it.

On July 24, a follow-up statement was issued by the Gymnastics Federation of the People's Republic of China. It points out that "this unjustifiable act of the I.G.F. is closely connected with the U.S. imperialists' policy of hostility towards the Chinese people. As everybody knows, U.S. imperialism, in order to occupy China's territory of Taiwan, has been trying its utmost to create a situation of 'two Chinas' or its variant, namely, 'one China and one Taiwan.' The I.G.F.'s action is in line with this political scheme of U.S. imperialism." The statement reiterates that "the Chinese people will never tolerate a situation of 'two Chinas' or 'one China and one Taiwan' in any international organization or conference or in any international activities."

The statement declares that the Gymnastics Federation of the Peo-

*(Continued on p. 27.)*



# Peking Opera to Serve Socialism

## —Talk at the Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes

by PENG CHEN

*Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, gave a talk on July 1 in Peking at the 1964 Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes. Following is the full text of his talk as it appeared in the July 31 issue of "Hongqi" (No. 14). — Ed.*

### Comrades and Friends:

First of all let me congratulate you on the successes achieved in the reform of Peking opera and on the successful staging of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes.

There are many types of plays on contemporary themes. Hollywood is also producing "plays on contemporary themes"; the rubbish the modern revisionists are staging also goes under the name of "plays with contemporary themes." But what we are staging are plays on contemporary revolutionary themes serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Many Peking operas of the past portrayed emperors and kings, generals, ministers, scholars, beauties, lords and dowagers, young gentlemen and ladies; they prettified the exploiting classes and denigrated the working people. Very few plays were staged on contemporary revolutionary themes. Over a long period in the past Peking opera in the main served feudalism and capitalism. Many attempts were made to reform Peking opera, and a number of plays were successfully revised, but at the current Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes we are witnessing for the first time reforms that are so comprehensive and systematic, so rich in content and well received by the broad masses of the people. This is indeed a revolution in Peking opera.

Today, we should study Peking opera from two aspects. So far as their contents are concerned, many plays in the past served feudalism or capitalism. These plays dominated the stage and they must be reformed. There are also a small number of historical plays and plays on contemporary themes whose content is fairly good; these should be consistently improved. So far as artistic form is concerned, Peking opera has a relatively long history and has attained a relatively high artistic level; it is a type of opera with relatively strict conventions. For these reasons it is rather difficult to reform. But once successfully reformed, it will have a bright future. Now that so many comrades and friends are determined to reform it, to revolutionize it, and great successes have been achieved in this revolution, we can say that this revolution has been suc-

cessful. The reform of Peking opera — its transformation from an art that in the main served feudalism and capitalism into one serving the workers, peasants, soldiers and socialism — is a great event in literary and artistic circles; it is a great revolution. Initial success has been gained in this revolution. We congratulate you on the success of this reform; please accept our deepest thanks.

The question now is: How to carry the revolution in Peking opera through to the end; and how to reform Peking opera properly.

There are still quite a number of differing opinions on whether Peking opera should be reformed at all and how to reform it systematically and comprehensively. The vast majority of these opinions are well-intentioned and constructive. There are also a small number of persons who are fundamentally opposed to reform. Their cry is: "What sort of Peking opera is this without the long sleeves or the long beards? This is sheer nonsense!" So there are still a lot of problems to solve. Comrades should not imagine that this festival has solved everything and that the revolution has been accomplished. That is not so. Certain questions, therefore, still have to be dealt with, and they must be brought up for discussion.

### I

**The first question: Is it necessary to reform Peking opera? How should we reform it?**

It must be reformed and reformed successfully. I shall deal with five aspects of this question.

**1. Should Peking opera serve socialism, or should it serve feudalism or capitalism?** Literature and art should serve politics and the development of the productive forces. Now that we are living in a socialist society, whom should our Peking opera serve? What kind of plays should we stage? Should we serve socialism by staging plays that advance the socialist revolution and socialist construction, or should we stage plays that benefit feudalism or capitalism? This is a fundamental question. It is quite clear that if one does not want to see feudalism or capitalism restored, if one does not hanker after these systems, then in a socialist society one cannot be always staging plays about such representatives of the exploiting classes as emperors, kings, generals, ministers, and scholars and beauties. What is an emperor? He is the representative of the landlord class, the chieftain of the landlords. What is an empress? She is the chief of the landlords' wives. To be sure, some working people were por-

trayed in Peking operas in the past, but most of them were shown in a distorted and unfavourable light. How can we in our socialist society tolerate such a state of affairs with Peking opera — so important a stage art, a stage art with a relatively high artistic level and an important artistic heritage — continuing to portray emperors, kings, generals and ministers, and continuing to stage operas which are detrimental to the socialist revolution and socialist construction? That can't be! That would mean in actual fact helping the attempts of the feudal forces to restore feudalism or of the capitalist forces to restore capitalism. Therefore, Peking opera must be reformed. Either Peking opera will die out or it must mainly portray workers, peasants and soldiers and serve them and socialism; either one way or the other. There is no third way.

**2. Should Peking opera serve the majority or the minority?** Should it serve the workers, peasants and soldiers (including the revolutionary intellectuals), or should it serve those old and young "remnants" of the old society who hanker after feudalism or capitalism, and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, undesirable elements and bourgeois Rightists? Should it serve more than 90 per cent of the population, or should it serve only a few per cent of the population? Should it serve six hundred and many tens of millions, or should it serve a few millions or a few tens of millions who make up only a few per cent of the population? In the past, it was always those few per cent of the population who dominated the stage. Our country today is the People's Republic of China led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance. In such a country, a socialist country, where do our workers in literature and art, our fighters on the front of the art of Peking opera, stand? Should they stand with more than 90 per cent of the population, with the workers, peasants and soldiers, that is, on the side of socialism, or on the side of our enemies, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, undesirable elements and bourgeois Rightists? I can't say that absolutely none of you would wish to stand with the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, undesirable elements and bourgeois Rightists, but I am confident the overwhelming majority of you are not willing to stand on their side.

The mass of workers, peasants and soldiers, and especially the young people, are dissatisfied with Peking opera always staging plays about emperors, kings, generals and ministers and not staging plays on contemporary revolutionary themes. They expressed their attitude long ago. They did this very simply — by refusing to buy tickets. Old Peking operas have been less heavily booked up than several kinds of local opera precisely because these latter staged plays on contemporary revolutionary themes. Theatres in which old Peking operas about emperors, kings, generals, ministers, and scholars and beauties are staged are always poorly attended. Is it not true that the artistic level of Peking opera is rather high? Is it not true

that there are some nationally famous actors with very high artistic attainments? But their box-office draws less people compared with some of the local operas.

What does this mean? It means that the masses are telling us by their acts: "Peking opera must be reformed. If there is no reform, we'll stay away!" If things go on like this, with so many of the masses, so many of the young people, not attending, and with audiences of just a few in their fifties and sixties and a handful of ardent Peking opera fans, then Peking opera will have faded away in 20 or 40 years, and if it hasn't pretty well died out in 40 years then it certainly will have in 60. The mass of workers and peasants and young people have shown where they stand. If you still do not reform, but go on putting on operas about emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, doesn't this mean that you will be letting Peking opera sit passively waiting for its end? Then again: our theatre is there to serve the masses of the people, but when the masses do not attend the theatre, and you do not reform it, what else then are you waiting for? As I see it, there must be reforms, inevitably, otherwise there is no future for Peking opera.

**3. To present the dead or the living?** There are few characters on the Peking opera stage who are living people. Besides there is a theory that "characters of living people on the Peking opera stage cannot be lifelike, or that it is very difficult to make them resemble living people, whereas in regard to the dead, the further they are from us in time the more lifelike they appear." Strange indeed! There is the opera *King Pa Bids Farewell to Lady Yu*, but have you ever seen King Pa, or his Lady Yu? How do you know they resemble the stage types? How can you say such stage characters are like the people of old, when neither you nor I have ever seen the originals to know? Well, that's what you say and who's to contradict you? And why insist that workers, peasants and soldiers in Peking opera can't be lifelike? At least there are models to follow when portraying contemporary people; our workers, peasants, and soldiers are all models, and where the stage characters are not lifelike, then go and see and study them for yourself and you will find that you will be able to create lifelike characters. To argue as a reason for opposing the reform of Peking opera that the characters of living people on the Peking opera stage are not lifelike and only people of the past are, just won't stand scrutiny.

Something like six hundred million and more workers and peasants (including revolutionary soldiers, i.e., workers and peasants in arms) are engaged in a great revolutionary struggle; they are engaged in a revolutionary movement of unprecedented greatness and construction of heroic proportions; isn't it well worth putting all this on the stage? Is it really only those few ancients who are worthy of being portrayed on the stage? There are so many inspiring heroic deeds; there are so many heroes, yet you do not portray them

on the stage; you keep on staging feudal characters long since dead. Aren't our revolutionary heroes and heroic revolutionary masses worth depicting? Isn't it worth describing them—putting all this down on paper, on the stage, into music or on canvas? Our great socialist revolution and socialist construction arouse no interest, but those few whom no one has ever set eyes on and who are long since dead—landlord chieftains and chiefs of landlords' wives, or feudal, or bourgeois "scholars and beauties"—arouse great interest. Isn't this strange? But it is not so strange really. This concerns the question of serving the more than 90 per cent of the people, or of serving that few remaining percentage, that is, it is a question of serving socialism or serving capitalism or feudalism. At the moment there are still people who do actually want to restore capitalism or feudalism, but these are after all a small minority. To advocate serving feudalism, or capitalism openly in the People's Republic of China is very difficult because they would be immediately given a telling rebuff by the masses of the people, and few dare court that. So those with ulterior motives take another line: They fill the stage exclusively with the ancients. A few working in modern drama say, "Though what I put on is bourgeois, it is of the dead bourgeoisie of the 18th and 19th centuries; and I do indeed portray feudal people but they are people who have long since passed away." A handful of persons would like to use this sort of feudalism and capitalism to corrode and poison the minds of our people and our youth. Objectively, that is what they do. Of course, the great majority of those who stage such plays do so unconsciously, because when they were in old-style opera classes, or when apprenticed to their masters, these were the plays they were taught, and though in their hearts they do not wish to put them on, there is nothing else they can put on. As for a handful of people, I doubt very much whether they do so completely unconsciously. If they are doing so unconsciously, then why do they hate the reform of Peking opera so much? We have a song that says: "Socialism is good." But they say: it isn't. They say "feudalism is good," or "capitalism is good" and they say this through the forms of art. "See how good feudalism or capitalism is on the stage!" This is the song they want to sing. So you see, presenting people of the past and people of the present on the stage is not simply a question of the dead and the living. This is a question of a political nature, a question reflecting class character, political orientation, the path to take. Isn't it so?

Some people prefer to stage foreign people and people of past times. Well, Lenin is a foreigner, and a man of times past, but how comes it then that so few plays are staged about Lenin leading the October Revolution; why are there so few good foreign dramas about the proletarian revolution on our stage?

We are historical materialists. We are not indiscriminately opposed to staging historical plays. When we oppose putting on plays about people of the past,

we are opposing those plays about people of the past which laud feudalism or capitalism, which prettify the exploiting classes. As for those historical plays which fortify the will of the people, which take the wind out of the sails of the exploiting classes and benefit the cause of the people, help social development and the revolution, and further socialism—historical plays which tell of the fine traditions of the Chinese people—of course these can be staged. But the emphasis must be on staging contemporary revolutionary plays, plays about the living masses of people fighting their struggles, about the living proletariat in the midst of its struggles.

A couple of years ago I took this matter up with comrades of the Peking People's Art Theatre: How about devoting just a few per cent of your time to staging plays about people of the past and about foreigners, and more than 90 per cent of your time to staging contemporary revolutionary Chinese plays? I said, and I proposed that they think it over. I am not saying that no historical plays should be staged, but I am saying that the emphasis should be on staging plays about the living, about our workers, peasants, and soldiers, contemporary plays which further socialism and help the struggle against the enemy.

Some people in Peking opera circles said that the staging of contemporary revolutionary plays is just a passing breeze. We must tell them that this breeze is mighty strong and it won't stop blowing. This breeze would stop blowing only if capitalism were restored and modern revisionists got into power in China. Comrades and friends in Peking opera circles. I think that for the time being it is better for you to put aside those plays about the ancients while concentrating your energies on making a break-through in contemporary drama.

You have been performing the old plays for so long and have become so accustomed to them that you feel quite at home in them, while you feel awkward and up against many difficulties when you take up contemporary plays. The question is that you haven't got enough experience, and you haven't quite got the hang of things yet; when you do, everything will be all right. Put everything else aside and give it a trial for a time; get the hang of staging contemporary revolutionary plays and then put on some plays about people of olden days at the same time. I think that unless this is done for a period of time, contemporary revolutionary drama cannot be consolidated.

