

PEKING REVIEW

34

August 21, 1964

U.S. Aggressors Will Be Punished for Armed Attack On Viet Nam

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Militia in Chinese People's Revolutionary Wars

(p. 20).

China's Economic and Technical Aid to Other Countries

(p. 14).

Scientists Gather for Peking Symposium

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We Crossed the Bridge Together

by Liu Shu-teh

Towards socialism or capitalism? — this was the burning question that faced China's farming population of more than 500 million people during the socialist transformation of agriculture in 1953. This novel tells how the peasants in a village in the southwestern province of Yunnan answered that question. In this acid test, Kao Cheng-kuo, a poor peasant, wavers between the urge for personal gain and the Communist Party's call to work for the common good. He is helped by the Party and his comrades of the old, bitter days; and his own class background tells. Finally, he too crosses the "bridge" which leads on to the road to socialism.

This is a swift-moving narrative told in the fresh and vivacious language of Kao Cheng-kuo's daughter, Erh-chu, a typically lively country girl of today, vigorous of mind and body, plain spoken and eager for new ideas and new things.

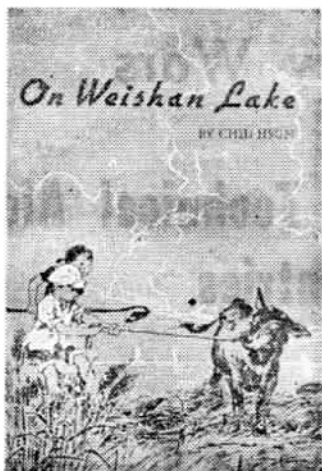
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136pp.

On Weishan Lake

— A fine adventure story for boys and girls —

by Chiu Hsun



Three village boys persuade an old stockman to take them along with him to tend the cattle for the summer months by Lake Weishan. Reluctantly he agrees. And as boys will, they get up to all sorts of mischief. But when a flood comes they win his regard by the way they face up to danger and save the cattle. In the course of these adventures they become more "grown-up", more responsible, more co-operative and more self-reliant.

Illustrated

Picture-cover

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北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

August 21, 1964 Vol. VII No. 34

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The nation continues to demonstrate in support of the Vietnamese people in their fight against U.S. imperialist aggression.

- Vice-Premier Chen Yi at Indonesia's National Day reception in Peking warned U.S. imperialism that "the matter is far from being over. The aggressor must be punished. The debt of blood must be repaid."

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung received and had a long, cordial and friendly talk with M'hammed Yala, Ambassador of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria on August 17. A letter addressed to Chairman Mao Tse-tung by Ahmed Ben Bella, General Secretary of the Algerian National Liberation Front and President of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, was presented by Ambassador Yala.

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent a message to Edward Ochab congratulating him on assuming the office of President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland.

- The Chinese press published:

- the interview on the situation in Indo-China, granted by General Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander-in-Chief of the Viet Nam People's Army and Minister of National Defence of the D.R.V., to a correspondent of the Japanese paper *Akahata*.

- extracts of a commentary in *Nhan Dan* of Viet Nam noting that worldwide support for Viet Nam is a powerful warning to the U.S.

- the August 11 statement of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat declaring that the Laotian people and army would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people should the U.S. aggressors extend the war in Indo-China.

- excerpts from a speech by Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, during his Albanian visit. He denounced Khrushchov's scheme for convening a schismatic meeting serving U.S. imperialism.

Nationwide Support for Viet Nam Continues

Demonstrations and meetings continue in the cities and provincial and market towns over the length and breadth of the country as the Chinese people swing into action to make good on their pledge to aid their brothers of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by practical deeds. The participants, including many of China's national minorities, have promised to step up production and intensify military training to help the Vietnamese people give the U.S. warmongers a fitting rebuff.

Border Town Demonstrations. In towns and villages in Yunnan and Kwangsi bordering on the D.R.V.,

peoples of many nationalities, Hanis, Miaos, Yaos and Tais, together with their Han brothers, have held anti-U.S. mass rallies. In some places, Vietnamese who crossed the border to visit their relatives in China joined in the demonstrations. In Toulung, Yunnan, Chang Shu-hua, representing the women of the district, said: "Here in Toulung, 13 villages and settlements border on 15 Vietnamese villages. People of Yakow in China and Malishan in Viet Nam actually drink water from the same well. They are like members of one family. U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam means aggression against the Chinese people."

A Vietnamese delegation of townsfolk from Lao Kay came to the protest meeting and demonstration organized in Hokow on the Chinese bank of the Red River that flows down to Hanoi.

Three thousand kilometres away, in a press interview in Ining, the border town in northwestern China, Khashanov, a Uighur and Vice-Chairman of the People's Political Consultative Conference of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou, sent a message to Viet Nam: "The 13 nationalities of China's far northwest pledge their support to the Vietnamese people in the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle." In Tsingtao in the eastern seaboard province of Shantung, 50,000 people demonstrated on the streets. Vietnamese scientists taking part in the research work of the Institute of Oceanography of the Chinese Academy of Sciences there, joined the demonstrators singing the song *Unity Is Strength* together with their Chinese brothers.

In China's most famous porcelain centre, some 20,000 potters of Ching-tehchen held a protest demonstration. Those making chinaware for the D.R.V. undertook to fulfil the order ahead of schedule.

In Kanchow, Kiangsi Province, many Long March veterans were among the 30,000 who demonstrated. Like their comrades elsewhere, they

said: "In the past, we used swords and home-made guns to defeat the reactionaries. Today, we are incomparably stronger; the U.S. aggressors will be defeated." Friends from Albania, Laos, Ceylon, Spain, New Zealand, Japan and other countries who were on a visit to the city attended a protest meeting there.

Representatives of 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions now attending a national medical conference in Anhwei Province adopted a message of support for the Vietnamese people. These are just a few of scores of similar news reports from all over the country.

People's Militiamen Alert. Throughout the country, the people's militiamen are putting an extra edge and polish to their training. At a five-day drill in Canton, the local people's militia demonstrated their skill in shooting, hand-grenade throwing, close-quarter fighting, mine-sowing, and other techniques. In Fukien Province on China's southeastern coast, 150,000 militiamen and students took part in extended military manoeuvres. Training included communications techniques, forced marches, night raids and assault tactics against fortifications. They studied Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works on people's war. In Wuhan in central-south China, armed militiamen swam the Yangtse River as part of their training. In Shansi, Huang Hsiao-tan, a veteran

Chairman Mao Sees New Peking Opera

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Party and state leaders on August 12 saw *Hong Sao*, a new Peking opera on a modern, revolutionary theme. *Hong Sao* is produced by a Peking opera theatre of Shantung. Its title is taken from the name of its leading character, a young peasant heroine in Shantung who rescues a wounded P.L.A. fighter from the enemy during the War of Liberation.

After the performance Chairman Mao and his colleagues posed for a photograph with the performers.

militiaman said: "The U.S. gangsters are the enemy No. 1 of the peoples of the world. Their aggression against Viet Nam is aimed at the revolution of the world's people. When they are sharpening their swords, we too must sharpen ours; the best way of dealing with them is to wipe out their counter-revolutionary arms with revolutionary arms."

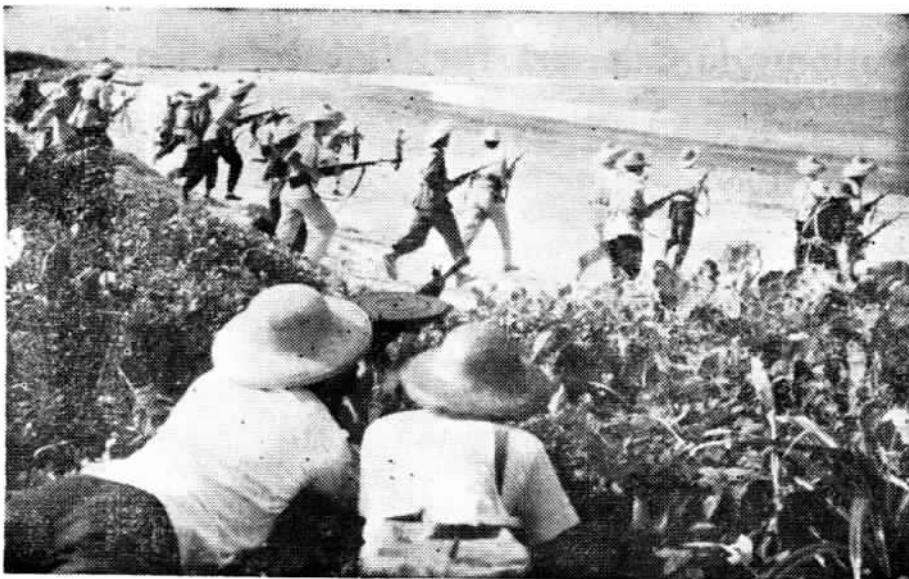
C.P. Leaders from Abroad

M. Williams, Chairman of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, arrived in Peking on August 14 for a visit.

A delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela arrived in Peking on the 16th at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. It is headed by Eduardo Gallegos Mancera, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Venezuelan C.P.

On hand to welcome the N.Z. and Venezuelan comrades at the airport were Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Party's Central Committee, Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the C.C. of the C.P.C., and others.

Mafayoshi Oka, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party arrived in Peking on August 18 for a



Militiamen of a Kwangtung people's commune training

visit at the invitation of the C.C. of the Chinese Party. He was welcomed at the airport by Lu Ting-yi, Liu Ning-I, Member of the C.C. of the Chinese Party, and others.

Four National Days

Four countries celebrate their National Days in mid-August. They are the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (August 15), the Congo (Brazzaville) (August 15), Indonesia (August 17) and the People's Republic of Rumania (August 23). The Chinese people, sharing their joy, sent them greetings and congratulations.

Korea's 19th Liberation Anniversary. Chinese Communist Party and state leaders, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai, in a message to the Korean Workers' Party and state leaders, Kim Il Sung and Choi Yong Kun, acclaimed the Korean people for having "not only achieved a great, historic victory in their war against U.S. imperialist aggression but also set a shining example of self-reliance in socialist construction." These struggles and successes, said the message, were a powerful aid to China's socialist construction; it pledged that the Chinese people would stand for ever in close unity with the Korean people and struggle together with them for the achievement of new victories for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

Vice-Premiers Chen Yi, Lo Jui-ching and other leaders were among the guests of the Korean Ambassador Pak Se Chang at a reception. The Ambassador in his toast declared that in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism the Korean people would always be found at the side of their Chinese brothers. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in reply, hailed the growth of the militant friendship and great unity between the two countries based on Marxism-Leninism.

Receptions were given by the China-Korea Friendship Association and by the Red Star Sino-Korean Friendship People's Commune on the outskirts of Peking.

Chinese Party and Government Delegation in Rumania. A delegation of the Chinese Communist Party and

Government led by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, left Peking by special plane for Bucharest to attend the celebrations of the forthcoming 20th anniversary of the liberation of Rumania. The members of the delegation are: Air Force General Liu Ya-lou, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and Vice-Minister of National Defence; Li Chiang, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Hou Teh-pang, Vice-Minister of the Chemical Industry and Department Member of the Chinese Academy of Sciences; and Liu Fang, Chinese Ambassador to Rumania, who is already in Bucharest.

Earlier, the Rumanian Ambassador to China, Dumitru Gheorghiu, gave a press conference in Peking dealing mainly with the Rumanian people's achievements in socialist construction. The entire people of Rumania is closely rallied around the Rumanian Workers' Party and its Central Committee headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Ambassador Gheorghiu told the Chinese and foreign correspondents present. He stressed the importance to Rumania's socialist construction of developing large-scale, mechanized industry, especially heavy industry. "Abiding by the universally valid general laws of the socialist revolution and taking into account the concrete historical conditions prevailing in Rumania, the Rumanian Workers' Party has been engaged in a great creative task," the Rumanian Ambassador said. "The Rumanian people," he declared, "are meeting this greatest national holiday with feelings of legitimate pride" and would "unflinchingly proceed along the road opened up by August 23."

19th Anniversary of Indonesian Independence. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message to President and Premier Sukarno congratulating him on the occasion of Indonesia's National Day. Their message expressed joy at the victories achieved by Indonesia in opposing aggression and interference by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the positive contributions it has made in international affairs and in strengthening

Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism.

On the evening of August 17, Indonesian Ambassador Djawoto was host to 700 people at a reception in the Peking Hotel. The guests included Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi, Nieh Jung-chen and Vice-Chairman Lin Feng of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. Vice-Premier Chen Yi stated at the reception that the Chinese people resolutely supported the people of north Kalimantan in their struggle for national independence and no less resolutely supported the Indonesian people in their just struggle against Malaysia—the product of neo-colonialism. He declared that "no matter how long it may take, the north Kalimantan people, persisting in their struggle, will certainly win victory. Collusion between the U.S. and British imperialists will only result in an even swifter and more disastrous defeat for all their schemes of aggression in Southeast Asia."

1st Anniversary of the Congo (B)'s August Revolution. Chinese delegates, representing the Chinese Government, the Chinese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and Chinese youth arrived in Brazzaville to attend the celebrations there. A message of greeting was sent by Chairman Liu Shao-chi to President Alphonse Massamba-Debat of the Republic of the Congo (B); greetings were also sent by Premier Chou En-lai to Pascal Lissouba, the Congolese Premier.

Renmin Ribao on August 15, published an editorial noting the remarkable successes gained by the republic in the past year in consolidating its independence and sovereignty, suppressing foreign subversion, uprooting the vestiges of colonialism and developing its national economy and culture. The editorial acclaimed the republic for the positive role it has played in international affairs. The paper declared: "The friendship and co-operation between China and the Congo is based on equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect. We are certain that the prospect for the develop-

ment of this friendship and co-operation are boundless."

Closer Co-operation With Asian, African, Latin American Countries

Co-operation in the economic, cultural and scientific fields is growing between China and other Asian, African and Latin American countries.