**4. The question of content and form.** The ideological content of Peking opera should be revolutionary. But this revolutionary ideological content must be integrated with the special artistic characteristics of Peking opera. It is here that the difficulty of reform lies. Set forms already exist in the special characteristic features of the art of performing Peking operas on ancient themes but there are no set forms as yet for portraying workers, peasants and soldiers in operas on contemporary themes. Some new forms were created in the



course of this festival, but the experience gained is of an initial nature so it is necessary to continue to create, to sum up our experience and improve on it.

Two questions arise in integrating a revolutionary content with the special characteristics of Peking opera art. The first is: Must Peking opera conventions change? The conventions of Peking opera were originally developed to portray the ancients. Today the task is mainly to portray people of the present day — workers, peasants and soldiers — therefore, certain changes are imperative. Changes will have to be made in the music, singing, recitative, acting and acrobatic routines. Refusal to make changes will mean that the portrayal of workers, peasants and soldiers will not be convincing.

The other question is: Should the good features of other art forms be adapted to the uses of Peking opera? Peking opera was originally created and developed by assimilating the good features of other operatic forms. As it originated that way, why then should it not today learn and adapt to itself good features from other art forms? It should make such adaptations. Of course, the result after adaptation must still be wholly in the character of Peking opera. That is to say, Peking opera must still be Peking opera. It should not be turned into a hodge-podge of something that resembles nothing. It is like when a man eats something, for example, so long as it is nutritious, whatever he eats it will become his own blood, flesh, bones, and so on, after he has digested it. If the result of reforming Peking opera even makes those people who love it dislike it, then it cannot possibly be said that our reforms have been successful.

**5. The question of strategically despising and tactically taking into full account.** By strategically despising, we mean that we are confident that Peking opera can be successfully reformed, and we will despise those people who oppose the reform of Peking opera. There are some people who oppose the reform of Peking opera aren't there? Yes, but these sort of people who turn their backs on socialism and turn towards capitalism or feudalism are bound to come to grief. It is absolutely right that the masses look down upon them. While we are working for socialism, they are working for feudalism or capitalism. Today the more than 600 million theatre-goers want to see plays on living people but they only like to perform plays about the dead. They have cut themselves off from 95 per cent of the people. What is so grand about that?

Tactically, however, comrades must not treat this problem off-handedly but must take full account of it. Full account must be taken of the script, directing, acting and singing; every act, every scene, every character, in fact, every sentence sung or spoken and every movement must be carefully considered. Workers must be like workers, peasants must be like peasants, soldiers must be like soldiers, whomever is being portrayed must be like the "real thing." To be in the style of Peking opera and at the same time to be like what is being portrayed is difficult and if full account is not taken of everything, things won't come out right. In

this great cultural revolutionary struggle to reform Peking opera, care must be taken to maintain a high quality and not to turn out rough and slipshod work. Reforming Peking opera is not like roasting chestnuts — tipping them into the pan to roast and then selling them while you are still roasting them. Nor is it like eating fried tripe when you can toss some sheep's stomach into a frying pan and take it out in an instant ready for eating. This matter is not as simple as all that. It cannot be done at one stroke, nor can it be perfected in an instant. Take some of the surviving traditional operas, for example. Do you realize how many hands they have passed through; how much they were reformed; how much polishing they went through? What we are doing today is something completely new. It is to portray our workers, peasants and soldiers on the stage. Previously the Peking opera stage did not portray these people but today we are going to do it and do it well. But it isn't going to be all that easy, is it? Therefore, it is necessary to take full account of this task. Do not think that in one attempt all will be changed satisfactorily. That is impossible. If it is reformed basically well, then that will be very good. So long as it is revolutionary it will be good. There may be some defects in the content and artistic technique, but that will be corrected with more and constant polishing.

In the course of the reform, it is impossible not to have various opinions and disputes. It is quite logical that there should be differing views and disputes. Before, all we had were portrayals of ancients — emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties; with the reform people are suddenly performing operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. If there were no differences of opinion at all about this, that indeed would be surprising.

What is to be done when there are different opinions and disputes? We should discuss and look into things in a comradely way so as to help each other and put things right. Because some operas on a contemporary revolutionary theme has some slight defects, we should not trample it to death or kill it with one blow. Every one of us should cherish this fresh, newly blossoming flower of Peking opera on contemporary themes. Don't worry if there is a dispute, so long as it really is for reform. Everyone should listen to all kinds of constructive criticisms and discuss them together. If there are criticisms they should be made face to face and not behind someone's back. This should become a habit. In the past among Peking opera circles it was a matter of "you form you group, I form mine"; bickering between this and that company, and between this and that guild was quite serious. This bad habit was a left-over from the old society. Has it all been swept away at one stroke? It is not likely. "You put on an opera and I pull away a prop from behind. I put on an opera and you pull away one of my props from behind." That was how things were. Each held together his own group but they did not want to form the big group of the People's Republic of China, not to

speak of the big group of proletarian internationalism. The People's Republic of China will soon number 700 million, and under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung we all work for a great unity, isn't that better? Some people are not content with such a great unity but want to set up their own little unity before they are content. I urge these comrades and friends to enlarge their circle of unity.

This is the question of whether or not to reform Peking opera and how to reform it. I ask everyone to consider the few ideas I have put forward. That is the first question.

## II

**The second question: What must be done to ensure the successful reform of Peking opera; what are the prerequisites?**

There are two prerequisites.

**1. Script writers, directors and actors of Peking opera must go deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers, become one with them and establish ties of flesh-and-blood with them.** That is to say, in reforming Peking opera, the line of "from the masses, to the masses" put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung must also be followed. Only in this way can good plays be written and Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes be successfully performed. How can you recreate the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers on the stage if you have never lived among them and are not acquainted with them? Living together with the workers, peasants and soldiers alone will not suffice, you must also distill the essential merits of the heroes among them and create typical images of them on the stage. Therefore, workers in Peking opera must go deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers, go to their factories, production teams and companies and become one with them. Some comrades and friends have found they have gained much after spending even only a short time in the factories, production teams or army companies. Wouldn't you gain even more if you stayed there for a year or two, or several years? There are many writers and playwrights in the capital, but they have produced few plays. Why? Mainly because they are divorced from the masses and from reality. They stay in their offices and do not go out to the factories, production teams or army companies. Under such conditions how can they produce good works? How can they turn out many good works? Of course, it is impossible. Some plays have been acted rather unconvincingly and they have been rather unconvincingly directed. This is chiefly due to the fact that their directors and actors have not yet lived with the workers, peasants and soldiers or that they have lived with them only for a very short time.

The fact is that to go deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers is not so simple. It is comparatively easy to go for a few days, like a guest, but it is not so easy to be at one with the workers, peasants and soldiers, to establish flesh-and-blood relations with

them. To attain this, one must, first of all, have the standpoint of the proletariat; be of one mind with the workers, peasants and soldiers, with the proletariat, with the poor and lower-middle peasants and serve them wholeheartedly. We should all of us make ourselves willing pupils of the masses. This refers not only to you but also to us Party workers, Members of the Party's Central Committee. If we go out just to criticize and point things out right away instead of first learning from the masses like pupils, then the workers and peasants won't open their hearts to us. Although many Party workers have established regular contacts with the mass of workers and peasants, they still need to choose some place for gaining experience at the grass-roots, where they live and work together with the masses, as the willing pupils of the masses. So is it possible for Peking opera workers not to be willing pupils of the masses when they go to the countryside, the factories, or army companies? Of course they should. Naturally, we should not insist that those who are aged and physically weak live and work with the masses, but it is good too to give them a chance to visit. Those artists and writers who are young and in the prime of life should, like our Party workers and the workers in other fields, live among the workers, peasants and soldiers.

This is a prerequisite for the success of the reform of Peking opera.

**2. Peking opera workers must revolutionize their ideology, that is to say they must become revolutionized and proletarianized.** "Ize" means thorough change, from top to bottom and inside out. One must be revolutionized within, revolutionized not in part, but from head to foot. This is not so easy! You work on plays on contemporary revolutionary themes, but if your ideology is not revolutionized and proletarianized, how can you write, direct or act a play on these themes well? If your ideology is not revolutionized you cannot be at one with the workers, peasants and soldiers, you cannot establish flesh-and-blood relations with them. If your head is full of the ideology of the feudal landlord class or bourgeoisie, how can you identify yourselves with the proletariat and the working masses? Under such circumstances how can you establish flesh-and-blood ties with them? So, if you want to perform a play on a contemporary revolutionary theme you need, in the first place, to have a revolutionized ideology. You should be determined to remould yourself and raise your political level. Once you are determined to be revolutionary, things will go well. Change a little bit today and a little bit tomorrow, and you'll build up a revolutionary ideology bit by bit. In time you'll achieve a fundamental change. In his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* Comrade Mao Tse-tung very clearly dealt with the fundamental questions involved here. I suggest you comrades read over those talks carefully once again.

To speak frankly, there are some people who are in an acute contradiction. Physically speaking, they have already entered socialist society, yet their heads are still in feudal or capitalist society. Surely it's not



very comfortable to have one's body at one place and one's neck stretched out to one's head somewhere else? Such a person eats socialist rice and wears socialist clothes. All his amenities of life are supplied by socialism, by the workers, peasants and soldiers, yet he does not act plays to serve them, to serve socialism. His ideology is still feudalistic or capitalistic. This is an acute contradiction. If a person is like this, that's his business. But if, in accordance with his own outlook, he attempts to use Peking opera to transform the world, to oppose our staging of plays on contemporary revolutionary themes, that's very bad. Then, what is to be done? I suggest that these people had better make a big effort to remould their ideology so that they can bring their heads into socialist society too.

During the current movement for socialist education in the rural areas, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has called on us to "re-educate people, reorganize the ranks of revolution." Why re-educate people? It is for the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. What kind of revolutionary ranks are to be reorganized? — The revolutionary ranks of socialism. In the past, many people were mentally prepared for the democratic revolution, but not very well prepared for the socialist revolution, and some were not in the least prepared for it. In the past, we did not undertake any systematic, all-round socialist education in every way throughout the country. Now a movement for socialist education is going ahead in the urban as well as rural areas. So long as we go on taking care of things like this, not only will we be able to carry on our socialist revolution

successfully and day by day improve our socialist construction, but we will also be able to dig out thoroughly the root cause of revisionism.

Comrades! Please don't think that there can be no revisionism in China. If we don't grasp the tasks of class struggle well and of socialist education too, then, it is also possible for revisionism to appear. Speaking frankly, there are quite a few problems in literary and artistic circles, surely no less than in other fields of work. Therefore, it is necessary to launch a rectification campaign and a movement for socialist education and wage the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism on the front of literature and art. We must study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works carefully, learn Marxism-Leninism, and maintain a firm proletarian stand. I suggest that all of you examine and sift through the works you have written, the plays you have performed, the films you have acted in, the songs you have sung, the music you have performed and the pictures you have drawn in the past few years. See what is bourgeois in them or what has been influenced by the remnants of bourgeois ideas, or what is feudalistic. If you find mistakes or shortcomings, correct them and things will go well! This must be done in all spheres of literature and art, and Peking opera circles are no exception. Let everyone work for socialism and communism and thoroughly wipe out the influence of feudal and bourgeois ideology! If we act in this way, I am positive that the reform of Peking opera can certainly be done successfully, and that Peking opera certainly has a bright and great future.

### 37th Anniversary of the P.L.A.

## China Celebrates Army Day

**A**UGUST 1 this year marked the 37th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. On this happy occasion gala meetings and parties were held in all the major cities throughout the country to celebrate the great achievements of the P.L.A. during the past year. Congratulatory messages were sent in from the socialist countries and many other friendly nations.

In Peking, on the eve of the anniversary, with the big red star of the army's emblem flashing in the warm night sky above them, officers and men of the P.L.A. and people from all walks of life attended a colourful celebration in the great flood-lit building of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Museum. Chou En-lai, Peng Chen, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Po-ta and Lo Jui-ching were among the Party and government leaders present at this get-together of generals and admirals, soldiers and militiamen as well as the families of revolutionary servicemen and revolutionary martyrs.

Greying generals, veterans of China's many revolutionary wars, chatted with young "Five Good" soldiers. In other groups, P.L.A. officers and men

exchanged experiences with young militiamen from factories, schools, government offices and people's communes; in still others people were telling the army-men about their own experience in learning from the P.L.A. Together they enjoyed a rich programme of songs, dances, modern plays, Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, puppet shows and films. During the evening, the Party and government leaders present received the representatives of outstanding companies and individual outstanding soldiers, marksmen, gunners and mechanics, family members of revolutionary army-men and revolutionary martyrs, and representatives of Peking's militiamen.

### Warning to U.S.

On the anniversary day itself, Vice-Premier and Chief of General Staff of the P.L.A. Senior General Lo Jui-ching gave a reception. Military attaches of embassies accredited to China and friends from the Viet Nam People's Army now visiting China were among the guests. In his reception speech, General Lo sharply condemned U.S. imperialism for its criminal plans to ex-

tend its war of aggression in south Viet Nam and other parts of Indo-China. He warned the U.S. imperialists: "You should remember what the iron fist of the Chinese people is like! Should you disregard the repeated warnings of the Chinese and Vietnamese Governments and stern condemnation by righteous public opinion of the world, and dare to extend the war further, we can say for certain that your wishful dreams of crushing the just struggles of the peoples in south Viet Nam and Laos will come to naught and your claws stretching into Southeast Asia will be chopped off." "All commanders and fighters of the Chinese P.L.A. are keeping close watch on every move of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys; they stand ready at all times to deal a crushing blow to the aggressors," he declared.

In Shanghai, Shenyang, Canton, Kunming, Huhhot and other cities, locally stationed army units held meetings and get-togethers to honour the day. Many old generals and combat heroes visited the units in which they had once served. They told the young fighters who had taken their places about the glorious past and fine traditions of the P.L.A. and encouraged them to maintain and carry forward those traditions. On the Fukien front, commanding generals joined in celebrations with the rank and file. Vice-Premier Chen Yi was among the 2,000 who attended a get-together in China's biggest city, Shanghai. Thousands watched a display of military exercises put on by militiamen of a people's commune near Wuhan.

On August 1, the *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) published an editorial entitled "Long Live the Resolute Revolutionary Spirit of Ching kang Mountain."

## Training Millions of Successors to Proletarian Revolution

*Following is a translation of a "Renmin Ribao" editorial (August 3) originally entitled "Cultivating and Training Millions of Successors to the Proletarian Revolution." Subheads and boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**C**ULTIVATION of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is an important question of strategic significance set forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In order to guarantee the final victory of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, the cause of communism, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies, but must cultivate and train millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution.

Our proletarian revolutionary cause is vigorously developing. Great victories have been won in the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our country. The forty-three years since the founding of the Communist Party of China and the fifteen years since the founding of the People's Republic of China

The editorial recalls how 37 years ago, the people's fighters on Ching kang Mountain, inspired by the lofty ideal of achieving the complete liberation of the proletariat, and filled with revolutionary optimism, surmounted inconceivable difficulties. The spark kindled on Ching kang Mountain spread the fire of revolution throughout the country and heralded the birth of New China. The great struggle on Ching kang Mountain provides a brilliant example of the resolute revolutionary spirit of the army. Encouraging the P.L.A. men to cherish and develop the Ching kang Mountain spirit, the editorial reads in part:

"The resolute revolutionary Ching kang Mountain spirit, as Chairman Mao has taught, is the spirit of boundless loyalty to the Party, the proletariat and the people, and to the communist cause of the emancipation of all mankind; it is the dauntless spirit of daring to fight and to win, to overwhelm all enemies, and never to be daunted; it is the spirit of being militant and revolutionary at all times in carrying the great cause of the proletarian revolution through to the end.

"In this era in history imperialism is heading to its collapse, while socialism is marching to its victory. The Chinese people are redoubling their efforts to speed up socialist revolution and socialist construction, to combat imperialism and all reactionaries and revisionism, and to support the just cause of liberation of the world's people. Such a situation presents our army with an ever more arduous and glorious task to fulfil. It must therefore raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and develop the revolutionary spirit of the Ching kang Mountain."

have provided ample, living, sound and powerful proofs that, under the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, guided by a line that combines the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction, and with the nucleus of Party leadership at all levels tempered through rectification campaigns and class struggle, the Chinese people can surmount all obstacles on their revolutionary road and advance triumphantly. The pressing task confronting us is to cultivate successors who will carry on the revolution from generation to generation, and to strengthen constantly the nucleus of Party leadership at all levels so that the correct line and correct policies of the Party are adhered to at all times.

### A Decisive Matter for the Revolution

Generally speaking, to cultivate successors to the proletarian revolution is to cultivate strong ranks that

will be able to carry on the revolutionary cause of the proletariat from generation to generation, particularly the nucleus of the leadership of the Party and the state at all levels to be capable of leading the revolutionary cause of the proletariat from generation to generation. It is the nucleus of leadership that decides the direction for the advance of the revolutionary cause. Whether the nucleus of leadership of our Party and state at all levels consists of real proletarian revolutionaries or not is a decisive matter for the success and failure of our whole revolutionary cause.

The cause of socialism and communism is the greatest and most arduous cause in human history. Achieving the complete victory of socialism is a matter not for one or two generations, but for five or ten generations, or even longer. Throughout this historical period, there will be storms of class struggle manifested in various forms. The bourgeoisie and all other overthrown exploiting classes always attempt to stage a comeback. The class enemies both at home and abroad understand that to make a socialist country degenerate into a capitalist country, it is necessary first to make the Communist Party degenerate into a revisionist party, and that to do this, it is necessary first to make the nucleus of the Party leadership at all levels degenerate. The grave danger of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union several decades after the October Revolution is, first of all, the result of the degeneration of the leading Khrushchov clique. Just before his death, the reactionary U.S. ringleader John Foster Dulles was still thinking of a capitalist restoration in China, but when he saw there was no hope among the nucleus of the leadership in the present and the next generation of our revolutionary ranks, he pinned his hopes on our third and fourth generations.

The imperialists' wishes, the lessons to be drawn from the modern revisionists' damage to the Soviet Union and the facts of the class struggle in our country today all have given us the warning: in long, complicated class struggle, we must constantly increase the strength of the nucleus of Party leadership at all levels to resist the corrosion by the class enemy. We must pay greater attention to the choosing, cultivating and training of the successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, especially the successors to the nucleus of the leadership at all levels.

The great majority of the people in the nucleus of our Party leadership at all levels were tempered in past grave class struggles, especially in the revolutionary civil wars and the War of Resistance Against Japan. Most of them are armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking. It should be noted, however, that the revolution in China long since has passed from the period of national-democratic revolution to the period of socialist revolution. The nature of class struggle in the period of socialist revolution is fundamentally different from that in the period of the national-democratic revolution. The national-democratic revolution was directed against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. The socialist revolution

has as its task the elimination of capitalism in its entirety while carrying on the revolution against imperialism and feudalism. Not only must the capitalist system of exploitation be eliminated on the economic front, but the remnant capitalist forces on the political and ideological fronts as well must be completely eliminated, and the bourgeois world outlook, bourgeois political influence and the force of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois habits must all be repudiated and done away with thoroughly. The socialist revolution is a process of uninterrupted revolution, which must be carried forward ever more widely and deeply on all fronts. Therefore, the broadening and deepening of the revolution call for the re-education of functionaries and readjustment in the revolutionary ranks. We cannot rest content with the fact that the nucleus of the Party leadership at all levels was good in the past, nor that it is good at present, we must make higher demands on them and their successors: they must be able to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and stand the test of still greater storms of class struggle.

### Successors Must Meet Five Requirements

What are the standards for choosing the successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat? The experiences and lessons of the communist movement and the dictatorship of the proletariat show that the successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat must meet the following five requirements.

#### 1. They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists.

Members of the nucleus of leadership at every level of the revolutionary ranks must have a better understanding of Marxism-Leninism, especially a true understanding of the essence of Marxism-Leninism. In philosophy, the essence of Marxism-Leninism is dialectical-materialism, the law of the unity of opposites in particular, and in politics, it is the thesis on class struggle, particularly the thesis of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship by the proletariat. Genuine Marxist-Leninists must apply the law of the unity of opposites to handling matters and persist in the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

To become genuine Marxist-Leninists, the successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause must integrate their study of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism closely with the concrete practice of the revolutionary struggles—with the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, with the summing up of experience gained in all the fields of socialist revolution and construction, with the solution of questions in actual work, and with the remoulding of their own ideology.

The thinking of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism which has been creatively developed in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction in the great revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, in the epoch when imperialism is heading for collapse and socialism advancing towards victory. If they want to be genuine Marxist-Leninists, the successors to the



proletarian revolution in China must perseveringly study the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and be good at truly understanding and applying Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

**2. They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world.**

Essentially, the question of serving the overwhelming majority of the people is a matter of class stand and world outlook. In observing and dealing with any problem, the proletarian revolutionary must always stand on the side of the working people and all the exploited and oppressed peoples in the world, who comprise the overwhelming majority of mankind, and not on the side of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes who constitute only a small minority of mankind.

The successor to the proletarian revolution must be selfless for the sake of the common good, and unremittingly oppose individualism. He must under all circumstances place the interests of the whole above all others and resolutely oppose departmentalism; he must persist in proletarian internationalism and oppose national-egoism. Individualism, departmentalism and national-egoism are as incompatible with the utterly unselfish revolutionary cause of the proletariat as water is with fire. Both departmentalism and national-egoism have their roots in bourgeois individualism. To be a successor of the proletarian revolution, one must not be prey to the temptations of bourgeois individualism and under all circumstances put the interests of the overwhelming majority in first place. When the situation demands, he should be ready to sacrifice his personal interests, even his blood and life in order to defend the interests of the greatest majority of the people.

**3. They must be proletarian political leaders capable of rallying and working with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, but they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong.**

In any leading group or any unit, there may be different views on a question. This is a good thing and not a bad thing. Members of the nucleus of leadership must make the best use of collective wisdom and be good at listening to all useful opinions and working with people with different views, be good at creating an atmosphere of earnestly discussing and studying problems so that comrades with differing views can freely express their opinions, undertake debates and make right and wrong clear, and through such discussions to raise comrades' ideological level of Marxism-Leninism, raise their ability to discover errors and strengthen unity among them on Marxist-Leninist principles. There may be some intractable elements, but they can only be a very small minority. When the majority is united, the few incorrigible die-hards will be isolated. Vigilance must be maintained at all times

against careerists and conspirators so as to prevent such bad elements from seizing the leadership.

**4. They must set an example in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses," and must cultivate a democratic style of work and be good at listening to the masses.**

The mass line "from the masses, to the masses" is a fundamental line of our Party in all kinds of work. We must be good at summing up the experience and opinions of the masses systematically and bring them back to the masses so that the masses stand up for them and act on them. Commandism and the attitude of keeping everything in one's own hands, which are detrimental to the initiative of the masses, should never be allowed. We must be good at using the form of revolutionary struggle, i.e., full and frank expression of views and great debates, which have been created by the people of our country, and relying on the masses to resolve contradictions among the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy.

The Party's democratic centralism is centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy with centralized guidance, namely the unity of democracy and centralism. Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat must be trained to adhere conscientiously to the Party's democratic centralism and to strictly abide by the principle of integrating collective leadership with individual responsibility. It is necessary resolutely to oppose the arbitrary style of "do as I say," resolutely oppose the rude style of not treating others as equals, and resolutely oppose the style of those who welcome flattery and turn like a wounded tiger on those who raise criticism. All these are the rotten style of bureaucracy, remnants of long rule by the exploiting classes. Such a style is the greatest enemy that hampers the Party's ties with the broad masses.

**5. They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work.**

A modest and prudent proletarian revolutionary should not see his own merit only, and should not be arrogant and complacent, thus hampering his own progress. It is not necessary for a good leader to be without any mistakes and shortcomings in his work. It is necessary that he should constantly pay attention to preventing mistakes and shortcomings and strive to commit as few mistakes as possible or no mistakes at all in major questions of principle. It is necessary that after having committed mistakes, he can seriously examine and correct them and have the courage to accept responsibility for them. He must not cover up his errors in his own interest, claim all credit for himself and shift all the blame on others.

To carry out criticism and self-criticism seriously is one of the criteria for serious political parties and serious revolutionaries. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has frequently called attention to the fact that a person should treat his own mistakes and shortcomings like

the daily washing of his face, and one should go to the doctor when he falls ill, not conceal his illness and avoid treatment. The successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat should therefore have the courage to carry out self-criticism and be good at overcoming shortcomings and correcting mistakes, and should constantly remould themselves in the course of transforming the world.

All successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat who measure up to these five requirements will be able to meet the tests of all class struggles and carry the socialist revolution resolutely to the end. They will be able to create and maintain an animated and lively political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind, so that the socialist revolution and construction will advance vigorously along a correct road.