With the **Congo (Brazzaville)**, China has recently signed a trade and payments agreement;

With **Ghana**, it has signed an agreement supplementary to the 1961 agreement on economic and technical co-operation;

With **Guinea**, it has signed an accord on co-operation in radio broadcasting;

With **Algeria**, it has signed an agreement on friendly co-operation between the two countries' news agencies.

With the **Democratic Republic of Viet Nam**, China has lately concluded an agreement on co-operation in posts and telecommunications and another on co-operation in public health. The fourth session of the executive body for scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries was held between August 6 and 12. Taking part was a Vietnamese government scientific and technical delegation, headed by Dang Viet Chau, Vice-Chairman of the National Planning Commission, and on the Chinese side a delegation headed by Yang Lin, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries. Following the session, the 1964 scientific and technical co-operation protocol was signed. It provides for comprehensive co-operation between the two countries in the spheres of the metallurgical, machine-building and other industries. It also arranges for exchanges of experts, trainees, technical data and other matters.

With **Cuba**, a Chinese delegation signed in Havana in mid-August a protocol related to the Economic Co-operation Agreement concluded between the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Cuba. The protocol was drafted during friendly negotiations

between the representatives of the two countries in conformity with the said agreement signed in Peking on November 30, 1960.

Kenyan Goodwill Mission In China

A goodwill mission from Kenya, led by Ramogi Achieng Oneko, Minister for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, arrived in Shanghai by air on August 7. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Vice-Foreign Minister Wang Ping-nan, who came specially from Peking, were among the welcomers at the Shanghai airport.

The mission visited Shanghai, Wusih and Nanking from August 8-14. On August 15, accompanied by Wang Ping-nan, it arrived in Peking by special plane and received a rousing welcome from a large party headed by Chen Yi.

At the banquet he gave the following day in honour of the mission, Chen Yi extended greetings to the guests on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, and hailed the Kenyan people for their tradition of prolonged struggle against imperialism and colonialism. He acclaimed the Kenyan Government's recent expulsion of a number of colonialist elements as a manifestation of the fighting will of the Kenyan people.

The Chinese people, he declared, wholeheartedly wished Kenya new and still greater successes on the path of independent development under the leadership of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta.

Reaffirming the five principles followed by China in its relations with the African countries as expressed by Premier Chou En-lai during his African tour, he said that China would, as before, continue to practise these principles. The sincere friendship between the Chinese people and the peoples of Kenya and other African countries would stand the test of time, he declared.

The Kenyan mission is continuing its tour of Peking.

Visiting Kinsmen Held in Brazil

Three representatives of the relatives of the nine Chinese illegally

detained by the Brazilian authorities for more than four months, left Peking for Brazil on August 17 in the company of Yi Cheng-hsin, representative of the Red Cross Society of China. They were chosen by all the relatives of the nine detained Chinese to visit and look after their innocent kinsmen in Brazil. The three are Chen Ping, wife of Wang Wei-chen, correspondent of Hsinhua News Agency in Brazil; Ko Ta-an, wife of Chu Ching-tung, staff member of Hsinhua News Agency; and Kuo Jui-ting, wife of Hou Fa-tseng, leader of the group which went to Brazil to prepare a Chinese economic and trade exhibition.

On August 15, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi received the three representatives and also the representative of the Red Cross Society. The Vice-Premier asked them to express his deep concern and regards to their relatives in Brazil.

Children of Algerian Martyrs Holiday in China

Seventy-five Algerian children, aged between 9-17, who are sons and daughters of martyrs of the Algerian War of National Liberation, have come to China to spend their summer holiday. They are the guests of the Chinese People's National Committee in Defence of Children, the Chinese Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China. Rostane Raoutsi, technical adviser to the Ministry of Social Affairs and director of social affairs of the Algiers Prefecture, has come with them.

Arriving in Peking on August 13, they were given a warm welcome at the airport by a crowd of Chinese Young Pioneers who had waited eagerly for their arrival. They soon felt at home in the arms of their hosts and they were already singing in chorus with their young Chinese friends as they left the airport.

On Saturday morning, Teng Yingchao, Vice-Chairman of the Committee in Defence of Children, met the Algerian youngsters in the lounge of the Peace Hotel where they are stay-

(Continued on p. 25.)

Vice-Premier Chen Yi on U.S. Aggression In Viet Nam and the Congo (L)

- The United States is pretending that it has called a halt in Viet Nam. This is a fraud.
The aggressor must be punished. The debt of blood must be repaid. The matter is far from being over.
- As a last resort, U.S. imperialism has now come forward itself to suppress the Congolese people.

RECENTLY, on several occasions, Vice-Premier Chen Yi again condemned U.S. aggressive plots against Viet Nam and the Congo (Leopoldville).

All Possible Measures Must Be Taken to Assist Viet Nam.
On August 16, when addressing a banquet in honour of the Goodwill Mission of Kenya, led by Ramogi Achieng Oneko, Minister for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said:

"The situation in both Asia and Africa is very tense because U.S. imperialism persists in its policies of aggression and war provocation. Some days ago the U.S. Johnson Administration, after fabricating a shameless lie, launched a premeditated armed attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus taking the first step in expanding the war in Indo-China. In face of the victorious resistance of the Vietnamese people and the resolute opposition of the people of the whole world, the liar and aggressor — the United States — is now pretending that it has called a halt. It must be pointed out that this is a fraud and must not be trusted. U.S. imperialism has already embarked on the road of expanding the war in Indo-China and breaking the peace of Asia. In these circumstances, the people of the Asian countries must unite and take all possible measures to assist the people of Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese states and defeat the U.S. aggressor."

U.S. Turning the Congo Into a Second South Viet Nam.
On the same occasion, referring to the situation in the Congo, Chen Yi said:

"The United States has openly sent its military personnel to the Congo (Leopoldville) to suppress the patriotic armed struggle of the Congolese people. This is a serious step taken by the United States in starting special warfare in the Congo in an attempt to turn the Congo into a second south Viet Nam. The United States tried to bring the Congo under its control by means of the U.N. forces and failed. It then tried to do the same through the instrumentality of Tshombe and failed again. As a last resort, U.S. imperialism has now come

forward itself. This is no sign of strength but demonstrates that it is driven into a corner. This state of affairs will only stimulate the Congolese people to even more resolute resistance. Today, the Congo is no longer what it was four years ago. And Africa is no longer the Africa of the past. The struggles of all oppressed nations support each other. The struggles of the African peoples support Asia and those of the Asian peoples support Africa. We believe that, with the support of their brothers in Africa and Asia and of the rest of the people of the world, the Congolese people will certainly succeed in smashing the U.S. aggressor's new plot and winning genuine independence and freedom. The complete emancipation of Africa is inevitable."

Johnson Competing With Goldwater in War-Mongering.
On August 17, speaking at the Indonesian National Day reception given by the Indonesian Ambassador to China, Djawoto, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said:

"The acts of aggression of the U.S. Johnson Administration cannot be covered up. The facts demonstrate that Johnson is even worse than John Foster Dulles. While Dulles pursued a policy of brinkmanship, Johnson has gone over the 'brink of war' by taking the road of extending the war in Indo-China. Johnson is competing with Goldwater in war-mongering; he and Goldwater are jackals of the same lair."

"After committing the towering crime of launching a premeditated armed attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the U.S. aggressors now say that the matter is over. This is a fraud. We hereby tell them frankly that the matter is far from being over. The aggressor must be punished. The debt of blood must be repaid. Since the United States has launched armed aggression, the Vietnamese people have gained the right of action to fight against aggression, and all the peace-loving countries and people have gained the right of action to assist the Vietnamese people in their fight against aggression. The initiative is entirely in our hands. The Chinese people, together with the peo-

ples of Southeast Asia, are determined to carry through to the end their just struggle of supporting the Vietnamese people in their fight against aggression."

A General Review of the World's Political Forces. Earlier, on August 12, receiving the visiting Government Scientific and Technical Delegation of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic led by Dang Viet Chau, Vice-Chairman of the National Planning Commission, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the so-called Tonkin Gulf

incident fabricated by U.S. imperialism was a fresh and great review of the political forces of the world. The people of China and other countries were all on the side of the Vietnamese people, in resolute opposition to U.S. armed aggression against Viet Nam; while not a single country in the world fully supported the U.S. acts of aggression. Even in the United States itself, the people had begun to demonstrate against U.S. aggression in Viet Nam.

Foreign Press Opinion

Johnson's Gamble in the Tonkin Gulf

WORLDWIDE incredulity about what the Johnson Administration called the "second attack" on U.S. destroyers by D.R.V. torpedo boats in the Gulf of Tonkin on August 4 has been on the rise. Not only was the first U.S. version of the imaginary "sea battle" challenged and dismissed as a blatant fabrication, but the later revamped version of the "attack" not being "deliberate" but stemming from some "confusion," "a series of misunderstandings," etc., which emerged from Washington subsequent to the spate of disbelief greeting the first official hand-out, was similarly nailed as a lie.

That the second hallucination is as much suspect as the first is readily apparent by reading only a few comments from some of the newspapers of America's allies. The British *Guardian* noted editorially on August 11 that the "very tortuousness" of U.S. answers to the Tonkin Gulf incident "suggested that something was wrong with the question."

Cock-and-Bull Story

Combat, the French daily, queried on August 12 the veracity of the cock-and-bull story that small D.R.V. naval forces had challenged powerful U.S. destroyers on the open seas. "One can well imagine," it said, "that the alleged 'aggression' made on August 4 by torpedo boats against the destroyer *Maddox* and the *Ticonderoga* which, in a 'battle' lasting two and a half hours have suffered no damage at all, can only take place in the rich imagination of the 'brain trust' of the White House."

Deutsche Volkszeitung, a West German newspaper, in an article on August 14 derided the American concoction of the Tonkin Gulf incident as a "desperate attempt" to retrieve Washington's hopeless war in south Viet Nam. It taunted the United States with bungling in new lies to cover up old ones. "U.S. delegate Stevenson," it said, "aroused the astonishment and doubts of U.N. delegates when he failed to produce any precise material on the Tonkin Gulf incident. Moreover, contrary to usual U.S. promptitude, he had no evidence and photo at hand." The paper

noted the shift in American propaganda after the first howler. Instead of "the North Vietnamese provocation," the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* pointed out that the new line was that "it was due to a series of 'misunderstandings' that President Johnson sent his men to bomb north Vietnamese cities."

How did the American account sound to people familiar with naval warfare? A retired officer of the Royal Canadian Navy, Lieutenant-Commander J.B. Lamb, writing in the *Toronto Telegram* on August 14, described the American manoeuvres as actions "cloaked in a mantle of falsehood and misrepresentation by which the attacker becomes the attacked, the victim the aggressor." He said, "It is just not in the cards for light motor torpedo boats of north Viet Nam to attack U.S. destroyers." After castigating Washington reports of naval action in the Gulf of Tonkin on August 4 as "very palpable untruths," he warned the public against accepting all such pronouncements from official U.S. sources. "To put it bluntly," the old sea dog alerted his readers, "they are calculated untruths, deliberately fashioned to further the U.S. Administration's aim."

Long-Distance Intrusion

To disabuse the public of these "very palpable untruths," many world observers pointed to the long-distance intrusion of the United States across the Pacific, the provocative and therefore indefensible appearance of the U.S. 7th Fleet off the Vietnamese coast. "The Gulf of Tonkin," said N.H.K.'s (Japanese Broadcasting Corporation) diplomatic commentator, Minoru Omori, "is an inland sea between north Viet Nam and Hainan Island, and therefore, from the point of view of north Viet Nam, no matter how much the United States may insist that it is the high seas, common sense tells us that it is the inland sea of north Viet Nam."

Der Bund, a Swiss paper, pointed out on August 9 that U.S. warships had no right to patrol the Gulf of Tonkin. "The Gulf, after all, is embraced by the communist countries, north Viet Nam and China. The

coasts and territory of the United States are thousands of kilometres away on the other side of the Pacific." Or, as an article in the British *Guardian* (August 11) described the American intruders, "from the other side of earth." Asked the same paper, "What were the U.S. warships doing there in the Gulf of Tonkin which is entirely surrounded by the shores of China and north Viet Nam?"

"Why should a country situated thousands of miles away from the area of the present conflict insist that she has a right to establish and maintain bases in this area? Why should Americans be allowed to maintain their troops in this area and disturb the peace and tranquillity of the region?" questioned the *Business Post* of Pakistan.

These are palpable questions, questions that have often been asked before, and will be asked again, of the United States which sets itself up as the world's policeman, in Cyprus and the Congo in the heart of Africa. U.S. imperialism has been pursuing a policy of war and aggression in various parts of the world; this is its set objective. What then were the immediate aims of its gamble in Indo-China on August 5?

Asian and African opinion pointed to the U.S. debacle in south Viet Nam where the Pentagon planners hoped that a diversionary attack on the north would provide some respite, or in the words of James Reston of the *New York Times*, avert a "spectacular defeat." *Sinar Harapan*, an Indonesian newspaper, wrote on August 10 that the United States, unable to stop the Vietnamese patriotic armed forces from winning, intended to expand the war to provide an excuse for its forces to land in north Viet Nam and occupy its cities. The Ceylonese weekly, *Kamkaruwa*, on August 8 commented likewise: "Having failed to face up to south Vietnamese guerrilla attacks and having found no way out of an aggression which it committed in Laos, U.S. imperialism was now engaged in a big gamble, a mad and last-ditch gamble." The *Ghanaian Times* (August 8) of Accra saw in the madcap adventure the evil design of holding down south Viet Nam as an American preserve.