### Implementing the Party's Class Line

In order to select successors to the revolutionary cause for the nucleus of leadership at all levels strictly in conformity with the five requirements, particular attention must be paid to implementing the Party's class line. The focus of selecting and training the successors should be on advanced functionaries of worker, poor peasant and lower-middle peasant origin. The proletariat and semi-proletariat are the most exploited and most oppressed classes, and this determines that they have the most revolutionary political attitude. Therefore they are the people who most readily accept Marxism-Leninism and the thinking of Mao Tse-tung. They can work most resolutely for the overwhelming majority of the people in China and the rest of the world, rally the overwhelming majority of the people to work together for the revolutionary cause, consciously carry out the mass line and have the courage to carry out self-criticism. Of course successors to the revolutionary cause should not be selected and cultivated only from the viewpoint of class origin. A few persons of good class origin who are subject to corruption by the ideology of the exploiting classes, will not be able to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. On the other hand, some persons who do not come from families of labouring people through education by the Party can forsake their original class and can be tempered through revolutionary struggles into proletarian revolutionaries. But attention must be paid to ensuring that people of good class and family origin who have been tempered for a long period through class struggles account for the greatest majority of the nucleus of the leadership of the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat. This is the class basis for guaranteeing that the revolutionary ranks and the nucleus of leadership will never change colour.

### Testing Them in Class Struggle

In choosing successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the five requirements, attention must also be paid to testing and examining them for long periods in fierce and complex

class struggles. Whether a person is a genuine proletarian revolutionary cannot be judged according to whether he uses a profusion of revolutionary phraseology, or by his daily routine work, but in the storm and stress of class struggle. Therefore, functionaries at all levels and revolutionary young people must be organized to take part in a planned way in revolutionary mass movements, which at the present time means taking part in the socialist education movement in the cities and countryside. This is to enable them to weather the storms of mass struggle, see the magnitude of mass struggles and be tested and tempered through class struggle.

The five requirements put forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung designate the necessary qualifications for the successors to the revolutionary cause for the nucleus of leadership at all levels. All new and elder functionaries throughout the revolutionary ranks should strive to qualify strictly in accordance with the five standards and take them as the goals they strive to attain through tempering themselves.

In choosing and cultivating successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, the nucleus of the Party and state leadership at all levels, especially those who are in primary responsibility, are confronted with a heavy task. They have the grave task of directing the revolutionary struggles on all fronts and also the great task of cultivating and training successors to the revolutionary cause. For the everlasting and great cause of socialism and communism, the nucleus of leadership at all levels, especially those who are holding positions of primary responsibility, must carry out successfully the strategic task of choosing, cultivating and training successors to the revolutionary cause and help raise the level of leading functionaries holding positions of secondary responsibility in order to create a strong nucleus of leadership for generations to come.

To cultivate and train successors to the revolutionary cause in accordance with the qualifications necessary for carrying the proletarian revolution through to the end is a question of great theoretical and practical significance put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and is an important development of Marxism-Leninism in the historical stage of socialism. We must pay serious attention to this question. All fronts, departments, areas, enterprises, people's communes, government organizations and schools must, from top to bottom, universally and continually, pay attention to cultivating and training successors to the revolutionary cause. All work should be so arranged as to aid the cultivation of the revolutionary ranks, especially successors to the revolutionary cause for the nucleus of leadership at all levels. If this link is firmly grasped and the work is done successfully, it will enable the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cause started by the elder generation of proletarian revolutionaries to have qualified successors, guarantee that the leadership of our Party and state will continue to be in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries and enable our posterity to march forward triumphantly along the correct road of Marxism-Leninism from generation to generation.



# Premier Chou En-lai Greet the 10th World Conference Against Atomic And Hydrogen Bombs

*Following is a translation of the full text of the message sent by Premier Chou En-lai on July 28 to the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs which opened in Tokyo on July 30. — Ed.*

**T**HE Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs will soon open in triumph. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I express warm greetings to the conference, pay high respect to the Japanese people who are waging a heroic struggle and to the delegates of the various countries attending the conference, and extend profound sympathy and regards to the families of those killed by and to other victims of the atomic and hydrogen bombs dropped over Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Bikini.

Since the last conference, the people of the whole world have launched on a still larger scale the struggle against nuclear war preparations and nuclear blackmail by U.S. imperialism and for the complete banning of nuclear weapons and have won immense successes. More and more people have seen through the nuclear fraud perpetrated by U.S. imperialism to maintain its nuclear superiority. U.S. imperialism has become ever more isolated in the face of the surging anti-imperialist struggle of the people all over the world.

However, U.S. imperialism is continuing to play all kinds of deceptive tricks to cover up its activities to develop nuclear weapons and engage in nuclear war preparations and nuclear blackmail and is frenziedly pushing ahead with its policies of war and aggression. Nuclear weapons in the hands of U.S. imperialism have increased, instead of decreasing. It is not only preparing to fight a nuclear world war but is trying to intensify and extend its aggressive war in Indo-China and is clamouring for the use of nuclear weapons, thus posing a serious threat to Asian and world peace. Facts have proved once again that the threat of nuclear war comes from U.S. imperialism and the struggle for the banning of nuclear weapons is inseparable from the struggle to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. It is necessary for all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world to unite still more closely and, while striving for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, to oppose resolutely the U.S. imperialist

policies of aggression and war and to check U.S. intervention and aggression in Indo-China.

The Japanese people are a strong force in the fight against U.S. imperialism and in defence of world peace. Their patriotic and just anti-U.S. struggle has surged to new heights in the past year. Their movement for the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs has closely integrated with a series of patriotic anti-U.S. struggles, particularly the struggle against the stationing of U.S. F-105D aircraft and nuclear submarines in Japan and for the removal of U.S. military bases and the withdrawal of U.S. troops and has won brilliant successes. The Japanese people have resolutely opposed the use of Japan by U.S. imperialism as a base for aggression in Southeast Asia and have valiantly exposed the criminal schemes of various reactionary forces to cover up the aggression of U.S. imperialism. This has contributed greatly to the defence of Asian and world peace.

The Chinese Government and people have unwaveringly stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The Chinese people have consistently stood on the side of the peoples who oppose imperialist aggression and defend world peace and resolutely support the Japanese people's struggle for national independence, peace and democracy. It is our belief that with the joint efforts of the people all over the world, nuclear war can be checked and world peace safeguarded.

The successive World Conferences sponsored by the Japan Council for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs have embodied the aspirations of the people of Japan and other countries for the defence of world peace and their firm resolve to fight to the end for victory. You have a glorious tradition of struggle. Your orientation is correct. Your struggles are fruitful. However despicable the splitting and disruptive activities of imperialism and its followers may be, they will never be able to prevent your conference from forging ahead along the correct path. We are convinced that your conference will once again inspire and mobilize the Japanese people and the peoples of the world to make new contributions to the frustration of the U.S. imperialist plans of aggression and war, to the elimination of the threat of nuclear war and to the defence of world peace.

May the conference win every success.

# At the 10th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**P**EACE partisans in Japan and throughout the world scored a great victory at the International Session of the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held in Tokyo from July 30 to August 2. The decisions taken by the conference reflected the militancy and the solidarity of the Japanese and world movements against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the defence of world peace. The Japanese and foreign delegates unanimously adopted a stirring appeal for international common action for the prevention of nuclear war, for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and for the strengthening of unity (see p.19). In an address to peace-lovers and peace organizations throughout the world, the conference called for resolute support for the struggles of the peoples and for the formation of the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. It declared that the liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is the firmest guarantee for the achievement of world peace.

**Question Facing the Delegates.** Like its predecessors, the Tokyo conference had attracted much attention in the world press. With an unprecedented number of Japanese delegates represented at its International Session which was attended by 200 foreign delegates from more than 50 countries and 9 international organizations, its decisions were bound to exert far-reaching influence on the Japanese and world peace movements. The Soviet revisionists and the Japanese Right-wing social democrats who tried in vain to disrupt last year's conference openly attacked the Japanese organizers and did their best to break up the conference both from within and without. Having withdrawn from the Japan Council for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, these Japanese splitters, with the support of their Soviet friends, organized two rival meetings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki designed to split the World Conference. The Soviet delegation, headed by Zhukov had arrived with a large number of foreign "delegates," "representing" such organizations as the World Council of Peace and others which follow the revisionist baton. They all chorused that they intended to take part in both the Tokyo conference and the schismatic meetings "to help reunite the Japanese peace movement." Under these circumstances, the question was: Would the Tokyo conference collapse or bog down in senseless wranglings as the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys had hoped, or would it forge forward

upholding the correct line of the peace movement? That was the vital issue facing the conference participants on July 30 when they met in Tokyo's Hotel Diamond.

**Pre-Conference Preparations.** The Japanese peace partisans were not unprepared for the splitters, both home grown and imported. From June up to the eve of the conference, they launched a "one-million-people rallies" campaign in factories, schools, and other institutions and among peasants and housewives to explain to the masses the significance of the World Conference and the schismatic role of the Right-wing social democrats. Thanks to these study sessions, meetings, fund raising appeals and signature drives, and to the massive publicity work (one and a quarter million people are wearing the badges of the conference and 450,000 pamphlets demanding complete prohibition of nuclear weapons have been distributed), new branches of the Japan Council have sprung up in all parts of the country.

As a result, the militant ideas of the World Conference have become more firmly rooted among the Japanese people while the Right-wing social democrats find themselves more and more isolated.

**How the Soviet Manoeuvres Were Foiled.** The tactics of the Soviet delegation were as shameless as they were stupid. While supporting the schismatic meetings, Zhukov and his cohorts nevertheless hypocritically declared that they also supported the resolutions of the preceding Ninth World Conference and sought to worm their way into the leading organs of the International Session so as to wreck it from the inside. However, this trickery did not fool the Japanese and foreign delegates. It only served to arouse their anger. On the very first day the conference opened, a representative of the Japanese delegation made an urgent call for all foreign delegates to clarify their attitude towards the schismatic meetings because, he said, some members of the Soviet delegation had already attended a splitters' rally in Osaka and other foreign delegates were planning to attend meetings of the same kind in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After that, several foreign delegates spoke out and demanded of the Soviet delegates whether they were prepared to work for the success of the conference or were trying to ruin it. To these questions, Zhukov answered rather lamely, "It is all right to participate in any meeting so long as it is

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## Background to the Conference

**S**PONSORED by the Japan Council for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, the World Conference is held annually. It is part of the Japanese people's struggle to prevent a repetition of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings and of the 1954 Bikini tragedy when radioactive dust from the U.S. hydrogen bomb explosion killed and injured Japanese fishermen. This nationwide movement has assumed a truly mass character—attested by the fact that as many as 30 million Japanese have joined the signature campaign against nuclear weapons.

The World Conference has grown in stature and importance since it was first held at Hiroshima in 1955. The First Conference was attended by foreign delegates from 14 countries and more than 3,000 Japanese delegates. The Ninth Conference last year was attended by 71 foreign delegates from 20 countries and seven international organizations and more than 10,000 Japanese delegates. This year still larger numbers are taking part.

The World Conference aims its arrows at the U.S. imperialists who have brought so much suffering to the Japanese people and who still threaten them and the world with their aggressive nuclear war policy. All its successive sessions have combined the struggle for national independence with the struggle for peace. Resolutions, declarations and

appeals have been adopted, calling on the peoples of the world to wage a resolute struggle against U.S. nuclear blackmail and for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. This has made the conference an important forum for the Japanese and other peoples fighting for peace and against U.S. aggression.

Precisely for this reason, U.S. imperialism and its accomplices have tried by hook and by crook to split the movement in Japan and sabotage the World Conference. From the Eighth Conference on, they egged on the Japanese Right-wing social democrats to make trouble and to advance the demagogic slogan of "opposing nuclear testing by any country" in an attempt to divert the Japanese people from their opposition to U.S. imperialism. Last year, the Soviet delegation, in collusion with the Japanese Right-wing social democrats, tried to bulldoze the conference into endorsing the deceptive partial nuclear test ban treaty and following the modern revisionist capitulationist line. This scheme fell through when the delegates from most of the countries condemned the tripartite nuclear fraud and adopted the "Resolution on Immediately Strengthening United Action" and the "Appeal for International Common Action"—documents which nailed down U.S. nuclear war policy as the most serious threat to world peace and called on the peoples to advance the movement for the complete and thorough prohibition of nuclear weapons.

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for peace" (to which a Japanese delegate immediately rejoined, "Will you take part in a 'peace' meeting called by Lyndon Johnson?").

That same evening, or rather in the small hours of the next morning, the Japan Council, as sponsor of the conference, decided that supporters of the schismatic meetings could not be elected to leading posts of the International Session.

**Slanders Are Nailed.** While the overwhelming majority of the foreign delegates welcomed the decision of the conference organizers, the Soviet delegation and its hangers-on boycotted the election and did not take part in the mass rally organized by the Japan Council and its Tokyo branch for a get-together between Tokyo citizens and the foreign delegates. Instead, they blessed a schismatic rally with their presence, called two press conferences to smear the Japanese peace partisans and the Japan Council, and announced their withdrawal from the World Conference.

Zhukov said quite a lot at his press conferences. He abused the Japan Council for "steadily losing its political prestige" and said it was "facing a serious crisis." He even vented his fury on the Cuban delegate

who, he said, did not represent Cuba and he sneered at the Belgian delegate as an "aristocrat."