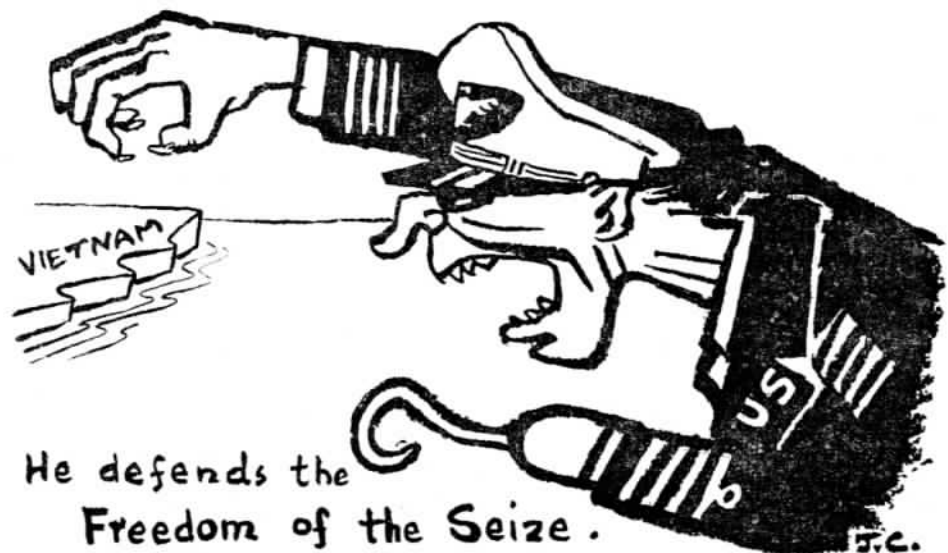
Other newspapers mentioned another factor, the American presidential election. *Al Gomhouria* of Cairo for one, after lashing out at Lyndon Johnson for doing what Kennedy did in Cuba, wrote editorially that Johnson's "purpose is to win against Goldwater in the forthcoming presidential elections." Pretty much the same thing was said in the British press on this score. The

Yorkshire Post, for instance, wrote (August 7), "Perhaps, it is said, it was all a put-up job to show American electors that President Johnson is as strong as Senator Goldwater."

On the other side of the Atlantic, in the United States itself, the blow that the U.S. President struck on August 5 had long been in the book. The frequent visits of top American officials to south Viet Nam and the hectic preparations and activities of the American Government climaxed by the Honolulu conference in June were unmistakable straws in the wind. The only question was just when the blow would fall. As the *Christian Science Monitor* put it on August 8, though in rather obtuse terms, the Tonkin Gulf incident would not cause any surprise if U.S. failure in south Viet Nam was taken into consideration. "Those who are greatly surprised by the events in the Gulf of Tonkin," it said, "forget that there is a war on . . . the trends of this war led directly to events like those of the past week." The United States and the south Vietnamese, it held, had to turn the tide or face defeat. "The plans quietly evolving under President Johnson are now coming out from under the wraps concealing them," it added.

"World Gangster"

These plans were condemned and opposed. Burma drew attention to the U.S. attempts to fan the flames of war. *Ludu* warned that "it will be wrong if we regard U.S. war preparations in Southeast Asia as a step to attack the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam alone. It is planning to attack the People's Republic of China and other countries as well." The *Mirror* of Rangoon denounced the U.S. Government as a "world gangster." Pakistani papers were strong in their denunciation, too. The daily *Jang* said the U.S. attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam "is a clear proof of the political bankruptcy of Washington." The



He defends the
Freedom of the Seize.

Rear Admiral Moore, commander of U.S. Task Force Seven, said his ships would continue to defend the freedom of the seas.

Cartoon by Jack Chen

United States, it maintained, had committed a great crime by attacking the D.R.V., and the whole world would not excuse it. *Ta'meer* of Rawalpindi said that now everybody would come to realize that the United States is the real enemy to the freedom of the Asian and African peoples.

Ny Dag, the Swedish paper, ran two articles condemning the United States for its criminal policies at home and abroad. "Who gave the United States the right to defend the freedom of others? Isn't it better for it to sweep the snow lying in front of its own door? Haven't the recent Negro demonstrations made it clear that American citizens have no freedom?" The aims cherished by U.S. imperialism, it said, are very much similar to those of Adolf Hitler. *Renovacion*, the Argentine weekly (August 12), called on the people "to lodge a worldwide protest against the U.S. war mania and clip their aggressive claws which have extended to Viet Nam."

Even the *Times* of London, which is usually well-disposed to the American Administration, found it hard to defend the American aggression. Bending to British public opinion which took the U.S. "second attack" story with a grain of salt, it was obliged to come out with a note somewhat jarring to Washington's ears. "If President Johnson had announced that he was henceforth carrying the war by land, sea and air into north Viet Nam, or even was going on with air raids indefinitely, then many more of the allied peoples would have had qualms and doubts." What agitated Whitehall, for which the *Times* is a staunch spokesman, was that "such an action, on China's doorstep, would almost certainly bring more havoc than profit." If its imperialist partner was able to achieve its prime objective of improving its position in Indo-China, and especially in south Viet Nam, perhaps Whitehall would show a little more enthusiasm. But has it?

That the U.S. air strike against the D.R.V. had not mitigated Washington's military plight in south Viet Nam was the subject of varied press comment. The British *Sunday Times* on August 9 wrote "that does not mean that the war in south Viet Nam is any nearer its end. Here, where the Americans are tied by the tail, is the real nub of the situation, which last week's raids can do little to alter." The paper said the United States, after pouring men and money into the bottomless pit of south Viet Nam year after year, is as far today as it ever was from the prospect of victory. The *Observer*, another British Sunday paper of the same date, held that the U.S. war in south Viet Nam was "lost." It said that if the military intervention in this area by the United States was prolonged the effect would be "calamitous." The *New Statesman* (August 7) believed that America's "special war" in south Viet Nam "can never be won." In its following issue this journal noted that "none of President Johnson's long-term problems in Viet Nam have been lessened by the United States show of force in the Tonkin Gulf, and his short-term problems may well be compounded." The West German newspaper *Deutsche Volkszeitung* (August 14) predicted the Johnson adventure in the Gulf of Tonkin would lead to an American Dien Bien Phu.

What could the air action against the D.R.V. do for the Johnson Administration, asked the Japanese *Asahi Shimbun* on August 7. This paper opined that the United States would land itself in a grave situation if it expands its bombings in north Viet Nam. "Should it attempt to attack north Viet Nam as a step to recover its losing ground in Laos and south Viet Nam and settle the war in Indo-China," it said, "it must come to realize that no judgment and policy will be more unrealistic than this."

In attacking the D.R.V. on a pretext created out of thin air, and thus exacerbating the already tense situation in Indo-China, the U.S. Government has exposed itself still further as the common enemy of the people of all lands. If it has achieved anything at all,



"Our friends have not misunderstood. . .



. . . because we have been united."

Cartoons by Jack Chen

it has only succeeded in mobilizing world public opinion against it. To the Cambodian people who live next door to the Vietnamese, U.S. imperialism represents the dispenser of poisonous chemicals dropped on Cambodian territory by U.S. planes. To the Japanese people U.S. imperialism represents Nagasaki and Hiroshima. To the people on the African continent U.S. imperialism represents the maker of flunkies like Tshombe who murdered Lumumba, the hero of the Congolese people. To the people in Latin America, U.S. imperialism represents the Bay of Pigs, the shark, the upholder of "gorillas" who bleed their countries white in Wall Street's interests. The sudden and sneak attack on the D.R.V. has further hammered all this home.

In view of the swelling tide of condemnation the Johnson Administration has been hard at work to create the impression that it "seeks no wider war" in Indo-China, nor that it ever has. The repeated denial

of authorization given to U.S. naval commanders to use atomic weapons in the Gulf of Tonkin only begs the question — was it ever contemplated?

Despite Johnson's "peaceful" eyewash, Washington's actions, such as the continuous concentration of American forces in the region, belie official White House statements. On August 13, USIS said, "The war in Viet Nam is going to get hotter and bloodier very soon. There is a strong prospect that U.S. planes will strike at communist depots, bases and bridges and other key facilities both in Viet Nam and Laos near the south Viet Nam border. . . . There is a keen desire to keep the ball rolling. . . ."

To such threats the answer is a united struggle by the people. As *Meatophum* of Cambodia rightly put it, if we are determined to fight it steadfastly imperialism will turn out to be a paper tiger.

— C.K.C.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

U.S. Imperialists, Hands Off The Congo (Leopoldville)!

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" August 15 editorial "No U.S. Imperialist Armed Intervention Against the Congo (L) Will Be Tolerated!" Subheads are ours. — Ed.

AFTER inventing the "Tonkin Gulf incident" and launching aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in Southeast Asia, the Johnson Administration is now resorting to direct armed intervention against the people of the Congo (L). The U.S. Defence Department has officially announced that in addition to the emergency transportation of tanks, aircraft and other military materials to the Congo in aid of the puppet Tshombe regime, it has sent there more than 100 U.S. military personnel including 50 paratroopers, 56 air force crewmen and maintenance personnel. This is a major step taken by U.S. imperialism in scheming to unleash a bloody war of intervention against the Congo and a grave provocation against the Congolese and other African peoples.

Direct Aggression Against the Congo

Upon announcing this aggressive move, U.S. government officials quibbled that these U.S. troops "would engage in no operations," but would be "made available to the U.S. ambassador in the Congo for any assignments he might recommend." This is the most absurd nonsense. Has there ever been such an instance in the world in which the government of a country makes

troops armed to the teeth "available" to its ambassador accredited to another country? In reality, this wild and arrogant Washington statement is tantamount to a self-confession that the U.S. ambassador bosses over the Congo and that the Congo is already regarded as a U.S. colony. Can there be any other interpretation? It is an unalterable fact that the dispatch of U.S. troops to the Congo, whatever the number, is a direct aggression against the Congo.

This aggressive U.S. move is a serious step of military intervention taken after the recent peace fraud of the so-called "national reconciliation" was exposed. Not long ago, after the U.S. manipulated "U.N. force" was compelled to pull out of the Congo, the Johnson Administration, in order to disintegrate and wipe out the patriotic Congolese armed forces, collaborated with the old colonialists in restoring the imperialists' old-time flunkey Tshombe to power and viciously plotted the "national reconciliation" fraud. But, the Congolese people, with their rich experience of struggle, quickly exposed this trick. The revolutionary situation in the Congo is continuing to develop vigorously and irresistibly. The people's armed struggle recently has made great headway in the east, west, south and north. The patriotic Congolese armed forces not only captured Albertville, capital of North Katanga, long ago; recently they also captured Monono, a tin mining centre, and Stanleyville, the third largest city. In particular, the vast Congo countryside is under the control of the patriotic forces. The reactionary rule of the U.S.—

Kasavubu-Tshombe puppet clique is on the verge of disintegration.

Coming Out in the Open

It is in these circumstances that the Johnson Administration, alarmed and upset, has more strenuously contrived military intervention against the Congo. A few days ago, U.S. Under Secretary of State Averell Harriman went to Brussels to confer with the Belgian old colonialists on a pernicious scheme for joint intervention against the Congo. Shortly afterwards, G. Mennen Williams, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, went to Leopoldville to "discuss" with Tshombe the question of U.S. and Belgian "aid." As a matter of fact, U.S. military intervention against the Congo began long ago. A U.S. military advisory group has long been present in the Congo. U.S. aircraft have wantonly bombed the patriotic armed forces. Now, the U.S. announcement of large amounts of military aid to the puppet Tshombe clique and the dispatch of more than 100 military personnel to the Congo are further developments of events there. It can be seen clearly that the Johnson Administration, in its intervention against the Congo, is embarking step by step on the road of extensive direct military adventure. If in the past the U.S. imperialists hid themselves behind the "U.N. force" in carrying out bloody repressions against the Congolese people, now they have come out in the open and brandished their butcher's knife at the patriotic Congolese people.

A Prelude to Large-Scale Intervention

It must be pointed out that the Johnson Administration's aggressive action in sending more than 100 U.S. military personnel to the Congo is only a prelude to its large-scale armed intervention against that country. The whole set of tactics the United States is adopting in the Congo is extremely similar to those resorted to before it launched its war of aggression against south Viet Nam. Evidently, the Johnson Administration is seeking to turn the Congo into a second south Viet Nam and impose a U.S. war of aggression on the Congolese people. The aggressive action by U.S. imperialism in carrying out military intervention against the Congo, therefore, is a big threat not only to that country, but also to the independence and peace of all other African countries. Like the armed aggression unleashed by the United States several days ago against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration's aggressive moves against the Congo have once more exposed U.S. imperialism as the most ferocious common enemy of the oppressed nations and peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the rest of the world, and of all peace-loving countries and peoples the world over.

Direct military intervention does not in the least show the strength of the U.S. imperialist position in the Congo, but, on the contrary, it is a demonstration that the U.S. aggressive policy against that country is facing a dead end. The U.S. plan to make use of the "U.N. force" for aggression has proved ineffective. The United States is making a fresh attempt to invite the Belgian

old colonialists to serve its interests in the Congo. But it is highly doubtful if they, having been edged out by the U.S. new colonialists in the past, would now willingly pull the U.S. chestnuts out of the fire. Pushing its vicious plot of making "Africans fight Africans," the United States is also attempting to drag other African countries into the morass. But can the united African peoples allow U.S. imperialism to do this? The fact that the recent second summit conference of African countries rejected the participation of the Tshombe clique fully reflects the common will of the peoples of the African countries to oppose the stooges of the old and new colonialists in the Congo and support the patriotic, just struggle of the Congolese people. U.S. imperialism is putting its stake on the notorious Tshombe. The *New York Times* even described the Congo's No. 1 traitor who has been spurned by the Congolese people as the U.S. "best hopes." In coping with the Congolese people's national-liberation struggle, the Johnson Administration has no other alternative but to appear directly on the scene in the Congo. This is, indeed, the most deplorable thing for U.S. imperialism.

The Congolese People Stand Firm

The heroic Congolese people cannot be cowed into submission. They have seen clearly the malevolent features of U.S. imperialism. They will neither fall into the trap of any of its deceptive schemes, nor will they be frightened by its armed intervention. In protest against U.S. military personnel taking part in the suppression of the struggle of the Congolese people, the Congolese patriotic armed forces have demanded the withdrawal of the U.S. consulate from Stanleyville. The National Council for the Liberation of the Congo issued a bulletin warning the U.S. Government: "Any military aid given [by the U.S.] to the Tshombe government in the present circumstances will be considered an act of belligerency against the Congolese people and an interference in the internal affairs of the Congo." Should U.S. imperialism fail to heed this warning of the Congolese people and dare to take a direct part in the Congolese civil war and launch an aggressive war against the Congo, it will find itself deep in a quagmire in the heart of Africa, unable to extricate itself. Like the peoples of south Viet Nam and Cuba, the heroic Congolese people will surely tighten the loop round the neck of U.S. imperialism and deal heavy blows against the U.S. aggressors.

The Chinese people, together with the African peoples and the people of the whole world, wholeheartedly sympathize with and resolutely support the Congolese people's just and patriotic struggle. It is our firm belief that the Congolese people will win final victory in their struggle for national liberation so long as they sharpen their vigilance, strengthen their unity and persist in the struggle. U.S. imperialism and its flunkies in the Congo will meet with complete failure in the end whatever tactics they may adopt. The destiny of the Congo must be decided by the Congolese people themselves. No U.S. imperialist armed intervention against the Congo will be tolerated.

Chinese Scientists Welcome Peking Symposium

PEKING'S spanking new Hall of Science will be the scene of the capital's Scientific Symposium which is scheduled to open on August 20. Since the second week in August delegations from more than 40 countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania have been arriving. As summer wanes and Peking's crisp autumn appears on the horizon the assembled scientists can look forward to fine weather and a friendly atmosphere.

Opened on January 1, the Hall of Science on the northwest suburbs has been specially decked out for the big scientific event. The entrance to the spacious grounds housing three buildings has been adorned with colourful flags. A large streamer across the main building says: "To Friends From All Countries, Welcome to the Symposium!" A varied array of flowers and well-groomed lawns surround the buildings where the scientists will live and hold meetings. In preparation for the symposium, workers have been installing and checking microphones and earphones. Simultaneous translation of speeches and papers in four languages — Chinese, English, French and Spanish — will greatly help the delegates from so many countries exchange experience, discuss problems, learn from one another and bring about better understanding and co-operation.

Heading the 61-member Chinese delegation is noted physicist Chou Pei-yuan, Vice-President of Peking University and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association. In addition, there are 32 specially invited delegates.

Before the Peking Symposium got under way leading Chinese scientists expressed their wholehearted support and welcome in interviews with newsmen:

Chou Pei-yuan: I am looking forward to this international meeting as a happy occasion where Chinese scientists can learn from their colleagues from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. The people of many countries on these continents had similar experiences of oppression and enslavement. It is urgent to get together to exchange views and experience on problems such as the attainment and safeguarding of national independence, the development of our national economies and cultures, the improvement of the livelihood of our people, the raising of scientific levels in our countries and the training of young scientific workers. The symposium will be a victorious gathering of scientific workers from these continents. It will open a new era in scientific exchange between these regions.

Ting Ying, rice specialist: The holding of the Peking Symposium indicates that the day of the imperialist monopoly of science is gone. I am sure that the sym-

posium will play an important part in helping the growth of science in these countries.

Fu Lien-chang, President of the Chinese Medical Association: Chinese medical scientists will contribute ten papers to the symposium. We are eagerly looking forward to meeting our colleagues from different countries, sharing experience with them and discussing questions of medical science.

Chien Hsueh-sen, dynamics expert: The outright overlordism in science by U.S. imperialism is in line with its piratical attempts at aggression, oppression and control all over the world. We are firmly opposed to U.S. imperialism and I think the holding of this symposium conforms to a similar feeling among scientists from these four continents.

Hou Teh-pang, chemical engineer: The enthusiastic support for the symposium by scientists of many countries shows that the people there are determined to develop their national economy, science and culture with their own resources.

Hua Loo-keng, mathematician: Scientists from these four continents have had a similar experience of oppression and discrimination and have common aspirations for building their own countries. We will break the imperialist monopoly of science and we shall use science to improve our people's living standards, build up and defend our own countries, strive for world peace and struggle against imperialism.

Ai Szu-chi, philosopher: The discussions by the social scientists will add to the understanding of what methods the people should use to strive for complete victory in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for the transformation of once backward countries into advanced ones. Discussions among the philosophers will contribute to the solution of problems concerning the establishment of a revolutionary world outlook and the prevention of corrosion by imperialist and revisionist ideas.

Chang Yu-yu, jurist: It is the common task of jurists to oppose imperialism and new and old colonialism. We must completely destroy imperialist and colonialist law and free ourselves from its influence, and we must establish a new law which coincides with the interests and demands of the people and which is based on actual conditions in our own countries.

Hsueh Mu-chiao, economist: For many years, the people of the countries on these four continents have gained much experience in the struggle for national economic development and the building of their countries. I am convinced that through exchanging experience and by learning from and encouraging each other scientists will make new contributions to the cause of revolution and construction in these countries.

China's Economic and Technical Aid To Other Countries

by AI CHING-CHU

EQUALITY and mutual benefit, mutual support, respect for the recipient countries' sovereignty and absence of any attached conditions—these are the basic principles guiding China's economic and technical aid to foreign countries.

In the dark years of old China, the Chinese people were subjected to untold enslavement and plunder by the imperialist powers. Their heroic and unyielding struggles have earned them the right to live equally and independently among the world's nations. From the day of its founding the People's Republic of China, as a socialist country, has stood firmly for equality among countries and has opposed the imperialist policy of aggression, especially the rabid plans for world domination by U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people will never bully others, nor will they allow others to ride roughshod over them and order them about.

At the same time, the people of China hold that the struggles waged by the proletariat and other working people of different countries are indivisibly linked together. The imperialists' domineering acts have stirred up an angry wave of resistance among the oppressed peoples and nations everywhere. Struggles of the peoples, no matter how far apart they are from each other geographically, are closely co-ordinated and mutually supporting. In the united front of the peoples against imperialism, those countries where revolution has triumphed, including the socialist and anti-imperialist nationalist countries, also assist and support each other in their national construction.

China's Economic Relations With Fraternal And Friendly Countries

The Chinese people are guided by these conceptions in handling their economic relations with fraternal and friendly countries.

Proletarian internationalism is the principle guiding China in her economic relations with the fraternal countries in the socialist camp. The common aim of the proletariat of the world and of the people of the socialist countries is to realize the great ideal of communism and build a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man. In the light of this common aim, the socialist countries should assist and support each other; each country should exchange what it has for what it hasn't and what it abounds for what it lacks. On the basis of self-reliance,

they should promote the common upsurge of their respective economies and continuously increase the strength of the socialist camp; at the same time, they should treat each other as equals and respect each other's independence and sovereignty. In this spirit, the Chinese people have consistently worked for strengthening economic co-operation with fraternal countries.

The Chinese people greatly appreciate and are eternally grateful for the support given by the fraternal countries to China's socialist construction. At the same time, they regard it as their bounden duty to support their fraternal countries in national construction.

Economic and technical co-operation between China and friendly nationalist countries is built on the five principles: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. It is also carried out in the spirit of mutual support. Despite the fact that China and these friendly countries have different social and political systems they are bound closely together by their common experiences under imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression, their common struggle to oppose imperialism, safeguard national independence and defend world peace and their common task of national construction. This has opened up great practical possibilities for their economic and technical co-operation.

When China offers economic and technical aid to these friendly countries, she regards them as close friends who can sincerely co-operate in a common task. By persisting in their struggle against imperialism and continuously increasing their anti-imperialist strength, the new emerging independent countries are rendering great support to China as well as to the people of the rest of the world who cherish peace and justice. In providing them with aid, China has done nothing more than her share of international duty. How can it be conceived that such mutual support would have any conditions or privileges attached?

The Nature of Imperialist "Aid"

To anyone who respects facts, it is clear that the "aid" given by the imperialist countries which are pursuing a "jungle law" policy is characterized by severe conditions and demands for a variety of privileges. A most typical example is the "aid" by U.S. imperialism. While exporting large sums of government

capital in the form of foreign "aid," the U.S. Government uses its "aid" to interfere crudely in the internal affairs of the recipient countries, seize various privileges to make investments, dump commodities, and plunder raw and strategic materials in these countries, and force them to follow its dictates. It even resorts to subversion to turn them into its satellites.

Today when the revolutionary storm is sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. imperialism, of course, sometimes has to adopt certain hypocritical measures, using small favours as bait to trap recipient countries. But no nominal changes, however numerous, can conceal the true nature of U.S. "aid."

In the 1960s anyone is bound sooner or later to be rolling in the dust if, defying justice he tries to fish in troubled waters behind a smokescreen of "aid," and indulges in subversion, in the new emerging independent countries. He will be sneered at if he poses as a "benefactor" because he has provided others with something, and throws his weight around, demanding privileges.

In the field of international economics, as in others, all the intrigues of imperialism and the reactionary forces in its service will eventually go bankrupt. The principles of equality and mutual benefit and mutual support and respect will break through every barrier put up by all reactionary forces and play their role with overwhelming efficiency.

Aim of China's Foreign Aid

The aim of China's economic and technical aid for foreign countries is to help them gradually build and develop their independent national economies by relying on their own efforts.

The success of a revolution in any country depends first of all on the struggle of its people; no outsiders can do the job for them. Similarly, a country which has taken an independent path must rely in the main on the spirit of its people for hard work, the display of their wisdom and the full utilization of its own resources to build its own economic system in the light of its specific conditions.

The Chinese people have consistently carried out the policy of relying mainly on their own efforts in their revolutionary struggle and economic construction. Their experiences and those of many fraternal countries have fully confirmed that this policy is practical and effective.

Some might ask: Is this not in conflict with the principle of mutual support among the people of different countries? No, not in the least. Only on the basis of self-reliance is it possible to render mutual support. Only on this basis, too, can foreign aid play its proper role through internal factors.

Under the savage rule of imperialism and colonialism in the past, the rich natural resources of the new emerging independent countries were unscrupu-

lously plundered and the wisdom of their working people was inhibited. This has resulted in the lop-sided development of their economies and the impoverishment of their people. After winning their political independence, the people of these countries demand that, while continuing to persist in their struggle against imperialism and old and neo-colonialism, they should build up their independent national economies as quickly as possible and catch up with the world's advanced level of economic development. Thus, by consolidating their political independence with their national economies free of foreign control, they can eliminate the internal economic sources of comeback attempts by imperialism and old and neo-colonialism and forestall all the reactionaries' schemes of subversion. It is necessary for these countries to rely steadfastly on the strength of their people, energetically develop their domestic resources and bring into full play all the potentialities at home, while receiving aid from friendly countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. So long as they do this it is certain that they will be able to build up and develop their independent national economies according to their specific domestic conditions. This will enable them to support the struggles of the people of other countries.

Objective conditions vary from country to country. For instance, among the countries with vast land and rich natural resources some may have large populations, while others may be sparsely populated. There are also countries with a relatively small area and a big population but rich in special products. In short, each country has its own favourable conditions for developing its economy. If every country implements a correct policy of economic development in accordance with its specific conditions and practises economic co-operation with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, international economic co-operation will become two-way traffic. Each country will exchange what it has for what it hasn't and what it abounds for what it lacks.

Helping Recipients Build Independent Economies

Proceeding from the principle of equality and mutual benefit and mutual support, China's foreign aid aims at helping the recipient countries to regenerate by their own efforts; she never has any national egoism in mind. Based entirely on the practical needs of and possibilities existing in the recipient countries, China helps them build and develop their independent national economies. She never starts from her own economic interests and tries to serve its own economy by placing the economies of the recipient countries in a dependent position.

First, in the light of the natural conditions of the countries concerned, China helps them to make use of all favourable factors to develop a diversified agriculture suited to domestic needs. No attempt is made to turn them into mere bases for supplying her with certain agricultural products.

Eight Principles Governing China's Economic and Technical Aid to Other Countries

As Set Forth by Premier Chou En-lai During His Visit to Africa
(Dec. 1963 - Feb. 1964)

1. The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual.
2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.
3. The Chinese Government provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.
4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China, but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development.
5. The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.
6. The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.
7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique.
8. The experts dispatched by the Chinese Government to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of those countries. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

Secondly, wherever conditions permit, China helps the recipient countries to develop a comprehensive industrial system covering the entire process from raw materials to finished products. She has not the slightest intention of transforming them into sites where parts of her own machines are assembled and her raw materials are processed. In the case of some countries, China helps them, first of all, to produce materials in temporary shortage which are necessary for the building of a particular industry. Taking into consideration climatic and soil conditions in one country, for example, China helps experiment in growing sugar cane. When this experiment is successful, with sugar cane acreage increasing from small patches to large areas, China will then assist in constructing sugar refineries and establishing a sugar industry in that country.

Thirdly, China aids the development of the minerals-processing industries in some countries which lack the capacity to process their rich mineral resources. An end is put to the unfavourable situation in which the minerals were directly exported. China does not regard these countries as bases for supplying her with low-priced industrial raw materials.

Fourthly, instead of regarding the recipient countries as markets for her commodities, China assists them in establishing enterprises to produce certain daily necessities for which they no longer depend on imports as they did in the past. With Chinese aid some countries have built enterprises which produce traditional

imports from China. For instance, a friendly country will produce tea hitherto supplied by China, because, with Chinese aid, she is building tea plantations and factories. Such prospects do not affect in the least China's sincere assistance to the recipient countries in building certain branches of production.

Facts speak louder than words. The striking contrast between the aim of China's economic and technical aid for foreign countries and the ulterior motives behind the foreign "aid" of imperialism and all the reactionary forces in its service is clear to all.

Interest-Free and Low-Interest Loans

In accordance with the above-mentioned principles and aims, China has offered, within the reach of her means, genuine economic and technical aid in personnel, material and finance to a number of countries in line with their needs. Part of this aid was given gratis while the rest took the form of interest-free or low-interest loans.

China's economic aid to other countries began with the founding of the People's Republic. In the early days of New China, because the Kuomintang reactionaries left the economy in chaos and much damage had to be repaired at that time, the task of economic rehabilitation was tremendous and the nation faced serious economic difficulties. Even in those days, however, the Chinese people, inspired by their sense of internationalist duty, showed no hesitation to undertake their

obligation of assisting fraternal countries. They did so as an expression of their deep gratitude for the great support given them by the fraternal countries on the anti-imperialist front and as an indication of their profound feelings that they share weal and woe with the people of the fraternal countries.