The despicable performance of the Soviet splitters did not seriously affect the conference. The International Session, with both Japanese and foreign delegates participating, unanimously adopted a statement which denounced Soviet double-dealing and splitting activities. It declared: "Both at the pre-conference meetings and at the first plenary session on July 30, Mr. Zhukov and the representatives of the World Peace Council did everything possible to disrupt the normal proceedings of our conference. Our movement is built on the strength of the masses. What Mr. Zhukov and his friends are doing will only discredit them before the people of the world. Our conference is being conducted in a democratic way and is proceeding normally and properly."

The Japan Council also issued a statement refuting Soviet slanders. Facts cited included the following:

—The foreign delegates who had informed the Council of their withdrawal were those who came to Japan under the Soviet aegis. "Among them are a number of persons whom the Japan Council had not



invited and who have not notified it of their participation."

—It was the Soviet Peace Committee which invited the Right-wing social democrats to the Soviet Union and suggested to them that they might use the name of the Japan Council in extending invitations to foreign delegations so that they could hold meetings under the name of the World Conference.

As exposed by the delegation of the Japanese Communist Party and members of the Executive Committee of the International Session, Zhukov and his followers also distinguished themselves in the following ways:

- While the Soviet delegation is 130,000 yen in arrears in its contributions to the Ninth World Conference, it paid 3,300,000 yen in advance to the Right-wing social democrat sponsors of the schismatic meetings.

- The letter addressed to the Japan Council announcing the withdrawal of Zhukov and his followers bore no signatures but a list of names of countries and persons in the handwritings of two people. Nigeria was mistaken for Niger, Sundan for Sudan. Even the names of some delegates were wrongly spelt.

- At the preliminary meeting prior to the International Session, far from being deprived of the right to speak, Zhukov had spoken seven times and Cholier of the World Council of Peace had halted normal proceedings by repeatedly standing up and shouting. When they slandered the conference as "undemocratic," Kozonguizi of South West Africa said: "We African delegates want to say that the Japan Council and the World Conference have been too patient and over-democratic."

- The "representatives" of the World Council of Peace seemed undecided as to their status. Sometimes, they claimed they were formal delegates in order to enjoy the rights of delegates, sometimes they would switch to "observers" to avoid obligations.

**Main Theme of the Conference.** At no time were the delegates diverted from their main aim—to expose the U.S. imperialists. On the second day of the conference, Kaoru Yasui, Executive Representative Member of the Japan Council who delivered the general report at the International Session, laid down as the foremost tasks of the conference the struggle against the forces of aggression and war headed by U.S. imperialism, the achievement of a complete ban on the use, testing, manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and of general disarmament, and the strengthening of the unity of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and for international solidarity. The delegates from Asia, Africa and Latin America who took the floor after him cited numerous facts to show that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of their peoples, that the partial test ban treaty is a fraud, that there can be no coexistence between the oppressed peoples and the imperialists, and that in the final analysis

only a militant mass line can defeat the U.S. aggressors and bring independence and peace to the world's peoples. With Soviet revisionist obstructions removed, these were the sentiments which shaped the drafting of the conference resolutions which were adopted unanimously.

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The International Session has not failed the high hopes put in it by the Japanese and other peace-loving peoples. It has adopted clear-cut resolutions which are a militant guide to peace movements in Japan and elsewhere in the world. Now that it is over, the World Conference has moved on from Tokyo to other cities in Japan as scheduled. As the revisionists and splitters are not reconciled with their defeat, the struggle will continue.

## Summary of the Conference Appeal

*The appeal says:* The current conference has won tremendous successes after smashing serious divisive schemes from internal and external sources and overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

The conference is fresh proof that the correct, reasonable line for solidarity and unity will win, while the evil, unreasonable line for a split is bound to lose mass support and fail.

The conference has promoted the policy line of the movement for peace and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs laid down at the successive conferences in the past, and especially the Ninth World Conference. It has further strengthened the solidarity and unity of the movement.

The Ninth World Conference called on peoples of the world to intensify their efforts in opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in striving for peace, national independence and freedom. Since then, developing with a momentum that no force can hold back, the movement of the peoples is pounding heavily at the forces of aggression and war headed by U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialist policy of expanding war in the Indo-China Peninsula involves the danger of a bigger war of aggression in which nuclear weapons may be used.

*The appeal calls for:*

- Strengthening and expanding the scope of international common action to compel the United States to stop immediately its aggressive war and military manoeuvres in Indo-China. To deal decisive blows at U.S. imperialism and prevent the war flames there

from blazing forth into a nuclear conflagration is the most urgent task and a sacred duty of the movement.

- Strengthening worldwide action to oppose the deployment of Polaris submarines and the establishment of Polaris bases and to demand the removal of all foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

- Intensifying efforts to check the implementation of the NATO plan for a multilateral nuclear force, to realize the establishment of a denuclearized zone in the Asian and Pacific region including the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union and China, and other denuclearized zones, and to unfold struggles for the abolition of aggressive military blocs.

- Redoubling efforts and developing more extensive campaigns to: prevent the nuclear arming and militarization of Japan, oppose the "mooring" of U.S. nuclear submarines in Japan and the stationing there of F-105D aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons, demand the dismantling of missile bases in Okinawa and the return of that island to Japan, prevent any revision of the Japanese Constitution for the worse, smash the "Japan-ROK talks," and restore Japan-China diplomatic relations.

*The appeal says:* We highly evaluate the role played in the struggle against nuclear war and for peace by the national independence movements of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and old and new colonialism. We express warm support for these movements.

We will closely link up the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and the peace movement with the national-independence movements and develop all these movements.

On the basis of the experience gained during the "one-million-people rallies" in Japan, *the appeal calls* for creative activities like sponsoring "a billion people's meeting" throughout the world, a signature campaign among the overwhelming majority of the people of the whole world and a peace march across the world. It stresses the need to strengthen unity and solidarity still further and to make preparations for the Eleventh World Conference.

*The appeal notes* that some people, while paying lip service to "a unified peace movement," have acted erroneously by putting on a par the Tenth World Conference which inherits the historical traditions of the movement and upholds the Ninth World Conference resolutions, and the schismatic meetings which negate the conference. They try to impose their preconceived political line on others so as to retard the movement and reduce it into one completely harmless to imperialism and colonialism. It is of paramount importance to crush these intrigues.

*The appeal says* that, in order to prevent nuclear war effectively, efforts should be made to expose the true nature of the forces of war and strive unremittingly to strengthen the people's force.

*The appeal says* that it is the U.S. policies of aggression and war which constitute the gravest threat to world peace and are the source of nuclear war. It stresses the importance of all peace-loving people taking common action against the policies of aggression and war pursued by U.S. imperialism. Only when such common action is taken, can the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons be achieved.

*The appeal calls* for higher vigilance against all forms of splittist and disruptive activities.

## Beware of Saboteurs and Splitters

*Liu Ning-I, head of the Chinese delegation to the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, spoke at the international session of the conference on July 31. His speech dealt with five questions.*

*On the question of the great achievements made by the Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and the Japanese peace movement, Liu Ning-I attributed successes in the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs to the following causes: 1. The movement makes U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of peace, its target of struggle; 2. It is closely linked with the struggle for Japan's complete and genuine independence; 3. It always proceeds from the actual requirements of Japan's current struggles and advances various concrete demands to mobilize and organize the masses in fiery struggles; 4. It is a mass movement which firmly relies on the masses.*

*Then he exposed the erroneous line pursued by the World Council of Peace in the present peace movement.*

*On the question of stepping up opposition to U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression he pointed up the fact that the Johnson Administration is dangerously playing with fire in Southeast Asia, that it is posing a serious threat to Cuba's sovereignty and that it is supporting the reactionaries in the Congo (Leopoldville) to oppose the people's armed struggle there.*

*With respect to the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons he pointed out that the tripartite treaty is an out-and-out nuclear fraud, nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail.*

*Liu Ning-I also dealt with the vicious activities to sabotage and split the Japanese movement against*



atomic and hydrogen bombs by those who posed as friends of the Japanese people.

Following is a translation of the passages in Liu Ning-I's speech discussing the erroneous line of the World Council of Peace and the vicious activities of the splitters against the Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

### The W.C.P.'s Erroneous Line

The peace movement sponsored by the World Council of Peace is under the control of a certain power and follows a completely erroneous line.

This line renounces the fundamental task of exposing and opposing the enemy of world peace. It is not willing to and dares not condemn the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression, but constantly praises and prettifies U.S. imperialism.

It wants the world's people to regard nuclear weapons rather than imperialism headed by the United States as the source of nuclear war. Far from opposing U.S. imperialism, which wields nuclear weapons and practises nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail, it provides cover for U.S. imperialism to push ahead with its nuclear blackmail policy.

Instead of supporting the national-independence movement and closely linking up the struggle for national independence with that for defending world peace, this line strives to belittle and scorns the national-independence movement, counterpoising it to the peace movement and even opposing and seeking to liquidate the national-liberation movement in the name of peace.

Instead of laying bare the criminal activities of U.S.-headed imperialism in constantly expanding armaments and preparing for war, it spreads the illusion that general and complete disarmament can be realized even when imperialism still exists, with a view to paralysing the fighting will of the peoples; it exalts the empty and abstract slogan of general and complete disarmament as the sole and supreme task of the peace movement and insists upon putting all the specific tasks of the struggle of the peoples in multiple fields against the enemy of peace into the realm of struggle for general and complete disarmament. This in fact means liquidating the peoples' struggle against imperialism and for the defence of world peace.

This line confines the movement to defend world peace to a small group of people and keeps out the broad masses of people. It despises and fears the masses. It can only lead to the disintegration and destruction of the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and for the defence of world peace.

Obviously, this line is only favourable to imperialism headed by the United States in pushing ahead its policy of war and aggression and is unfavourable to the defence of world peace. Therefore, it is meeting with increasing opposition and repudiation from the peoples cherishing world peace. Undoubtedly, only by firmly

opposing this erroneous line and adhering to the correct line of uniting with the broadest possible masses of people to oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and defend world peace, can our struggle to defend peace develop vigorously.

### The Biggest Splitters

For many years, U.S. imperialism has tried by hook or by crook to change the correct orientation of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs in Japan and to sabotage and split this movement. However, its vicious activities have been resolutely opposed by the Japanese people. Now, those who pose as friends of the Japanese people, using double-dealing tactics and working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, have painstakingly plotted to split the Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs. They instigated a handful of saboteurs to call a splitters' meeting in opposition to the Tenth World Conference.

They instigated this handful of saboteurs to usurp the names of the "Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs" and the "World Conference" to invite foreign delegates to take part in the splitters' meeting.

They openly declared that they would send a big delegation to take part in the splitters' meeting, in a strong bid to sabotage and split the Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs.

They even declared that if they had to send delegates to take part in the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, it would not be for the purpose of supporting the conference, but for sneaking into the conference and sabotaging it from within.

All these facts have once again proved that those people who have been frantically sabotaging the great anti-imperialist solidarity of the people of all countries and rendering willing service to imperialism are the biggest splitters, pure and simple.

The Chinese delegation cannot but express the greatest indignation at this foreign force which collaborates with U.S. imperialism in opposing the Japanese people and in sabotaging and splitting the Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs.

We want to tell them in all seriousness that no amount of sabotage and splitting activities can obstruct the progress of the Japanese people in their great cause against imperialism and for world peace. The great unity of the Japanese people and the great unity between the Japanese people and the peoples of all countries are indestructible. The triumphant convening of this world conference and its component part—the one-million-people rallies—are the most resounding answer to your splitting activities. The Japanese people's determination and action to consolidate and develop the united front for independence, democracy and peace have been strengthened instead of weakened. The splitters, by rashly convening a divisive meeting, are lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

## Chinese Government Replies to Soviet Government's Proposal for Convening 14-Nation Conference

*The Chinese Government on August 2 sent a reply to the Soviet Government concerning the latter's proposal for convening in August a 14-nation conference on the Laotian question. The proposal was handed over to the Chinese Foreign Ministry by the Soviet Embassy in China on July 25. The text of the Chinese Government's reply follows. —Ed.*

THE Chinese Government has received the Soviet Government's document on the Laotian question handed over by the Soviet Embassy in China on July 25, 1964. In this document, the Soviet Government rightly condemned the U.S. imperialists' violations of the Geneva agreements and their acts of interference in the internal affairs of Laos and proposed the convening of a 14-nation conference on the Laotian question in August this year. The Chinese Government expresses its approval of and support for this.

As pointed out in the Soviet document, far from ceasing its aggression and intervention in Laos after the signing of the 1962 Geneva agreements, U.S. imperialism has become more and more unbridled. The United States has directed the Laotian Rightist clique to stage the military coup d'état in Vientiane, undermined the Laotian Government of National Union and openly sent its air force for direct armed intervention in Laos, thus placing the Geneva agreements in the danger of being completely wrecked. It is obvious, in these circumstances, that only by convening a conference of the 14 signatory countries to the Geneva agreements can the agreements be upheld and the Laotian question be settled peacefully.