With the development of economic construction and the constant growth of economic strength in China following the successful completion of her economic rehabilitation, the nation's economic and technical aid to other countries has gradually increased both in scale and scope. China now has established economic and technical co-operation relations with many countries, offering them different kinds of aid.

Loans by China to fraternal and friendly countries are favourable both in form and in substance.

Distinguished from some countries' loans at exorbitant rates, a major part of these loans are free of interest and a small part are at very low interest rates. The periods of repayment are all rather long. These loans have no political, economic or other conditions attached. China neither asks the recipient countries to follow her policy nor requests them to repay the loans with specific raw materials or other commodities. She considers that to do otherwise would be to use the loans as a means of infringing upon the sovereignty of the recipient countries, interfering in their internal affairs, plundering their resources and impairing their national interests. China regards these sordid actions as impermissible in contemporary international relations.

When a recipient country finds real difficulty in repaying a loan when it is due, China fully understands this and extends the time limit of repayment. She never exacts the repayment of her loans, still less uses them to apply political pressure.

Similarly, in the use of loans, China respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, refraining from interference or supervision. China does not want to benefit at the expense of others. Instead, the government departments concerned in China always give every consideration to a recipient country, regarding its national construction as that of their own country. They make positive suggestions on the rational use of a loan. But in the end how to use the loan is decided entirely by the recipient country herself.

Assistance in Construction Projects

Part of China's foreign loans have been used to help recipient countries build projects with complete sets of equipment, including enterprises of all types in textiles, food, machine-building, metallurgical, chemical, electric-power, building materials and other branches of industry as well as highway and other transportation facilities. Completion of these construction projects will satisfy certain long-term needs of the national economy of the recipient countries, helping them gradually to build independent economic systems. Other portions of loans go to supply various materials urgently needed by these countries.

In helping a country build projects with complete sets of equipment Chinese personnel adopt a serious and thorough-going attitude from start to finish — from the decision on construction projects, through choice of construction sites, preparation of designs, breaking ground and the supply of installations to the commissioning of the projects. They never take things lightly or do their job perfunctorily. China never unilaterally forsakes her obligations by scrapping contracts when half completed.

The Chinese departments in charge undertake to acquaint themselves with the concrete conditions necessary for building an enterprise — supply of raw materials, marketing, transport and communications, manpower, technical force and so on — before they hold detailed consultations with the recipient countries to decide on the construction projects under China's foreign aid programme. To the limit of her ability, China offers to help these countries build those projects which they really need and for which the necessary conditions exist. As regards the new emerging countries which won their independence not long ago, China gives priority, as far as possible, to helping them establish some enterprises producing certain daily necessities, enterprises which require a small amount of investment and a short period of construction but which yield quick results. This is intended to help the countries reduce, more quickly than usual, their disbursement of foreign exchange for imported daily necessities, increase revenue and accumulate funds for construction, thus creating conditions for the further growth of their national economies.

Guided by the principles of suiting local conditions, economizing on funds and raw materials, facilitating practical use and ensuring short periods of construction and good quality of goods produced, the Chinese designing departments do all they can to perfect their designs of the projects with complete sets of equipment under China's foreign aid programme. They use the most advanced buildings and technical equipment available at China's present technological level.

At the request of the countries concerned, China sends experts to give technical assistance in constructing projects.

Faced with economic difficulties, the outcome of prolonged exploitation by imperialism and colonialism, some countries lack materials and technical staff for building enterprises. In such cases, China handles the major share in the construction of a given project, undertaking to supply the necessary building materials and machines and send a larger number of experts and skilled workers so that the recipient country can complete the project as soon as possible.

Best Equipment Provided

The sets of equipment and material supplied by China are of the best possible quality in terms of present Chinese technological level. Top priority goes

to the plan for production of foreign aid goods whose quality is fully guaranteed in the way of raw and other materials, technical force and other factors. By means of their plans for fulfilling their tasks in producing foreign aid goods, the Chinese government departments in charge see to it that everything will be taken care of by the productive units concerned. Like other personnel of the departments in charge of foreign aid, all those producing these goods work with great care and vigour.

For China, aid to foreign countries is not an opportunity for selling off obsolete equipment and material — substituting old for new and passing off bad-quality goods as good-quality. Instead, if any single product provided to foreign countries is found to fall short of specifications and quality agreed upon, China undertakes to make good its replacement.

In determining the price of equipment and material under her foreign aid programme, China abides by the principle of being fair and reasonable, based on prevailing international market prices. There can be no question of making a profit by raising prices at will. In the process of settling accounts, if any individual product is found inappropriately priced, the Chinese government departments concerned offer to make the necessary readjustment.

In the supply of complete sets of equipment, China, upon request, adopts two methods to help the recipient countries master technique so that when completed the projects concerned will go into successful production. The methods are: 1) to send Chinese experts to work in the recipient countries; and 2) to invite their personnel to practise in China.

In addition, China also gives other types of technical assistance — technical assistance other than supply of complete sets of equipment — to some countries in industry, agriculture, transport and communications and other branches of the national economy.

Chinese Personnel Dedicated to International Co-operation

Chinese experts, when they are working abroad or coaching foreign personnel studying technology in China, pass on their technical know-how without reservation. They spare no effort to make sure the personnel of the countries involved will master the technique.

At home, Chinese expert and technical personnel regard themselves both as technical workers in a specialized line and as ordinary workers serving the masses — above all as the latter. Similarly, when they are sent by the Chinese Government to work in fraternal or friendly countries, they are expected to behave like ordinary workers — sharing the joys and hardships of the personnel of the host country, working in close unity with them, wholeheartedly helping them to

master skills, strictly abiding by the laws of the land and respecting the customs and habits of its people.

Living up to what is demanded of them by their Government, Chinese experts and technical personnel in foreign countries work in a down-to-earth manner to fulfil the honourable mission entrusted to them by their people. Overcoming the difficulties of unaccustomed climatic conditions which are often vastly different from those in China, they give technical guidance on the spot. Working together with the personnel of the host countries, they display the spirit of hard work and plain living. Unassuming and amiable, they neither regard themselves as “benefactors” who ask for special treatment nor put on airs as experts. While passing on their technical knowledge to their colleagues in foreign countries, they unassumingly learn from the merits of the working people there. Chinese experts and technical personnel have developed fraternal and deep friendship with the functionaries and the general public of host countries and have won praise from their governments. Many Chinese experts have received awards and commendations from foreign governments. Some have died at their posts abroad dedicated to the cause of co-operation between China and fraternal and friendly countries.

China holds that a socialist country led by the working class should adopt nothing other than the above-mentioned serious attitude in giving economic and technical aid to fraternal and friendly countries. She maintains that in doing so she is merely performing her international duty and that it is nothing to boast about.

With China's present economy still relatively backward, the contribution she can make to the national construction of fraternal and friendly countries is small. Certain pieces of equipment and technical assistance given by China to some foreign countries need further improvement. But, as a Chinese saying goes, “Distance tells the strength of horses; time tells the mind of men.” The sincere intention shown by China will stand the test of time and history.

The Chinese people are clearly aware of their responsibility to all progressive mankind. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, “...for China, a land with 9.6 million square kilometres and 600 million people, ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity. Her contribution over a long period in the past has been far too small. We are rather ashamed of that.”¹ With the speedy growth of socialist construction in China and the rapid increase in economic and technical strength, the Chinese people will make greater contributions to the cause of economic co-operation with fraternal and friendly countries, speeding up the realization of mankind's bright future by more practical deeds.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, “In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen,” *Dr. Sun Yat-sen* [Commemorative articles and speeches by Mao Tse-tung, Soong Ching Ling, Chou En-lai and others,] Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, pp.10-11.

The Drive for Wider Range and Better Quality

by CHANG JEN-TI

Compared with three years ago there has been a remarkable rise in the technical level of China's iron and steel industry. It has entered a new stage of development. This is characterized by a big increase in new products; improved quality; and greater ability to produce independently the iron and steel goods needed by the nation for socialist construction.

THIS new stage comes on the basis of the rapid growth of production made during the big leap forward of the three years 1958-60 and following implementation of the policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" which began in 1961. (See *Peking Review*, 1964, No. 11.)

Wide Range of New Products

China can now produce hundreds of new products and thousands of new specifications of forgings and rolled stock which she could not make before 1961.

The new forgings and rolled stock range from locomotive tyres, 18C channel iron for making tractor beams, high-tensile steel plate for bridge building, U-piling bars for big civil engineering and water conservancy projects, steel plate for manufacturing high-pressure containers and high-pressure seamless tubes in chemical fertilizer equipment to over a dozen products for the watch-making industry, card wire for the textile industry and precision steel wire and rolled steel.

Also of great significance is the production of many new high-grade steels and rolled stock. Many new high-temperature alloy and precision alloy steels and other special rolled steels are now being mass produced. Their output is rising steadily. In 1963 production of high-quality steel and alloy steel was four times what it was in 1957. This increase includes the output of high-grade silicon sheet and 23 other varieties of rolled stock much needed for the national economy.

Improved Quality

The quality of all iron and steel products has markedly improved over the past few years. In 1963 new quality records were set for pig iron, steel and various types of rolled steel. Compared with last year, a bigger percentage of iron and steel produced in the first six months of 1964 was up to standard. Most rolled steel produced is now of first-rate quality.

The Anshan Iron and Steel Company is the country's biggest metallurgical enterprise. Here the quality of pig iron, steel ingot, steel billet, rolled steel as well as sintering ores and metallurgical coke produced last

year was generally higher than planned. The up-to-standard percentage of pig iron and steel produced by other enterprises also met state plan requirements.

Not only the giant plants are distinguishing themselves in this field. Many small and medium-sized works are manufacturing a bigger percentage of top-quality products. For 16 months until last May, not a single ton of sub-standard pig iron was produced by the Peking Shihchingshan Iron and Steel Company.

Better quality in the iron and steel industry has in most cases gone hand in hand with economies in the use of raw materials, fuel and electricity. In the first half of 1964, some 16 main norms for raw materials and fuel consumption were the lowest achieved by the industry in the past 15 years. The productivity of blast furnaces and open hearths has also been raised considerably.

During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), China was about 75 per cent self-sufficient in forgings and rolled stock. Now it is over 90 per cent self-sufficient. It is now basically self-sufficient in forgings and rolled stock of all specifications needed by the automobile, tractor, machine tool, heavy machine-building, petroleum, chemical, textile and other light industries.

Shanghai gives a vivid example of the success of this drive for independence. Pre-liberation Shanghai had only a few small steel works which were technically very backward. Most of the rolled steel the city used had to be imported. Now, Shanghai has become one of China's major iron and steel producing centres. Its own plants provide it with 80 per cent of the varieties of rolled stock it needs for its industrial development.

Helping Agriculture and Industry

These advances in China's iron and steel industry, and particularly the greater range of its products and their improved quality, are playing an effective role in supporting the technical transformation of agriculture and industry and laying the foundation for establishing by self-reliant efforts an independent and comprehensive industrial system. They are naturally of great significance in bringing about the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology.

Agriculture. In recent years, the iron and steel industry has been providing the agricultural machinery industry with large quantities of rolled stock. This is being used to promote the technical transformation of agriculture by providing it with more tractors, lorries, power generators, drainage and irrigation equipment and chemical fertilizer. Statistics show that 13 per

cent more rolled steel was turned out for this purpose in 1963 than in 1962. When the Loyang No. 1 Tractor Works went into operation four years ago, most of the 400 specifications of forgings and rolled stock used in making the "Dongfanghong" (East Is Red) tractor had to be imported. Now most of this stock is produced in China. "China-made" is stamped on 98 per cent of the steel products now used in the automobile industry.

China also supplies herself with most of the 1,000 specifications of forgings and rolled stock used to make machinery for nitrogenous fertilizer plants with an annual capacity of 25,000 tons of synthetic ammonia. The home industry has also increased its production of the various specifications of rolled steel needed to manufacture pumps for farming, transformers and other equipment for transmission lines.

The industry has not by any means overlooked production of the various kinds of rolled steel used for small farm implements. In 1963, handicraft workshops all over China used this steel to make 145 million shovels, hoes, picks and other small tools for the rural people's communes. The Shanghai No. 2 Iron and Steel Plant introduced a novel type of rolled steel which has the basic shape of the more commonly used small farm implements and can easily be made into shovels, hoes and other tools. This has been enthusiastically welcomed by the peasants. Using this as raw material, a village blacksmith can cut his wastage of raw materials by 50 per cent, and also save much time.

Industry. By providing the various types of rolled steel most urgently needed in production and construction, the iron and steel industry has greatly facilitated industrial progress. Most of these products are high-quality alloy steels which are stainless, irregularly shaped, heat resisting and can stand up well to high

pressure and corrosion. Among the most important of these steels are high-pressure hydrogen-resisting steel tubes for oil pipes; low temperature steel plate which will not lose its shape even under 50° C below zero (suitable for ocean-going steamers and ice-breakers); low alloy high-tensile steel plate for bridge building; strip steel for saw blades used in the lumber industry; stainless tubes for the artificial fibre industry, and other steels for precision machine tools and meters. The iron and steel industry has also cooperated enthusiastically and successfully in producing rolled steels needed in light industry and for mass-produced domestic utensils.

Technical Innovations

The leadership, workers and technicians of the industry have shown an exemplary scientific spirit and revolutionary initiative in trial producing many new items. Incomplete statistics show that in 1963 alone, 508 new items were produced. This was more than twice as many as in 1962.

The mass movement for technical innovation that has spread throughout the industry has played a big role in solving the many technical problems that have cropped up in this great drive to produce a bigger range of better goods. In 1963 alone, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company studied and widely popularized 890 advanced methods evolved in the plant and other enterprises, and solved 6,200 key technical problems big and small.

The steady advance of the industry over the past years has been continued this year. In the first half of 1964, the industry overfulfilled the state targets in all main products. Quality has been further raised. Over 300 new specifications of forgings and rolled stock were successfully produced. A number of them have already been put into mass production.