To convene a conference of the 14 signatories to the Geneva agreements is the common stand of the socialist countries. The proposal for convening a 14-nation conference was put forward by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cambodia, and the French Government successively after U.S. imperialism directed the Laotian Rightist clique to stage the April 19 military coup d'état in Vientiane. The Soviet Government formally expressed on May 22 its support to this proposal, which was also supported by the Governments of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in their letters to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference dated May 26 and 30 respectively. But it failed to materialize owing to obstruction by the United States and its followers. In the meantime, the United Kingdom, instigated by U.S. imperialism, arranged the so-called Vientiane consultations among part of the signatories to the Geneva agreements, which advanced unreasonable preconditions for the convening of the 14-nation conference. The "Vientiane consultations" demonstrated that U.S. imperialism was trying hard to boycott and evade the 14-nation conference by means of consulta-

tions among part of the nations. Under those circumstances, it was perfectly logical that the proposal for "six-nation consultations" which was put forward by the Polish Government and supported by the Soviet Government could not possibly be realized. In order to promote the convening of the 14-nation conference, the Polish Government put forward another proposal on June 28, designed to encourage a meeting among the three groups in Laos. This proposal has received the approval and support of China and the other countries wishing to promote the 14-nation conference.

The Chinese Government holds that the present grave situation in Laos is wholly created by U.S. imperialism. The obstacles to the 14-nation conference come from the United States and its followers. Therefore, it is necessary that the Soviet Government should use its capacity and influence as a Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference to persuade the United States to give up its unreasonable preconditions and accept the proposal for the convening of the 14-nation conference, that it should persuade the United Kingdom to return to a position conformable to the capacity of a Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, and that at the same time it should actively encourage the three Laotian groups to meet as soon as possible in order to form a unified delegation for attending the 14-nation conference, so that the conference may be held within the envisaged time.

Owing to the obstruction and sabotage by the United States and its followers, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference are indeed encountering difficulties in their work. And it is possible that, through rejection by the United States and its followers, the 14-nation conference cannot be started in August as proposed by the Soviet Union. Even then, however, the Co-Chairmen will still have much useful work to do in Laos under the Geneva agreements. The capacity of the Soviet Union as a Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference was decided by the participants of the Geneva Conference of 1954 and reaffirmed by those of the Geneva Conference of 1961-62. Therefore, if the Soviet Government should want to "consider as a whole the question of the possibility of the Soviet Union discharging the functions of Co-Chairman," it is essential to hold a 14-nation conference for discussion of the matter by all the parties concerned before a decision can be made.

The Chinese Government hopes that the Soviet Government will truly shoulder its responsibilities as a Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference and, together with the other socialist countries and all other peace-loving countries, make continued efforts to stop the U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in the Indo-Chinese states, safeguard the Geneva agreements and defend the peace of Indo-China.

# "Akahata" Firmly Rebuffs C.P.S.U. Leadership's Open Attacks on Japanese C.P.

*Akahata*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, published on July 24 two articles: "A Reply to Zhukov's Open Charges" and "Refutation of Attacks by Radio Moscow and Other Quarters." The articles expose the C.P.S.U. revisionist clique's collusion with the Japanese Right-wing social democrats and U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and its support for Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and other renegades in launching open, vicious attacks on the C.P.J.

The two articles are prefaced with an editor's note. Following are extracts from the note and the two articles. Boldface emphases are ours. — P.R. Ed.

## "Akahata" Editor's Note

The note says: "Disregarding good faith between fraternal Parties, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union unilaterally published its letters of April 18 and July 11 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan. The letters contain nothing but insulting, groundless accusations and calumnies against our Party." "This performance by the C.P.S.U. Central Committee vividly demonstrates by word and deed that the C.P.S.U. leaders have crudely violated the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties laid down in the Moscow Statement, that they have intensified and extended their open attack on our Party by name, and that they are more vigorously pushing their divisive policy which deviates from the correct line of the international communist movement. If this is not violation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, then what is it?"

The note adds: "The C.P.S.U. leaders' unjustified attack on our Party did not start today. As far back as August 25 last year, 'Pravda,' organ of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., published the article 'The Voice of Hiroshima' by Zhukov, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, in which he levelled charges against our Party delegation's activities at the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, and it was then that our Party began to be attacked by name. Moreover, Radio Moscow, in its broadcast to Japan on May 15 this year, attacked our Party's Diet Members who voted against the partial nuclear test ban treaty when its ratification was put

to a vote in the Diet. 'Pravda,' in league with the organs of some other fraternal Parties, also published a series of news reports and commentaries giving open support to the anti-Party elements Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and others who are openly carrying out disruptive activities against our Party."

The note says: "The C.P.S.U. leaders not only have used their Party organ and broadcast to attack our Party, they have gone so far as to launch a direct attack on us by helping the renegades expelled from our Party in their attempt to organize factional anti-Party activities within our Party. At the same time, in the peace movement and in other spheres, they have taken actions to help the anti-communist splitters who are plotting to wreck the united front, and they have cooperated with them directly. During last year's Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, members of the Soviet delegation had definite contacts with anti-Party revisionists who had been expelled from our Party; they seized every opportunity to plot against our Party and tried their best to force some of our Party members to support the partial nuclear test ban treaty in violation of the Party's decisions. All these activities have been proved by facts. Following the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, in an attempt to divide the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and to organize a "new movement," a handful of splitters — Right-wing social democrats and anti-Party revisionists and others — called a series of splinter meetings. The Soviet Peace Committee went so far as to send them a message of greetings expressing open support and the desire for unity. The same thing is happening in the plot to split the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs."

The note then says: "Now that things have come to such a pass because of the C.P.S.U. leaders' activities violating the principles of unity between fraternal Parties, our Party, as one responsible for the Japanese people's revolutionary movement and also sharing part of the responsibility for unity in the international communist movement, and as an independent and equal Party in the movement, naturally cannot but exercise its right to reply to unjustified accusations and attacks. We shall soon make the necessary replies to the groundless charges contained in the April 18 letter of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. We are first



*of all publicly refuting Zhukov's article which was not openly rebuffed by name until a year later, as well as charges by 'Pravda,' Radio Moscow's broadcast to Japan and other quarters which have taken advantage of the opportunity presented by the Japanese Diet's recent ratification of the partial nuclear test ban treaty, and the undermining activities against our Party by Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and others to launch attacks on our Party."*

## A Reply to Zhukov's Open Charges

The article recalls that Zhukov, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, attended the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs last year as head of the Soviet delegation. He personally took part in drafting the conference's "Appeal for International Common Action" and, together with all other delegates to the conference, he voted for the resolutions, literally with both hands. Nevertheless, shortly after the conclusion of the conference, he suddenly set himself, in word and deed, against the resolutions unanimously adopted at the conference. He published an article under the title "The Voice of Hiroshima," in which he made assertions designed to discredit the Ninth World Conference and its organizer, the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, and went so far as to openly censure, in violation of the principle of unity of the international communist movement, the C.P.J. delegation to the conference with the false accusation that it "blindly followed the instructions of the Chinese delegation."

**Zhukov's assertions, the article continues, are nothing but wilful distortions of facts, which are known to all who attended the conference. These distortions are an attempt to justify the slanders against the C.P.J. and their splittist stand of wallowing in the same mire with the Right-wing social democrats.**

**"It was the Soviet delegation headed by Zhukov and the Right-wing social democrats who, following the signing of the U.S.-British-Soviet partial nuclear test ban treaty, immediately abandoned the persistent stand of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs, thus making a complete 180-degree turn; whereas it was the delegation of our Party, which stood against any support for the partial nuclear test ban treaty, that upheld the policy consistently pursued by the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs.**

"This alone shows clearly how arbitrary is Zhukov's statement accusing our Party of 'blindly following the instructions of the Chinese delegation.'"

"Our Party delegation," the article says, "has persistently adopted the attitude of repudiating the partial nuclear test ban treaty, and proceeding from this stand and out of a desire for unity and upholding its

independent position, it has firmly stood for necessary discussions on the question of appraising the treaty and for careful consideration of the major differences of opinion arising over the appraisal of the treaty within the ranks of the international communist movement and the international peace movement. The world conference therefore should avoid making any specific resolution 'in favour of' or 'against' the partial nuclear test ban treaty, but should hold high the banner for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and nuclear tests and jointly solve the urgent tasks on which identical views can be reached, so as to achieve unity in thought and action.

"Our Party had already made public this stand both at home and abroad before the conference was held. When the C.P.J. delegation talked with Zhukov and others, we told him in detail of our stand."

Zhukov "groundlessly accused our Party delegation (which is not a primary organization of any Party but one working actively in accordance with independently defined policy) of 'blindly following the instructions of the Chinese delegation.' This is a sheer lie. This only shows that Zhukov regards every Communist who does not endorse the partial nuclear test ban treaty as a follower of the Communist Party of China and strives to make others take the same view. At any rate, this shows that he has fallen into the morass of deep-rooted subjectivism. His accusation is not only a slander insulting our Party delegation but also a slander against the Chinese delegation and other quarters in contravention of international good faith."

The article recalls that soon after the conference concluded Zhukov on August 10 issued the "Statement by the Leader of the Soviet Delegation on the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs," and after he returned to the Soviet Union, he published an article entitled "The Voice of Hiroshima." In these statements he did not make due appraisal of the success of the world conference but hurled slanders at it in an irresponsible manner and against the facts. As ever, he was bent on imposing on others the policy of supporting the partial nuclear test ban treaty. On the other hand, the Chinese delegation and delegations of other countries, both during their stay in Japan following the conference and after they had returned home, highly appraised the achievement of the conference and adopted the attitude of actively supporting its unity and solidarity. The Chinese delegation did not at all adopt a passive and negative attitude towards the conference because its critical views of the partial nuclear test ban treaty had not been included in the resolution of the conference. Whatever the subjective wish might be, here is a sharp contrast shown by hard facts.

Exposing the lie spread by Zhukov that a great majority of the participants in the Ninth World Conference warmly welcomed the partial nuclear test ban treaty, the article points out that the treaty received "unconditional support" only at the "prayer for peace

ceremony" on August 6, which was, as always, sponsored by the Hiroshima municipal authorities and addressed by the Liberal Democratic Party speaker of the Municipal Assembly and by representatives of Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda and speakers of both Houses of the Diet. This was only natural, the article says, "because this gathering had the support of the Government and the Liberal Democratic Party, and the mayor himself was recommended by the Socialist Party and the Democratic Socialist Party whose policy was to support the partial nuclear test ban treaty. During the world conference and **before those who represented the Japanese people, Zhukov at least on the question of appraising the partial nuclear test ban treaty sang the same tune as the Ikeda cabinet and the Liberal Democratic Party, and the Right-wing social democrats who collude with them.** Furthermore, instead of taking useful lessons from the views of the best peace-fighters of the Japanese people who refused to sing the praises of the partial nuclear test ban treaty, Zhukov in his article rashly sought applause for the treaty from the declaration of the mayor of Hiroshima who is cheek by jowl with the Ikeda cabinet and the Liberal Democratic Party. We should like to advise Mr. Zhukov to think it over seriously: What is your attitude and your feeling towards the Japanese people who cherish peace and independence, towards the Ikeda cabinet and the Liberal Democratic Party which are the traitorous forces of reaction, and towards U.S. imperialism, the arch criminal of war and aggression, which is responsible for the nuclear disaster of the Japanese people on three occasions and which is now still enforcing a semi-occupation of Japan?"

The article sternly refutes Zhukov's wilful distortion of facts and his shifting of the responsibility for dividing the Ninth World Conference on to the Japanese Communist Party. It points out that Zhukov "has placed himself on the same stand of 'positive neutrality' as advocated by the third force, which pretifies the intentions and role of Kennedy, Johnson and other representatives of U.S. imperialism."

The appearance of a number of deserters during the Ninth World Conference, the article says, was not due to "differences among political parties" as Zhukov alleged, but to the fact that the delegations of the Socialist Party and the General Council of Trade Unions (SOHYO) had completely failed in their schemes to impose on the conference the slogans "opposition to nuclear testing by any country" and "support for the partial nuclear test ban treaty" and to make the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs their private property. That was why they adopted the attitude of participating in the conference if their one-sided ideas were accepted and carrying out divisive activities if they were not. This attitude precisely reveals the true colours of the splitters.

If Zhukov's logic was to be followed, it would mean that the World Conference and the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs should abandon the principle of unity and, in submission to the

threats of the splitters, accept their opportunist, divisive line, namely, to make "opposition to nuclear testing by any country" the principle of the movement, and to support the partial nuclear test ban treaty. If the World Conference and the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, in accordance with Zhukov's idea of seeking only formal "unity," accepted these demands of the splitters, they would only alienate the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs from the specific tasks facing the Japanese people in their efforts to realize the fundamental aim of preventing nuclear war; this would gladden the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries who are preparing for nuclear war and for arming Japan with nuclear weapons; this would only inflate the arrogance of the splitters and encourage them to enlarge the split with redoubled efforts. And it is precisely for the purpose of satisfying the wishes of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries that they are scheming to weaken the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs.

In contrast with Zhukov's assertion, the article says, the history of the Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs is not one of submission to the splitters. In its history, the movement has made the safeguarding of unity and solidarity an indispensable condition for overcoming splittism. This is absolutely not something unrelated to the peace movement, but an inevitable struggle for strengthening and developing it. **By refraining from denouncing the divisive activities of the splitters and unjustifiably condemning those who oppose the divisive activities and defend unity and, what is more, by attacking the Japanese Communist Party, which is standing at the very forefront in the struggle for unity, Zhukov, beyond any doubt, has not only flagrantly colluded with the splitters in their attack on the Communist Party and directly supported and encouraged their divisive activities, but has also aided the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries in their onslaught on the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and on our Party.** Developments in the past year show that in writing that article of his, Zhukov began to embark on the path of joining hands with the splitters in the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and has finally reached the stage of taking a direct part and helping in their scheme of convening a splittist meeting to oppose the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

The article continues, "Zhukov, who had approved all the resolutions of the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, made a 180-degree turn in his stand in less than a month's time, unleashing despicable attacks on the World Conference and the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and levelling irresponsible charges against our Party. This is outright perfidy on the part of Zhukov who, actually working hand in glove with the anti-communist Right-wing social democrats and anti-Party revisionists, has sunk to a position of being hostile to the overwhelming majority of peace partisans at home and abroad who have rallied around

the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs."

Speaking of the question of who are friends and who are enemies in the eyes of Zhukov, the article points out that those with whom he wishes to co-operate are none other than the persons who moved to "protest against Soviet nuclear tests" the year before last at the Eighth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. Whereas those whom he looks upon as enemies are the people who at that same Eighth World Conference rightly opposed the anti-Soviet scheme hatched by the splitters, who in the past few years consistently held that the Soviet nuclear tests of a defensive nature should not be put on a par with the U.S. imperialists' nuclear tests of an aggressive nature, and who firmly support the peace policy of the socialist countries and have fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet delegation.

Zhukov's article "The Voice of Hiroshima," "in so far as its political line is concerned, is, in the last analysis, an attempt to impose on the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and the Japanese Communist Party a line that makes unprincipled compromise with the 'positive neutrality' advocated by the third force, and avoids struggling against the policies of war and aggression of imperialism headed by the United States. The article asked the Japanese people and Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs to refrain from exposing politically the deceptive nature of the partial nuclear test ban treaty and the dangerous scheme of U.S. imperialism that uses this treaty as a gambling stake, but to praise this treaty and follow the policy of making unprincipled concessions to imperialism. But the practice of imposing this line on others is one completely divorced from the realities of Asia and Japan."

Under the present circumstances, "the practice of imposing a line that avoids struggling against U.S. imperialism as reflected in Zhukov's article is not only a sign of ignorance of the political realities of Asia and Japan, but would actually result in reversing the direction of the development of Japan's peace movement and the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and make them go backwards in the interests of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries."

In the last analysis, Zhukov's article is, in so far as its organizational line is concerned, double splitism, that is, to join with the divisive line of the anti-communist Right-wing social democrats who are now heading towards bankruptcy and the anti-Party revisionists in the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs, and to attempt to impose this divisive line on others at the cost of a split in the international communist movement. The line to split Japan's peace movement is simply to carry on the completely discredited divisive line of the Liberal Democratic Party and Democratic Socialist Party by new deceptive means. In essence it differs little from the "National Council for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and for Peace."

As the nationwide struggle for the success of the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs has shown, their splitting activities which take the same course as the "National Council for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and for Peace" are also becoming more and more isolated. The Zhukov road which seeks to wallow in the same mire as this is also a road to isolation and defeat. It will inevitably be crushed and overcome by the struggle of the Japanese people.

Attention must be drawn to the fact that Zhukov is now again "visiting Japan as head of the Soviet Peace Committee delegation. Furthermore, this time Zhukov, from the very outset, maintains close contact with the organizers of the divisive meeting that is opposed to the World Conference, has long ago promised to send an 'official delegation' to take part in that meeting and has at the same time indicated that he would take part in the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs."

The article points out in conclusion that "for a person who has betrayed the position of unity confirmed by the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and who has fallen into the same position as the splitters and supported and co-operated with such a divisive scheme, his loud cry for the 'unity' of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs is only a hypocritical lie aimed at covering up his divisive stand. Isn't this a fact?"

## Refutation of Attacks by Radio Moscow and Other Quarters

In another article published on the same day, under the title "Refutation of Attacks by Radio Moscow and Other Quarters," Akahata refuted the attacks on the C.P.J. by Radio Moscow in its transmissions beamed to Japan (especially by its commentator Ilinsky), and by the organs of the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties in connection with the expulsion of the anti-Party elements Yoshio Shiga and Ichizo Suzuki from the C.P.J. and with the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty.

The article is divided into four parts.

In part one, the article points out that the commentator of Radio Moscow said in his attack on the C.P.J. that opposition to the partial nuclear test ban treaty was tantamount to violation of the people's interests and hoping for a continuation of radioactive fall-out in the atmosphere. It says that the commentator was trying to divert the attention of the public from the essential connection between the U.S. imperialists' policy of nuclear war and the partial nuclear test ban treaty by one-sidedly stressing the problem of radioactivity.



The Soviet Government has changed its position from rejecting the partial nuclear test ban treaty to supporting and approving it. "The change in orientation is, in the last analysis, to turn the 'fundamental interests' of the world's people and the Japanese people into a 'sacrifice for certain narrow-sighted tactical considerations.'"

In part two, the article says that to think that "the Soviet Government is all-powerful and that whatever the content of the treaty may be, all would be plain sailing as long as the Soviet Union affixes its signature to it, is a foolish and arbitrary assertion."

It points out that in the past the C.P.J., for the sake of the unity of the international communist movement and to give consideration to the leadership of the C.P.S.U., reserved its right to criticise the foreign policy of the Soviet Government. Now that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. assails the C.P.J. with increasing intensity, the C.P.J. exercises its natural right to refute the open slanders hurled at it, including one of the most important arguments employed by the C.P.S.U. leadership in accusing the C.P.J. — the position on the partial nuclear test ban treaty.

"The partial nuclear test ban treaty," the article says, "is the product of the compromise made by the Soviet Government at the expense of the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and ignoring the interests of the entire socialist camp and in particular, ignoring the stand and opposition of the socialist coun-

**tries in Asia and Latin America which are most directly threatened by the U.S. imperialist nuclear war policy."**

In part three, the article exposes and refutes the malicious attempt of Ilinsky to counterpose the Communist Party of Japan which takes a critical attitude towards the partial nuclear test ban treaty to the "national interests" of the Japanese people.

**"The Japanese people's ardent desire for preventing a nuclear war and the revolutionary traditions of the Japanese Communist Party should never be used in the service of the new plot hatched by the modern revisionists, who trail behind the U.S. imperialists. Instead these can only be dedicated to the mobilization of one's own strength to contribute to the united struggle of the world's people for the effective prevention of nuclear war and the prohibition of nuclear weapons."**

In conclusion, the article denounced *Pravda* and the organs of the Central Committees of some other fraternal Parties for openly supporting the anti-Party elements who pit themselves against the Japanese Communist Party, and others who sabotage it.

"This not only violates the principle of solidarity among the fraternal Parties, but constitutes an open splitting move in the international communist movement. Our Party resolutely rejects this unjustifiable intervention, and opposes the divisive scheme. We have the right and also the obligation to give them a deserved rebuff," says the article.

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

ple's Republic of China is ready to co-operate with the "many fair-minded people in the I.G.F. who adhere to its statutes and who have contributed to promoting friendly relations among the gymnastic organizations of various countries." "Determined never to barter away sovereignty or principles," the Chinese Gymnastics Federation states that co-operation with the I.G.F. will be reconsidered only when that body "corrects its error by cancelling the membership of the so-called gymnastics organization of Taiwan of the Chiang Kai-shek gang."

### U.S. Kidnapping of Chinese Official in Burundi Condemned

After kidnapping Tung Chi-ping, a staff member of the Chinese Embassy in Burundi, the U.S. Embassy on July 29 announced that the Chinese official had been taken

out of the country. This abduction by the U.S. Embassy in Burundi followed a strong Chinese embassy protest over the kidnapping of Tung Chi-ping and a stern demand by the Burundi Government that Tung be turned over to it.

On July 29, the Royal Government of Burundi issued a statement strongly condemning and protesting the new crime committed by the United States Embassy on its territory.

On August 2, *Renmin Ribao* in an editorial said that the statement of the Government of Burundi, "affirms the just stand of the Royal Burundi Government in upholding international justice and defending national sovereignty." Iron-clad facts, the editorial pointed out, have provided new proof that U.S. embassies, especially those in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are not only headquarters for espionage and subversive activities, but also serve as kidnappers' centres. Such a shameless crime has been rarely seen in

the history of world diplomacy and will never escape the unanimous condemnation by just world opinion, the editorial declared.

The editorial condemned the new U.S. crime as a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Burundi. What right has the U.S. Embassy to kidnap and abduct a citizen of another country without scruple in an African state? the editorial asked. The gangsterism of the U.S. Government fully exposes the imperialist attitude of completely ignoring the existence of the independent African countries and the sovereignty of all states, the editorial noted.

But times have changed and the newly emerging African countries, having a high sense of national dignity, cannot tolerate U.S. lawlessness in their territories. The stern protest of the Royal Burundi Government, the editorial emphasized, will win the sympathy and support of all justice-loving governments and peoples in the world.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Bonn Bickering

### To Choose or Not to Choose

An undercurrent of dissension has been battering West Germany's ruling party, the Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union, for months. Lately bickering has turned into an open quarrel between one faction represented by Chancellor Ludwig Erhard and Foreign Minister Schroeder and another led by former Chancellor Adenauer and former Defence Minister Strauss. The West German press terms it a quarrel between the "Atlantic faction" and the "Gaullist faction." But boiled down, the quarrel revolves round the question of whether Bonn should become more dependent on Washington or should rely more on Paris in conducting its foreign policy.

To be sure, neither faction is at odds on the main objective. Both seek to annex the German Democratic Republic and redraw the map of Eastern Europe to include parts of, say, Czech and Polish territories. Both believe this can be achieved by a build-up in economic strength and winning a bigger say in the Western camp, including a finger on the nuclear trigger. When it comes to revanchism there is really nothing to choose between the two.

With Adenauer at the helm, West Germany, while stringing along with the United States as far as possible in order to gain its support, nevertheless maintained close ties with France to strengthen its hand in Western Europe and its bargaining position vis-a-vis Washington. The Franco-German accord, formalized in a treaty concluded 18 months ago, remained by and large the cornerstone of Adenauer's foreign policy. But all the while a realignment of forces, stemming partly from the recovery of the countries that lay prostrate in the years immediately after World War II, was going on among the big Western powers which tended to harden Bonn's choice between Paris and Washington.

After Ludwig Erhard became West German Chancellor last October the differences between the so-called Atlantic and Gaullist factions steadily came to the fore. The struggle sharpened. Difficulties arose in the Paris-Bonn partnership. This was especially true after Erhard's trip to the United States in mid-June when he made a deal with President Johnson over support for U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. Thus when the Erhard-de Gaulle talks took place in Bonn in early July there was no agreement on any of the major issues, particularly on the question of a European political alliance, facing the two countries. The Adenauer faction had no intention of seeing its foreign policy framework crumble without putting up a fight.

In Munich, where the ruling party held its annual meeting in mid-July, and even before that, the squabble reached new proportions. Adenauer was reported to have demanded prior to the meeting that "West Germany should not rely on the United States alone," and that it should ally with France to "go towards the European union." Erhard on his part stressed the need for West Germany to have the "complete confidence of the United States" and burst out with an angry statement that he alone as Federal Chancellor would make Bonn government policy. The U.S. President at his news conference on July 24 talked breezily about no European country having "to choose between its ties," but there was no mistaking that he sided with Erhard.

President de Gaulle openly criticized the Erhard government for being hesitant and not following a "European and independent policy" in one of his rare press conferences on July 23, where, among other things, he accused the United States of undermining the 1954 Geneva agreements, ousting France from Indo-China and creating tension in the area by its war action. Bonn at once issued a statement defending its policy. However, Reuters, quoting

political observers in Bonn, said, "The General's criticism of West German policy would pour fresh fuel on the flames of the row in Dr. Erhard's Christian Democratic Party over European policy."