The Militia in Chinese People's Revolutionary Wars

by LIU YUN-CHENG

IN the course of their protracted revolutionary wars, the Chinese people created a strong militia as well as a powerful people's army. These two forces—army and militia—combined to make up the mighty armed force of the Chinese people with the aid of which they liberated themselves, defeating the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries who were armed to the teeth.

Special Features of Militia

The founding and fostering of both army and militia have been guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking on the people's war. Both forces are under the firm leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, but the militia has certain characteristics and features that distinguish it from the army. These are as follows:

1) It is the military force of the masses, whose members are not disengaged from their civilian employments. Its units are made up of producers—the working people—bearing arms; and its organization, combining labour power with armed strength is at once military and civilian in character.

2) It is organized on a voluntary and democratic basis, its daily life is ordered on the principle of democratic centralism; its leading members at all levels are, in general, elected democratically.

3) It is an armed organization which has the character of the entire people. It is a vast organization whose many members are scattered widely throughout the villages and cities and engage in various occupations.

During the long revolutionary wars, the militia and the army relied on and helped each other and fought in close co-operation. The militia was a capable assistant as well as a strong reserve of the army while the army gave great help to the militia in equipment, training and in combat. The experience of the Chinese people's revolutionary wars has proved that the militia was the foundation of the people's war while the army was its backbone. Without a strong army, the revolutionary forces would not have been able to wipe out the main forces of the enemy nor would they have been able to wage decisive strategic battles; the militia itself would not have been able to exist and develop and it would have been impossible for the people to carry the revolution to victory. On the other hand, without the powerful co-ordinated help of the militia, the army would not have been able to gain the victory over the strong enemy forces it faced, both domestic and foreign.

People's Armed Forces in First Revolutionary Civil War

The reactionary classes of old China did not hesitate to use naked force to maintain their rule and ruthless exploitation of the people. In organizing themselves to achieve their liberation, therefore, the oppressed people inevitably faced the problem of taking up arms in self-defence. In leading the workers' and peasants' movements as early as the initial stage of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), the young Chinese Communist Party actively took up the task of arming the workers and peasants. The well-known National Institute of the Peasant Movement organized by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in Canton paid particular attention to military training and to education in the knowledge of armed struggle. In March 1927, Comrade Mao Tse-tung published his famous *Report of an Investigation Into the Peasant Movement in Hunan* which put forward the revolutionary call to "overthrow the landlords' armed forces and build up the peasants' armed forces!" Under his guidance, the peasant movement spread vigorously and armed organizations of the peasant masses were created in quite a number of areas. Many armed organizations of the people were also set up as part of the vigorous development of the workers' and students' movements. These gave tremendous support to the Northern Expedition launched by the revolutionary forces in July 1926, against the imperialist-backed warlords of north, central and east China.

However, Chen Tu-hsiu, then leader of the Communist Party, stubbornly upheld the erroneous Right-opportunist line. In this as in other questions of revolutionary action, he not only entirely overlooked the importance of revolutionary control over the armed forces,



Militiamen demolish enemy pillbox during War of Resistance Against Japan
1944 photo by Chou Yu-wen

but adopted a liquidationist attitude as well even towards those workers' and peasants' armed forces which had already been created. He submitted to the pressure of the reactionaries, disbanded a large number of the armed organizations of the workers and peasants, and handed their weapons over to the reactionaries. This was why the Chinese Communist Party failed to organize an effective resistance and the military forces of the masses everywhere suffered severe losses when Chiang Kai-shek staged his counter-revolutionary coup on April 12, 1927, and began his bloody suppression of the Communist Party and the revolutionary people.

The Militia in Second Revolutionary Civil War

Following the failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War, the Chinese Communist Party ended the errors caused by Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism and a series of armed insurrections were launched one after another in 1927, namely: the Nanchang Uprising on August 1, the Autumn Harvest Uprising in October and the Canton Uprising on December 11. This brought into being a real people's army led by the Chinese Communist Party — the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. In particular, the march on the Chingkang Mountains on the Hunan-Kiangsi border of the workers' and peasants' military force led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung marked the beginning of the successful establishment of the first armed revolutionary base area in the history of the Chinese revolution — a base which served as the staging area for the Party to engage victoriously in armed struggle. From that moment on the Chinese people had an army which was led by the Chinese Communist Party and wholeheartedly dedicated to their service, and also a revolutionary base area where the people's power was established. Comrade Mao Tse-tung

regarded the building of armed organizations of the masses as a matter of strategic importance. He linked this task closely to the building of a revolutionary army and revolutionary base areas; he looked upon these organizations as important component parts of the people's armed force and considered their creation an important aspect of the building of the revolutionary base areas. Correctly solving a series of problems concerning the building and operations of armed organizations of the masses, he founded the militia system of the armed people.

With the effective co-operation of the militia, the Chinese Red Army smashed the enemy campaigns of encirclement time and again and consolidated and expanded the revolutionary base areas. It was only because of the rise to domination of "Left" opportunism inside the Party, resulting in the exclusion of Comrade Mao Tse-tung from the leadership, especially in military affairs, and the complete negation of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line, that the rapidly growing revolutionary movement suffered a serious setback. The mistake of the "Left"-opportunist line in military affairs lay in the fact that its advocates failed to understand the characteristics of a people's war and for the correct people's war substituted so-called "regular" warfare. As a result, the Red Army suffered a tremendous defeat. Furthermore, since its role had been minimized and all arms had been concentrated in the hands of the Red Army, the militia was greatly weakened.

The erroneous "Left" line did untold harm to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. The Party and the people learnt a most profound lesson from those events. At the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in January 1935 in Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, the rule of the "Left"-opportunist line in the Party's Central Committee was brought to an end and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership was firmly established in the Central Committee and throughout the Party and army. This saved the Chinese revolution and guaranteed its advance to victory.

Militia in War of Resistance Against Japan

After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937, the people's forces led by the Chinese Communist Party and guided by the correct line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung penetrated deep behind the enemy lines, mobilized the broad masses of the people and waged guerrilla warfare on a wide scale. As the people grasped Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking on the people's war more thoroughly, the slogan of "turn the entire population into a military force" was carried out in all the liberated areas, and militia organizations developed on an unprecedented scale.

The militia forces continued to grow as the War of Resistance Against Japan developed. Using weapons of every kind and every means to attack the enemy, they increased their operations to a level never before reached. The remarkable innovations in guerrilla tac-

tics and methods of struggle devised by the masses greatly enriched the concept of guerrilla warfare.

The people's militia were obliged to repulse the converging attacks of the Kuomintang reactionary forces, who were resisting the Japanese passively but fighting the Communists actively, but despite this, in co-ordination with the people's army, they engaged the bulk of the invading Japanese troops in China and nearly all the puppet troops, and so turned the enemy's rear into the main battlefield.

New Role of Militia in Third Revolutionary Civil War

During the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945-49) the decisive battles were fought between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution in China and the final victory for the revolution was won. During this period, the liberated areas, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, overhauled and further developed the people's militia organizations in order to defeat the attacks of the Kuomintang reactionaries and liberate all of China. The great land reform movement at that time brought into full play the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasant masses. Under the slogan of "defend the land received in the land reform and defend our homes!", the main force of militia rapidly increased to 5,500,000 men while tens of millions of people joined the ordinary militia, the People's Self-Defence Corps.

Under these new conditions, the fighting role of the militia took on the following new characteristics:

(1) The responsibility resting on the militia to defend its own locality became heavier as the main forces of the regular army fought highly concentrated engagements, made great movements of advance or withdrawal and as the liberated areas expanded. They assumed more arduous tasks in waging guerrilla warfare, pinning down enemy forces, consolidating the revolutionary regime and defending public security.

(2) The manpower needs of the people's army greatly increased as both mobile warfare and positional warfare were organized on a wide scale. The availability of large numbers of new recruits to reinforce the main forces became an essential guarantee for victory. The militia played an outstanding role in this respect.

(3) The work of the rear auxiliary services became very important as a costly war of attrition dragged on. The broad masses of militiamen organized powerful civilian labour corps to support the army, and thus effectively ensured victory in the war.

Unique Methods of Operation

In the Chinese people's revolutionary wars, the militia created, under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking on military affairs, a series of unique methods of operation which differed from those of both the regular army and the guerrilla units. Militiamen would gather either in groups or in twos and

threes, appear suddenly in the streets or on the roofs, and then disappear into the mountains, woods or behind the "green curtain" of tall crops; they would operate along the roadside waiting patiently for an opportunity to attack the enemy by surprise and hit him hard. They would run away swiftly leaving no trace behind when the enemy launched a counter-attack, and then emerge again raining bullets from all sides on an exhausted and hastily retreating enemy.

They laid mines around the enemy's fortified posts, on the roads or at places where the enemy was likely to go; they used all manner of means to drive or lure the enemy into traps of land mines, badly bruising and demoralizing him.

In covert and surprise actions they would demolish rail tracks, highways, means of communications, military depots, warehouses, arms factories and mines and other war material, creating all kinds of difficulties for the enemy.

In co-operation with the regular army and guerrilla units, they would organize armed blockades of and lay siege to enemy strongholds, eliminating them one by one, and wiping out the forces holding them.

They operated under extremely difficult conditions of acute struggle in areas criss-crossed with enemy-held strong points and communication lines and with the enemy repeatedly conducting "mopping-up" operations against them.

Militia operating on the plains built, at the cost of arduous efforts, an intricate tunnel network for the waging of "tunnel warfare."

In combat, the militia would gather or disperse suddenly, appearing now here now there, "making a feint to the east but attacking in the west," mysteriously

appearing and disappearing behind the enemy lines. In this way, the enemy could find neither a target for attack nor a well-defined battle front. He was constantly being caught unawares and reduced to such a plight as if he were surrounded on all sides by hostile forces.

Being local people, the militia were familiar with the local inhabitants and the layout of their districts. They were able to penetrate deep into and reconnoitre the enemy's fortified places and they could post sentries right up to the walls of enemy fortresses. They kept the people's army well-informed, and by preventing the enemy from getting information kept him "deaf and blind." This was of great help to the people's army enabling it to take full advantage of the enemy's weaknesses, and concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy force one by one.

Co-operation With Army and Guerrillas

The militia played an even more important role in effective co-operation with the regular army and the guerrillas. The revolutionary militia, together with the great masses of the people, did yeoman's work in support of the army at the front. They performed all sorts of supply services: carrying grain, fodder and ammunition for the army, caring for sick and wounded soldiers and taking them to places of safety.

Militiamen also played a big part in maintaining social order and strengthening public security behind the front. They took on the responsibility of keeping guard, questioning suspicious outsiders, sealing off sources of information and combing out spies.

In the newly liberated areas, notorious gangsters and ne'er-do-wells left over from the old society were more often than not found colluding with reactionary elements for evil purposes. As soon as the militia was soundly organized, however, these armed bandits were deprived of their footholds and were quickly cornered and dealt with. The establishment of militia also curbed the counter-revolutionary activities of local landlords, despots and other reactionary forces and forced them to behave themselves. This greatly facilitated the efforts of the revolutionary people's power to bring them under surveillance and remould them. At the same time those who were still bold enough to engage in counter-revolutionary activities could be promptly and vigorously suppressed. With such a powerful armed force of the masses of the people at its service the people's power in the revolutionary base areas became more firmly established than ever and the army could concentrate on fighting at the front without worrying about the rear.



Militiamen parade on National Day in Peking

The members of the militia form a powerful reserve for the P.L.A. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always advocated that the growth and replenishment of the Chinese People's Liberation Army should be based on the extensive development of the militia. During the protracted revolutionary wars, the militia was from the very outset the best and most important source of replenishment for the P.L.A. The most important advantage of having a militia as a manpower reserve of the people's army is that it provides a reliable guarantee that the armed forces' reinforcement needs can be promptly met at all times both in quality and quantity.

Combining Fighting With Production

Militiamen are at once defenders of the country and a shock brigade in production and construction. This combining of combat operations with production, and of labour power with fighting power is a fine tradition of the militia and one of the most outstanding advantages of the militia system. In the long and difficult years of the revolutionary wars, the enemy was constantly engaged in operations designed to encircle and "mop up" the revolutionary base areas. In carrying out these plans they did all they could to wreck production and construction in these areas. Under such circumstances, the only way to support the long drawn out revolutionary war and bring it to a victorious conclusion was by developing production on a self-reliant basis so as to guarantee the livelihood of the people of the revolutionary bases and supply the army with its needs. At the same time it was only by stepping up the armed struggle, constantly attacking and inflicting casualties on the enemy and thus defending and consolidating the base areas that production and construction could be carried on in these areas in security.

The combining of fighting operations and productive work thus became a fundamental principle guiding militia activities in war time. Living up to the spirit of holding "a rifle in one hand and a hoe in the other," militiamen were always in a state of preparedness, ready to go into action while going about their productive tasks. Under unified leadership, militiamen from various villages set up combined inter-village defence lines and networks and sentry posts; they established close contacts with and supported each other in a planned way, so as to pool their efforts effectively to counteract the harassing and sabotage activities of the enemy and provide a secure defence for the great popular drive for production in the revolutionary base areas. The operations of the militia to prevent enemy plunder and sabotage became particularly tense and active when the harvest season set in. At these times they set up "security lines" to protect the peasants as they harvested, threshed and stored the grain in double-quick time. Not infrequently, militiamen did the sowing or harvest at a rush at the foot of the enemy's fortresses under cover of gunfire. Other tactics had to be used to cope with the enemy's raids on villages when

they burnt, slaughtered and pillaged in blind fury. In such cases, the people in the revolutionary base areas with their militiamen as their organized core saw to it that there was the minimum left for the enemy to burn or pillage. Houses were emptied and the fields as well. Grain was hidden or secretly buried along with furniture and other things not needed for the time being. When the enemy entered a village so prepared, they could not find a single soul, a grain of food or sometimes even a drop of water; what greeted them were mines and booby-traps ready to explode at any time.

Guided by the policy of combining fighting with production, militiamen also made their own weapons and thus successfully solved the problem of shortage of arms during engagements.