## Congo (Leopoldville)

### Fig Leaf of Reconciliation

All the "national reconciliation" ballyhoo by Moise Tshombe and his imperialist masters has gone down the drain. The National Council for the Liberation of the Congo (Leopoldville), which is the leader and organizer of the people's armed struggle against the group of marionettes in Leopoldville, has taken the news of Antoine Gizenga's release to warn the Congolese people again of "snares" and called upon them to maintain great vigilance.

Why did Tshombe's masters suddenly feel "compunctious" and order him to free Gizenga? Tshombe would have liked it taken as a gesture of "national reconciliation." Immediately before and since his assumption of the "premiership" this imperialist servant has been talking softly. This is all part of his manoeuvres to confuse the Congolese people and sabotage their struggle.

The National Council for Liberation has long known Tshombe for what he is. In statements issued since his return to the Congo it has alerted the people and bared his machinations. It has repudiated stories spread by Western news media that the council had authorized participation in the Tshombe "cabinet" or had established contact with him. Furthermore, its memorandum to the African Summit Conference denounced "reconciliation" as an imperialist scheme. The imperialists have laid down a real challenge as well as a gross insult to the Africans by pushing Tshombe, their faithful agent, on to the stage. Reconciliation, said the council, was a divisive manoeuvre and the so-called Tshombe government nothing but a reshuffle by imperialism. The council reaffirmed its determination to carry on armed struggle till final victory.

Indeed, the patriotic forces under its leadership, though at a disadvantage in terms of weapons, have greatly expanded the area liberated, retaking Albertville, Baudouinville, Kindu, Bolobo, Mushie and other key points in recent fighting.

These defeats have caused consternation in the Tshombe camp. Despite his double-pronged tactics of holding out an olive branch and intensifying military operations by recalling his several-thousand-strong European-officered mercenaries from Angola, developments are going against him. As the situation worsens, this running-dog of imperialism may mouth still more honeyed words about "reconciliation" and so on to get what he fails to militarily. But the Congolese people know full well that nothing good can come from such barking. One cannot expect ivory tusks, as a Chinese saying goes, to grow out of a dog's mouth.

#### ANZUS Meeting

### Out of the Moth Balls

Set up 13 years ago by the United States as an instrument of aggression in Asia, ANZUS, after a long period of being consigned to the moth balls, was back in the news, albeit fleetingly. ANZUS stands for Australia, New Zealand and the United States, an abbreviation for the treaty organization of the three countries. In July, a council meeting in Washington sounded out measures for intensifying aggressive actions in Southeast Asia.

According to the meeting's final communique, the United States and its junior partners took up the question of south Viet Nam, Laos and "Malaysia," that neo-colonialist scheme hatched in London and Washington. As expected, main attention was focused on the deteriorating south Viet Nam situation where the U.S. faces a war it cannot win or "afford to lose."

U.S. Secretary of State Rusk succeeded in getting his two colleagues from down under to send more "aid" to south Viet Nam. The three countries, said the communique, "would remain prepared, if necessary, to take

further concrete steps within their respective capabilities to assure the defeat of this aggression" [read the people's liberation struggle], and expressed hope that other countries would join up in America's war.

The Johnson Administration's surfacing of the ANZUS meeting at this time is directly related to past failures to drag "other countries" into its dirty war in Viet Nam: first at this year's SEATO meeting in Manila, then the CENTO meeting in Washington and finally the NATO meeting at the Hague. Set back in these efforts, the U.S. turned to ANZUS which had been left neglected for years. Satisfaction, however, was limited to a so-called strongly worded communique. Beggars can't be choosers. For the American imperialists it secured at least a token of allies' support for its wars in Indo-China.

#### TASS Trickery

### Caught Out

TASS, the Soviet news agency, was caught out in its story that Abdel Wahab Salloum would attend the splinter "Anti-A Bomb Conference" in Japan as the representative of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (A.A.P.S.O.) in Cairo. The canard was exposed by none other than the Cairo representatives of the Japanese chapter of A.A.P.S.O., Mr. and Mrs. Masao Kitazawa, who described the TASS report as a "complete fabrication."

The A.A.P.S.O. Secretariat, Mr. and Mrs. Kitazawa said, decided to send its Iraqi secretary, Abdel Wahab Salloum, to the 10th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in response to the invitation of Prof. Kaoro Yasui of the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (GENSUIKYO), which organized the conference. A letter of acceptance, they added, had been sent to Professor Yasui. But in the meantime, a fake invitation was sent to A.A.P.S.O. by the splittists inviting Abdel Wahab Salloum to attend their conference.

Just why this invitation was faked was revealed by Mr. and Mrs. Kitazawa who disclosed the implication of the Soviet Peace Committee in this clumsy trick. A leading Japanese trade union official with imperialist-dominated I.C.F.T.U. connections while in Moscow was urged by the Soviet committee to use the name of the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in sending out invitations to people abroad to attend the splitters' conference. This is precisely what Ota and Moritaki, who signed the bogus letter, did.

"This vile act of TASS News Agency and the Soviet Peace Committee should be condemned," declared Mr. and Mrs. Kitazawa. They maintained that the fabricated Moscow statements serve the interests of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges.

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Information Please!

When asked whether he considered the military situation in south Viet Nam as grave, Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies on his return from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London said, "I think it is serious."

When is a situation grave and when is it serious? Perhaps General Maxwell Taylor, the new U.S. "Ambassador" in Saigon, can explain.





## Festival Discussions

A series of lively discussions were held during the two-month Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes. Not to speak of the running discussions wherever Peking opera fans have met together these days, the festival organizers arranged a number of crowded forums where librettists, actors and actresses, directors, musicians and stage designers have discussed their special problems and swapped experience.

Those who took part in the discussions, aside from tackling their own specific problems, focused attention from their various professional angles on a number of questions of common interest: how to get into closest, living contact with the workers, peasants and soldiers, problems of ideological reform, how to present heroic characters of our times, and the many problems concerned with how to carry on and develop the distinctive style of Peking opera art. Participants were interested too to hear full descriptions of actual experiences in artistic creation. These were most rewarding discussions as they have helped to pool and sum up the experience gained by the various troupes in staging modern revolutionary operas. That experience, all agreed, has enriched the treasure-house of Peking opera art and laid the groundwork for its further reform and advance.

### LIBRETTISTS: Creating Positive Characters

How to reflect the spirit of our times through the portrayal of typical positive characters was the major question discussed by the librettists. In the course of this discussion there was criticism from a theoretical point of view of the erroneous notion held by some people that they could discover the "spirit of the times" without class analysis.

The consensus of opinion was that to be equal to their aim of creating heroic images of the working people, it was of paramount importance for

librettists to remould their ideology by going out among the workers, peasants and soldiers, not just for a short time but for considerable periods of time, the longer the better. This, it was agreed, was the best way for writers to get the inspiration and material for librettos which had a revolutionary proletarian spirit and carried the message of a lofty communist morality; this was the way to make their art a more powerful weapon for the revolutionary cause.

Bearing in mind the key importance of the libretto, the forum agreed that this element of Peking opera has lagged way behind the realities of life. It was therefore suggested that those departments concerned should give the most serious thought to this question, work out concrete plans for the training of script writers and librettists, help them to make firm contacts with the working people and give them constant and timely guidance. It was stressed that the work of editing old operas and adapting scripts from other dramatic forms was also creative work, and that whether it was a case of adaptation or an entirely new creation, great care should be taken to see to it that the product conformed to specific characteristics of

Peking opera, that it retained the artistic style peculiar to Peking opera.

### ACTORS: Use Conventions Based on Life

The discussion in the actors' group were participated in by such celebrated veterans as Chou Hsin-fang, Kai Chiao-tien, Yu Chen-fei, and Kao Sheng-lin, as well as young people of the up and coming generation. At three special sessions six artists gave absorbing accounts with action — singing and acting — of their experiences in creating new roles.

Like the librettists, the actors also devoted a good part of their attention to the problem of presenting on the stage the heroes of our times. Their experience showed that to do full justice to the heroic people they wished to portray, they had to succeed on doing three things, all of equal importance. These are, first, as speakers put it, to surmount the "hurdle of life" and second, the "hurdle of ideology" — meaning to become thoroughly acquainted with the life of the working people by living among them, and to become one with them in thought and feeling, an achievement which calls for painstaking efforts over a long period of time. Third requisite is to get rid of the old habit of slavishly holding to old conventions and playing up individual characters at the expense of overall concept or significance of an opera. Acting, it was agreed, must be based on life to project the thoughts and



Hail Peking Opera on Contemporary Revolutionary Themes! Drawing by Miao Ti

emotions of characters while closely observing the laws of acting typical to Peking opera. This should be the basic guide of the actor in making discriminating use of traditional conventions and introducing innovations.

The centuries-old Peking opera has always been a powerful medium of artistic expression. Judging from the fine works offered at the festival, the many innovations introduced by different troupes have definitely enriched and developed its expressive powers. The actors' forum agreed that the new modes of expression evolved in response to the demands of a new content had, far from damaging Peking opera's unique artistic style, greatly enhanced it. The best festival offerings, said veterans and tyros alike, had opened their eyes to the need for the most exacting demands in basic training, and the importance of assimilating all that is fine and useful in other local operatic styles and dramatic forms.

#### **DIRECTORS: Leaders in Art and Ideology**

The introduction of directors in Peking opera is something fairly new. In the old days, when performing a traditional piece, the average actor simply did just as his teachers had taught him. With the production of operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, the role of the director has been enhanced so it is not surprising that in their festival discussions directors should have raised as an urgent task the further improvement of the system and procedure of directing as this has such an immediate bearing on the success of new productions.

The festival performances brought home most vividly the fact that modern revolutionary operas place higher demands on directors, and consequently, that they must make higher demands of themselves both ideologically and artistically. They must be prepared to deal responsibly with new and vital themes; they play the key role in "pulling a production together," harmonizing its various elements.

The directors were unanimously of the opinion that their position demanded a deep and wide knowledge

of life and that artistically, if he is to project present-day life adequately through the medium of Peking opera, a director must have a most thorough and comprehensive knowledge of all aspects of the many-sided art in its specific forms of singing, acting, recitation, dancing and acrobatics, music and stage decor.

As directors have the responsibility of bringing into full play the talents and energies of all for the benefit of the collective work, they have the duty too of acting not only as leaders artistically, but also politically. That is, they must regard it as their responsibility to do good ideological, educational work among their colleagues and rally them to work in close unity in carrying out the new creative tasks of this ancient, but now newly reborn art.

#### **MUSICIANS: A Modern Note in Peking Opera**

As the musicians' group pointed out the music of the new revolutionary operas offered at the festival carries a strong contemporary note. While it pulses with new life it yet preserves the rhythm and style which is distinctively associated with Peking opera. The many innovations introduced have clearly opened up broad perspectives for the further development of Peking opera music.

Many remarked the fact that quite a number of traditional melodies and tunes, after a process of critical recreation, sound both new and familiar to the ear, immensely expressive and deeply moving. Veteran musicians expressed themselves both surprised and delighted at the unexpectedly successful results attained. Equally noteworthy were the several new departures made in this field — the off-stage singing of traditional melodies as an accompaniment, new arrangements of choruses and duets, and the blending of elements of revolutionary songs and music of the national minorities with conventional Peking opera music. What particularly struck specialists were the harmonious results achieved in these experiments. Peking opera has long been known for its ability to assimilate. In continuing this tradition, musicians regarded it as a prime responsibility to see that what was

adapted or absorbed must help to enhance the typical features of Peking opera music.

As to the percussion instruments which occupy an important place in Peking opera, and the different schools of singing, it was urged that critical use should also be made of them as determined by the need to represent real life and the thoughts and feelings of the new characters.

#### **ARTISTS: Conventional and Realistic Stage Settings**

The decor artists had an animated discussion on the problem of how to design effective sets suitable for new revolutionary Peking operas yet in keeping with the characteristic features of Peking opera. They found that this question sharply brought up the relationship between conventional and realistic stage settings.

Diversity is the word that describes the many different styles of stage settings designed for the various festival productions. Some were realistic "picture-frame" sets, others were basically stylized, conventional, still others combined the abstract with the realistic, and some used no stage scenery at all and only a limited number of props. Some settings were strongly designed to evoke a sense of life and our times. In artistic style, some drew heavily on traditional Chinese painting while others were clearly rooted in the folk arts and the arts of this or that minority nationality. Costumes showed a similar variety. Opinion varied on which were the most successful, but all agreed that all were useful experiments. The prevailing tendency for operas on contemporary revolutionary themes appears to be for them to have scenery, with its style determined by the needs of the content and the action. This tendency stems inevitably from the fact that in general, worker and peasant audiences prefer a stage with scenery.

The festival has ended, but the discussions which were such an important part of it are really just beginning. Many who took part in the forums expressed themselves determined to carry on these probing, fruitful talks and exchanges in the future.



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