Indispensable Instrument in Armed Struggle

China's revolutionary wars showed that the militia was an important and indispensable instrument of the Chinese people in waging their armed struggles. That the Chinese people were able to set up and consolidate revolutionary bases in the countryside from where they encircled and finally seized the cities and that the P.L.A. was able to develop from a small, weak force into a large, strong army and defeat the better-equipped enemy is inseparable from the deeds of the militia.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking on the people's war is based on the objective truth that "the people are the makers of history." The brilliant successes achieved by our militiamen during the revolutionary wars were a great triumph for his thinking on the people's war. Proceeding from the viewpoint that "the richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people"¹ and that "as the revolutionary war is a war of the masses, we can carry out the war only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them,"² Comrade Mao Tse-tung creatively put forward a series of principles concerning the establishment of a people's army and its strategy and tactics which enable it to keep at all times in closest contact with the masses of the people; he also initiated the militia system, which provides an organizational form through which the masses have been armed and the whole nation has been turned into soldiers. In this way, the broad masses of the people are fully mobilized and organized to act in unison in direct or indirect operations against the enemy; main corps are combined with regional corps; the regular army with the guerrilla and militia units; and the armed masses with the unarmed masses, thus turning the revolutionary war into a war of the whole people in its true sense.

The experience of the Chinese people's revolutionary war proves that the militia system is the best form of arming the people, the best means of turning the whole nation into soldiers, and the basis on which a people's war can be waged. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on the building of a militia and its operations is a creative application and development of the Marx-

ist-Leninist thesis on arming the people. It has substantially enriched and developed the military science of the proletariat.

Militia Building in New China

With the founding of the People's Republic of China, the building of the militia in China entered a new historical stage. While accelerating socialist construction, the Chinese people, under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are also quickening the building of their national defences and further strengthening their armed forces in order to defend the great cause of socialist construction, safeguard Asian and world peace, liberate our territory of Taiwan and oppose imperialist aggression. Faced with U.S. imperialism which is frenziedly increasing its armaments and preparing for war, occupying our territory of Taiwan with its armed forces, and constantly threatening China with war and staging military provocations, Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us: "At a time when the imperialists are bullying us in such a manner, we will have to deal with them seriously. True, we have a powerful regular army, but we still need to organize the people's militia on a grand scale."¹ In accordance with this directive of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's, the building of the long-tempered P.L.A. into a fine, modern revolutionary army is being accelerated, while on the other hand, militia divisions and regiments are organized throughout the country in its villages, cities, people's communes, factories and

mines and other enterprises, government offices and schools.

The building of a modern revolutionary army side by side with the establishment of militia divisions on a big scale is an important development of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's concept of a people's war under present conditions.

In modern wars, the role played by the militia, far from being weakened, is greatly increased. The militia that grew and gained strength in the course of the protracted revolutionary wars also plays a tremendous role in the period of socialist construction. While taking an active part in production and construction, militiamen take full advantage of their leisure time to do spare-time military training, study military tactics and techniques and go in for national defence sports, so as to make themselves competent fighters in defence of their motherland. Maintaining a high state of vigilance and constantly on the alert, the rank and file of the militia are always prepared to co-operate with the P.L.A. to deal the imperialists a crushing blow should they dare to unleash an aggressive war.

¹ "On Protracted War," *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963, p.260.

² *Mind the Living Conditions of the Masses and Attend to the Methods of Work*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953, p.1.

³ *Peking Review*, 1958, No. 32, p.4.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 6.)

ing. They have been sight-seeing in Peking and on the 17th were given a party by their hosts.

International Olympic Committee Denounced

A recent joint statement by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and the All-China Sports Federation denounced the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) for its racial discrimination and political plots to serve U.S. imperialism.

"Instigated by the U.S. imperialists, the I.O.C. under the disguise of 'no politics in sports,' has in practice played all sorts of political plots against the people of various countries," the joint statement declared.

The statement pointed out: "The I.O.C. though outwardly proclaiming to detest discrimination in international sporting activities on political,

religious or racial grounds, has adopted for 56 years and still continues to adopt a shielding and con-ning attitude to the racial discrimination policy of the South African colonial authorities.

"The I.O.C., in defiance of the repeated protests registered by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, continues to exclude the African sportsmen of South Africa from participating in the Olympic Games."

"The Chinese people," the statement said, "together with the South African people and the people of the world, will fight to the end against the racial discrimination of the I.O.C."

The statement declared that the I.O.C. "unceasingly devised the 'two Chinas' plot in order to serve the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression of perpetually occupying China's territory of Taiwan Province.

"The South African people fully support the just struggle of the Chinese people in opposing the 'two

Chinas' plot by the I.O.C. and other reactionary sports organizations."

The statement emphasized, "the GANEFO held in Indonesia in November 1963 achieved great success. It has formed a strong force in breaking through the monopoly and manipulation of international sports by imperialism and colonialism, new and old, and for promoting the independent development of sports by the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other new emerging countries."

Both sports organizations, said the statement, were convinced that the second GANEFO in 1967 in the United Arab Republic would score even greater achievements. Both groups expressed their willingness to work for the cause of GANEFO.

The joint statement was signed by Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, External Secretary of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, who recently visited China and Chang Lien-hua, Secretary-General of the All-China Sports Federation.

Art for Viet Nam!

Stirred by the wanton U.S. attack on Viet Nam, China's millions, rank on rank, have moved into action. Across the land, Chinese artists and writers are mobilizing their talents and energies behind Viet Nam's fight against the aggressor. They have joined in the great mass demonstrations in their thousands; poured their feelings into letters, articles, cartoons and poems in the press; taken their pictorial and dramatic art out into the streets and squares.

On August 8, a million demonstrators streamed by the Vietnamese Embassy in Peking. As her column moved by the embassy gates, Kuan Shu-Shuang, one of the outstanding Peking opera actresses, stepped out and handed embassy personnel a letter of support. She told them: "I and all my colleagues are prepared at all times to do all we can to assist you in resisting the American aggressors!"

Holding huge red banners high, six members of the successful Mt. Shisha Pangma expedition marched at the head of the capital's sportsmen. Two Tibetan mountaineers

among them told reporters: "We were serfs in Tibet for 20 years until our liberation. We know what imperialist aggression means. Now the U.S. is hitting out at Viet Nam, we shall train even harder, so as to be able to defend our country and aid the heroic Vietnamese people."

Hsieh Fang, talented film actress from Wuhan who played the heroine in *Song of Youth*, wrote to the press: "I was at a meeting of cinema workers when news of U.S. aggression against Viet Nam reached us. The entire hall rose in an angry uproar . . . And then, when we heard that the Vietnamese People's Army had struck back hard and downed eight of their planes, we clapped and shouted until we were hoarse. . . ."

Art on the Streets

Students and teachers of Peking's Central Art Institute went into action a few hours after they heard the news. That night, studio lights remained on until dawn. Drafts of over a hundred posters were swiftly sketched out. A dozen of these were selected and collectively painted, sec-

tion by section, into huge posters several metres high. When early next day the capital's citizens poured into the streets, the institute joined the ranks with their handiwork, reinforcing the sea of placards, cartoons and posters done by other artists who had been just as busy overnight.

In the space before the D.R.V. Embassy and on Tien An Men Square, the city's dramatic troupes set up scores of make-shift stages. Encircled by the demonstrators, they performed hundreds of topical Peking operas and local operas, living newspaper skits, songs and dances and comic dialogues. Short and punchy, and performed with the spirit that comes from overflowing hearts, their acts turned audiences into participants. When 130 members of the Central Nationalities Song and Dance Ensemble ended their dance featuring China's many nationalities, together with the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, holding their weapons in victory over the imperialist aggressors, thousands of spectators roared out the slogans: "The world's peoples, unite!" "Down with U.S. imperialist plots of war and aggression!"

Contributions of poems and songs have poured into the newspaper offices. Famous poets, including Kuo Mo-jo, Yuan Shui-po and Tien Chien, have published a number of topical verses.

Kuo Mo-jo, who recently returned from the 10th anniversary commemoration of the Geneva agreements in Viet Nam, wrote in *Saigon Will Yet Be Your Dien Bien Phu* published in *Renmin Ribao*:

400,000 people gathered at dawn
In the space that is Ba Dinh Square,
To recall the victory of Dien Bien Phu
And the Geneva agreements ten years ago.

No Dien Bien Phu, no Geneva talks.
Now the desperate U.S. imperialists
Are waiting for another Dien Bien Phu.

Well wait!—Saigon will yet be your
Dien Bien Phu,
You will find your grave in Indo-China.



On Tien An Men Square

Sketch by Chou Chien-fu

The people's confidence in victory is stronger than steel.
 Millions of hearts united as one are mightier than atomic power.
 The roar from Hanoi has already spread to Camau;
 Dawn will see Camau and Langsan reunited.

In *Take Some Advice From a People's Soldier*, Yuan Yeh-ping of the P.L.A. Navy wrote in *Wen Hui Bao*:

You fled for your life by Chongjin Lake.

At Sangumryung, you shook with terror.

You hardly dared lift your head at Panmunjom:

Have you forgotten the iron fist of China and Korea?

American aggressors: listen to a people's soldier.

We can't ignore a jungle beast at our door.

We cannot sit still when war burns at our side.

Know what's good for you:

Beware the iron fist of China and Viet Nam!

Vietnamese Visitors

Vietnamese visitors in China have joined their hosts in the activities. Vietnamese poets and artists have contributed many poems and articles to the Chinese press. The Vietnamese People's Army Song and Dance Ensemble went on stage again with



Students and teachers of the Peking Art Institute hard at work

Split Level War Bulletins

— On the "Tonkin Gulf Incident" —

Poem by Tien Ma
 Cartoon by Mi Ku

The Yankees count themselves spry
 At many things. But how about figures?
 "Our destroyers were attacked," they cry.
 But how many PTs attacked?
 Their spokesmen dither.

One says: Six to ten.
 Another says: No, it was four.
 How many torpedoes?
 A dozen! No, a score!

"Two PTs were sunk. Two damaged."
 The Pentagon spokesmen roar.
 The numbers soar.
 And yet another PT sinks beneath the waves.

"The planes did it," says one.
 Another says: "No, the ships!"
 An interdepartmental crisis?
 No, just U.S. schizophrenicis.

Lies by the dozen,
 Each holier than the last.
 But lies have short legs.
 They are far from fast.
 McNamara's computer slipped a screw
 And landed Johnson in a Texas-sized stew.

Those made-to-order U.S. bulletins?
 Tell them to the Marines!



Chinese artists in a special TV programme. It has just concluded a highly successful series of performances of *The Flames of Nghe - Tinh*, a historical dance-drama of Viet Nam's anti-imperialist struggle. In Shanghai, the visiting D.R.V. basketball team's match with Shanghai's players on August 7 turned into an impromptu demonstration of Chinese-Vietnamese solidarity. The

visiting team got a tremendous ovation. When the game was interrupted to hear a broadcast announcement of the shooting down of 8 U.S. planes and the damaging down of another 3, the entire gymnasium, Vietnamese and Chinese, players and spectators, broke into jubilant applause.

Cinemas are showing newsreels of Vietnamese events and the great mass demonstrations in which 20 million Chinese took part. Translations of Vietnamese literature are sold out as fast as they can be printed. Songs about heroic Viet Nam are fast becoming prime favourites among school children. In a hundred and one ways, China's artists and writers have come out in support of their Vietnamese brothers. Activity mounts. It leaves no doubt that here, as in other fields, as long as there is aggression, China will be in the fight against it.

ROUND THE WORLD

Sneak Attack on Viet Nam

Touchstone for Revolutionaries

Like past U.S. aggression, Washington's sneak attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a lesson by negative example. Exposing U.S. imperialism for what it is, it also reveals the false prophets who want to make the people love this international gangster.

Along with just-minded people all over the world, true revolutionaries condemned U.S. brutality and treachery, and expressed solidarity with the Vietnamese people. The apologists for the U.S. imperialists, on the other hand, sought to confuse the issue and excused the culprits by hypocritical quibbling. Here are two outstanding examples of these opposing reactions.

Cuba Denounces U.S. Aggression. Addressing the Cuban public a few days after the August 5 U.S. air raid against the D.R.V., Premier Castro declared: "We have seen how the imperialists are stretching their claws; we should see in the example of Viet Nam our own situation. This is not for self-alarm, but for sharpening our vigilance to increase our hatred and contempt for them. And always be ready against them."

Imperialist violations of the territorial air of Cuba and Viet Nam are the best lessons for the peoples of the world, Castro pointed out. They show up Washington's cowardice, malice and treachery. This is why, he told his people, "we should be ready to deal with surprise incidents. We should educate our soldiers and make them tough so that the imperialists will fail to get at them. We will give the imperialists a taste of the Giron Beach should they invade us." And he stressed that the enemy's attacks could only make the Cuban people more powerful and more revolutionary because they would be steeled and be prepared to deal with all eventualities with still greater firmness. Thus, Castro concluded: "We know that the fruits of the rev-

olution should be defended with our toil and sweat; we know too that they would be defended with our blood."

Cuban Minister of Industry Ernesto Guevara warmly praised the D.R.V.'s heroic defence actions against the U.S. imperialist raids. In a public speech, he emphasized that "it is right for the Vietnamese people to defend peace with arms," adding that some day the same type of premeditated Yankee attack might be unleashed against Cuba.

Guevara noted that Washington would not relax its blockade against Cuba, but this could only serve to spur the Cuban people on to work still harder and reinforce their determination to lay a solid foundation for their national economy and become less and less dependent on the capitalist world. The Cuban people, he said, would follow the slogan "work, study and rifle in hand" because "to defend our right to live and speak up as a revolutionary nation, we must do all three: work for the building of socialism; study for the daily enrichment of our knowledge and the heightening of our ability; and take up the rifle for the obvious purpose of defending the revolution."

Belgrade Sings the U.S. Tune. But listen to what Belgrade said: The day after the U.S. air attack, the official newspaper *Borba* published a dispatch by its New York correspondent echoing Washington's big lie about the so-called Tonkin Gulf attack. Adding a special twist to this U.S. hoax, the correspondent wrote: "One conjecture is that the north Viet Nam forces made the attack under Peking's instigations (sic). Another conjecture is that Hanoi wants to test U.S. reaction to intensified activities by the north. Certain observers maintain that it cannot be excluded that the crisis was created deliberately to embarrass Soviet foreign policy and sabotage East-West relations." *Borba*, of course, advocated U.N. intervention in the Vietnamese situation.

World opinion is increasingly suspicious of the U.S. fabricated second Tonkin Gulf incident. There is an insistent demand for an investigation of Washington's responsibility in the premeditated attack on the D.R.V. Therefore, the Yugoslav paper *Vjesnik* (August 6) found it necessary to tell its readers that "it is not even important as to who has fired the first shot, why it was fired and whether the territorial waters of another country have been intruded into." And *Politika* (August 7) was equally magnanimous: "The direct causes that led to the test of strength in the Tonkin Gulf are not so important," it opined. "The two assertions about the cause of the incident are directly opposite and cannot explain the truth; persistence in either is hardly useful."

One can hardly expect to find ivory in a dog's mouth!

Asian Solidarity

Indonesia Stands by Viet Nam

There can be no doubt where the sympathies of the Asian peoples lie. They sympathize with and support the Vietnamese people and denounce with one voice the Johnson Administration's naked aggression.

Indonesia is one such example. A few days after the U.S. attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Indonesia announced its decision to raise its diplomatic representation in that country from consulate general to embassy level. It also invited to Indonesia a National Assembly Delegation from the D.R.V. headed by Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Assembly.

Expressing the sentiment of his people, President Sukarno told one and a half million people in Djakarta's Independence Day rally that the Indonesian Government strongly condemned American aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and declared: "We do not hide the fact that our sympathy lies on the side of the Vietnamese people."

Foreign interference could not solve Asian problems, Sukarno said. These could only be solved by Asians themselves. "It is best that foreign

troops get out of Asia and return to their respective countries," he noted. Criticizing Washington's hostile policy towards China, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos and all Southeast Asia, Sukarno declared: "In Cambodia, I saw with my own eyes how a big imperialist country tried to intimidate the government of small Cambodia, and made every effort to subdue it . . . In Laos, the imperialists are trampling underfoot the Geneva agreements just as they like, as if there were no longer any standards in international relations, as if there were no longer any rules, as if there were no morals, or just the 'moral' of imperialism! I say: only if the imperialists stop interfering, only if they withdraw all their troops and honour the Geneva agreements, can a government that is really neutral, united and democratic be established in Laos."

The President asserted that though Indonesia had liberated West Irian, Korea and Viet Nam had not yet freed the southern parts of their countries. Indonesia hoped that the aspirations of the Vietnamese and Korean peoples would soon be realized.

On U.S. worldwide aggression, Sukarno declared: "The tricks of the imperialists are varied: in Brazil, they overthrew the Goulart Government; against Cuba, they are launching incessant attacks; in the Congo, a Tshombe is propped up; and in Southeast Asia, they intend to deploy a quarter of a million troops. But all this does not constitute the main stream of history; it is the backwash, and therefore cannot withstand the powerful current of the main stream. It will surely be swept away. It will surely be submerged. As sure as the sun will rise again on the morrow!"

Sukarno's Reply to Johnson:

Do Not Slight Banteng!

The Djakarta meeting was also the occasion for replying to the Johnson Administration's bullying and arm-twisting against Indonesia over the "Malaysia" question.

Washington of late has stepped up its open and covert campaign against Indonesia. After the Johnson-Rah-

man joint communique which was signed in Washington late in July, the U.S. Government has been talking about sending a military team to Kuala Lumpur to determine what form of military aid it could provide "Malaysia." The U.S. Senate, in an amendment to the U.S. foreign aid bill, decided to stop all foreign "aid" to Indonesia and terminate the training of Indonesian military personnel in U.S. military schools.

This unrestrained bellicosity is, as President Sukarno said, "really too much"; it "really exceeds all bounds." Thus, the Indonesian President declared at the country's Independence Day celebrations: "We are not cowed by the Johnson-Rahman joint communique. Should relations between Indonesia and the United States worsen, the reasons for this will not lie with the Republic of Indonesia." The imperialists, he said, installed "Malaysia" as a watch dog in front of the house of the Indonesian Republic to encircle it from all directions, but the Indonesian people are not overawed. They will go on crushing "Malaysia" even if it is helped by ten imperialist powers!

The Indonesian President warned the imperialists: "Hands off the Republic of Indonesia! The Indonesian Government and people will not tolerate the enemy to step on even an inch of their sacred soil. Everywhere the imperialists are having

trouble with people defending their countries' independence. This is even more true if they have to face the 103 million Indonesian people with the *Banteng* spirit (an Indonesian bull symbolizing determination)!"

U.S. Intervention in the Congo (L)

Unmasked Gendarme

The sending of U.S. paratroopers, tanks and planes to the Congo has finally brought Washington out into the open as the imperialist gendarme in Africa as well as in Asia and Latin America.

The Johnson Administration would of course much prefer to remain in the background and let its local stooges do the killing. But the situation is getting desperate. The deceptive "national reconciliation" bait trotted out by the State Department and dangled by Tshombe proved to be a dud. The latter's Katanga mercenaries, though European-officered and well-armed, are no match for the fast-growing patriotic forces which after strengthening their hold on the countryside have taken over a number of cities from the panicky oppressors. When Stanleyville, capital of Orient Province, was freed, 140 Katanga police, hearing that they were going to be sent there for engagement,



The Tropics Are Getting Hotter



Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

simply fled to the bush. Units of the puppet troops were also running scared when the important tin mining centre Manono was liberated. UPI, quoting U.S. officials, admitted that Tshombe's forces "appeared to be falling apart and were utterly incapable of suppressing or even confining" the patriotic forces "which have spread throughout the country."

U.S. armed intervention in the Congo is as much an act of desperation as was earlier Washington replacement of puppet Adoula by puppet Tshombe. However, just as U.S.-supplied T-28 fighter-bombers could not help Adoula or Tshombe to win the war, neither will U.S. troops or tanks change the outcome when pitted against a united people determined to win freedom by armed struggle. Inevitably, the Johnson Administration will have to pour in still more manpower and materiel. In the long run, the Congo will turn out to be as much of a "rat hole" for U.S. imperialism as is south Viet Nam. For the aggressors, it is easier to get in than out.

Odd Man Out in Africa

Tshombe's War on Neighbours

Unscrupulous though that he is, traitor Tshombe has managed in the two short months since returning to power to incur the contempt of at least two neighbouring states, in addition to that of his own people.

Under U.S. tutelage, Tshombe has acted the neighbourhood bully against both the Kingdom of Burundi and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville). This is because neither country has been intimidated by Washington's browbeating tactics to turn them into bases for military suppression of the patriotic forces in the Congo. Lately, with defeat dogging their trail, the Americans have stepped up their strong-arm campaign against Bujumbura and Brazzaville, and slanders have escalated to open subversion and diplomatic hooliganism.

In Leopoldville, in an organized "protest march" against Burundi on

August 10, Tshombe let loose 250 looting and burning hoodlums against the Burundi Embassy in broad daylight. This barbaric provocation backfired. The puppet and his Washington masters alike were rebuffed. The Burundi Government has demanded an apology and compensation from Leopoldville and closed its borders to all Americans and Belgians from both the Congo (Leopoldville) and Rwanda.

To the east, Tshombe and his mentors were also caught red-handed in subversion against the brother Republic of the Congo (B). Before a National Day parade on August 15, President Alphonse Massamba-Debat openly denounced the U.S. plot against his country. As proof he displayed for public scrutiny a military truck loaded with cases of sub-machineguns, automatic pistols and grenades (all labelled "The United States of America"), captured when they were sent across the Congo River from Leopoldville. The incriminating evidence was a body blow to Tshombe, whose only reply was to bluster: "If I wanted to take Brazzaville, it would be a question of only two hours." Tshombe had earlier bragged that he needed only three months to produce a "new Congo." Now with his regime in a greater shambles, his timetable has been cut to two hours!

India in Travail

As the Food Crisis Worsens

Less than three months after Shastri became Prime Minister, India's food crisis is rapidly getting out of hand.

Hungry millions, tired of soaring prices, endless queuing and the corruption of merchants and government officials, are staging demonstrations and even looting grain shops. On August 12, more than three million people in New Delhi, Bombay and other Indian cities went on strike and demonstrated against



Sketch map by Lin Chien

price inflation and food shortages. Though thousands were arrested by the police, the strikers caused total work stoppage in many industries, banks, services and communications.

The anger of the masses against the government was indicated by a mammoth protest in front of the Prime Minister's residence. It was also reflected in the growing number of riots and strikes as well as mounting press criticism of Congress Party inability.

India has long been plagued by continuing agricultural crop reduction. The situation became really grave when last year's harvests fell 11 million tons short of needs. New Delhi expects to import five million tons of grain from the United States this year, with a big gap still to be filled. Late in June, the Indian Planning Commission admitted that the price of food grain had gone up almost 30 per cent in the last three or four months. Recently the rise has been even steeper (the highest since independence), with rice and other foods completely disappearing from the open market in some cities and districts, thus causing all-round inflation and great hardship for the people.

Prime Minister Shastri and President Radhakrishnan have both admitted the seriousness of the situation, but they can offer no solution except to beg for more "aid" from the United States. Such is the lot the great Indian nation is reduced to 17 years after independence!

Prepared to Kill

IN white minority dominated South Africa, where the African majority is subjected to vicious exploitation, segregation, jailing and murder because of the colour of their skin, or, more exactly, as a result of the class struggle between the white exploiters and the exploited black people, the capitalist ethic is at work — violence makes for good business.

While African leaders were being sentenced to life imprisonment for acts of "violence" in suburban Johannesburg in June, white South Africans were going to school to learn how to kill. Here under the watchful eye of instructor-businessman Stanley Davidson white Africans learn how to jab bayonets into dummies. They also study killing with pistols, walking sticks and bare hands.

The 60-year-old teacher, whose school is run under the slogan, "You want to survive, then be prepared to kill," boasts killer's credentials in the form of lessons learnt at the feet of a notorious American gunslinger of the Wild West and service as a body-guard in the U.S. His school for killing is open to guilt-ridden white South Africans who fear the revolt of South Africa's black majority. At prevailing study rates, Davidson's enterprise bids fair to be a financial success, if nothing else. (Tuition for a ten-hour course is 60 rand, local currency.)

Like their brethren in the U.S., who resort to physical force against the American Negroes, these disciples of violence have no qualms about using it. For all of them, it would be well to remember the words of South African leader Nelson Mandela, who told his accusers before being sentenced to life: "The government used violence against the Africans on every possible occasion. And government violence can only do one thing and that is to breed counter-violence."

Consumers' Paradise?

PLANNED obsolescence" has bounded forward in giant leaps according to an American authority on the subject, Vance Packard in his book *The Waste Makers*.

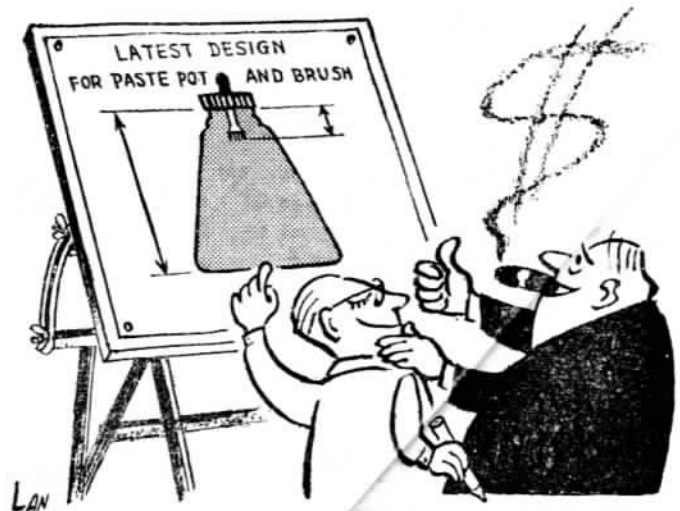
Big Business has piled gimmick upon gimmick to market its wares. For instance, a trade representative in women's fashions declared: "We must accelerate obsolescence. . . . It is our job to make women unhappy about what they have. . . . We must make them so unhappy that their husbands find no happiness or peace. . . ." One U.S. dress designer is now attacking the other end of the dress and is even getting paid fancy prices for something that isn't there — he's making topless dresses.

August 21, 1964

With goods for "modern homes" that generally have some longevity there are all sorts of ways to get around this apparent stopgap to increased sales. Colour specialists have been called in to help out in this respect. However, there was the Canadian expert who stole a march on the Americans. He painted potato peelers to look "as much like a potato peeling as possible." For eye appeal, however, the dull brownish peeler was displayed on a contrasting colourful card. "Once the housewife got the peeler home and removed the bright card," Packard wrote, "the chances that she would lose the peeler were excellent." By increasing the odds that it would be tossed out with the peelings, the manufacturer expected "to double our sales"!

The automobile industry in the U.S. is fond of boasting about the number of cars it manufactures, yet for years cars have been built so as to wear out more quickly. In addition, alloys now "are designed to rust instead of last" so that a fairly new car's early exterior rust and corrosion quickly appals its owner and sends him out to buy a new one. While all sorts of new "wonder" tyres have come on to the market longevity has plummeted. "Tyres which wear out rapidly mean more sales," it was reported.

In a review, the *Times* of London suggested that Packard's book "should be made compulsory prison reading for every politician, every economist, every advertising agent, and every industrialist who attempts to equate a high standard of living with the purchase of the unnecessary, the inferior and the short-lived article." It might be added that it is also an eye-opener for those who are staunch defenders of the capitalist mode of production and for those who make a fetish of things made in U.S.A.



"Many paste pots come with brushes built into the cover, and the brushes fail by a half-inch to reach the bottom. No amount of wiggling or manoeuvring will reach the remaining paste. Thus millions of 'empty' paste jars are thrown away with a few spoonfuls of paste still in them."

—The Waste Makers

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