

PEKING REVIEW

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST

by

LIU SHAO-CHI

Liu Shao-chi's well-known work, *How To Be a Good Communist*, is a penetrating exposition of the universal Marxist-Leninist truth that the proletariat, while changing the objective world, must at the same time change itself. It also sums up the experience of the Chinese Communists in educating and remoulding themselves in the revolutionary struggle. This book has played an important role in helping Chinese Communists in their efforts to temper themselves.

The author has recently made some changes in style and some additions to the original text written in July 1939, and the revised text was published in the double issue of *Hongqi (Red Flag)*, No. 15-16, 1962. The present English translation follows the revised Chinese text.



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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

December 25, 1964 Vol. VII No. 52

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The first session of the Third National People's Congress opened in Peking on December 21.

The first session of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference opened in the capital on December 20.

• Chairman Liu Shao-chi called a meeting of the Supreme State Conference on December 18.

• The State Council, at its plenary meeting on December 17, discussed and approved a report on government work to be delivered by Premier Chou En-lai at the first session of the Third National People's Congress.

The State Council also decided at the meeting to dismiss the traitor Dalai Lama Dantzen-Jaltso from his posts as chairman and member of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

• Peking, Shanghai, Wuhan and other cities celebrated the 4th anniversary of the establishment of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

• President Choi Yong Kun of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea arrived in Kunming for a short stay on his way home after visits to several African countries and Cambodia.

• Special envoy Amar Ouzegane of Algeria came to Peking, bringing a letter from President Ben Bella to Chairman Liu Shao-chi.

• China and the United Arab Republic signed an economic and technical co-operation agreement in Peking.

• A U.S.-made RF-101 reconnaissance plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang was shot down over east China on December 18.

• The Chinese press published:

— the December 14 press release of the Information Bureau of the Indonesian C.P., announcing that the Party will not take part in the divisive conference scheduled for March 1, 1965, in Moscow.

— the text of the December 6 joint statement of the Indonesian C.P. and Australian C.P. (Marxist-Leninist). It calls on all Marxist-Leninists to unite closely in active struggle against "modern revisionism without Khrushchov."

— excerpts of a speech E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian C.P. (M.-L.), gave on December 2 in Djakarta, stressing that the struggle against modern revisionism should be carried through to the end.

Algerian Special Envoy Visits Peking

President Ben Bella's special envoy Amar Ouzegane, Minister of Tourism of Algeria, arrived in Peking on December 16 and left on the next day.

During his short stay, he was received by Chairman Liu Shao-chi to whom he handed a letter from President Ben Bella. Premier Chou En-lai

and Vice-Premier Chen Yi held talks with him in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave a banquet in his honour.

Korean President in Kunming

Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, arrived in Kunming on December 20 on his way

home after visiting several African countries and Cambodia. Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu travelled specially from Peking to welcome him. That evening, at the banquet he gave for President Choi Yong Kun, they toasted the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples.

Speaking of the great success of the Korean President's visits to the African countries and Cambodia, Vice-Chairman Tung said that they demonstrated the active support of the Korean people for the struggle of the Asian and African peoples for national independence and liberation. They also helped the Asian and African peoples to a better understanding of the Korean people's heroic struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and their valuable experience in establishing a self-reliant national economy. "The example and experience of the Korean people in opposing imperialism and in socialist construction," he said, "will continue to exert an important influence in international affairs."

President Choi Yong Kun expressed his appreciation for the warm welcome given him and his party by the city of Kunming. This, he said spoke eloquently of the militant friendship between the people of Korea and China. Reviewing his recent visits, he described how deeply impressed he had been by the awakening of the Asian and African peoples and the unity between them which had become a great force in the fight against imperialism.

President Choi Yong Kun and his party left Kunming for home on December 22.

China-U.A.R. Co-operation

An economic and technical co-operation agreement between China and the United Arab Republic was signed in Peking on December 21. It was the outcome of successful talks held between Vice-Premier Po I-po and Aziz Sidky, Deputy Premier of the United Arab Republic. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among those present at the signing ceremony. Also signed that day were notes exchanged between the two Governments on the three-year extension of the period of valid-

ity of the trade agreement and payments agreement due to expire shortly, and a trade protocol for 1965.

Deputy Premier Aziz Sidky arrived on December 18 with an industrial-economic delegation. Warmly welcomed in Peking, he and his party were received by Chairman Liu Shaoh-chi on December 21.

The U.A.R. Ambassador to China, Zakaria Ed-Adly Imam, gave a banquet on the evening of December 21. It was attended by Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other Chinese leaders and diplomatic envoys of Arab and African countries. Speaking to the gathering, Deputy Premier Sidky hailed the agreements signed as an example of mutual co-operation based on equality and non-intervention. "These agreements," he said, "show that the two countries sincerely hope to develop further their economic co-operation."

He expressed appreciation for China's support to the struggles of the Arab people, and stressed that it was necessary for independent countries to support others still fighting for freedom and independence and to strengthen the solidarity and co-operation of Asian and African peoples in all fields.

Vice-Premier Po I-po, in his speech, referred to the current visit of Deputy Premier Sidky as a great contribution to friendly relations between China and the U.A.R. Referring to the common struggle of the Asian and African peoples in building their countries, the Vice-Premier expressed confidence that, by relying on their own efforts, solidarity and mutual assistance, they would overcome all difficulties and obstacles and advance victoriously along the road of independent development.

Nationalities Amateur Art Festival's Great Success

The first stage of the national minorities' amateur art festival, which opened in Peking on November 26, ended on December 9 after 22 performances. Beginning December 13, selected programmes have been presented to the public in four of the capital's theatres.

The festival is a tremendous success. Press, radio and television have given it extensive coverage. Scores of appreciative articles and broadcasts have acclaimed the minority peoples for their splendid performances, revolutionary fervour and the fresh and vigorous note they have brought to the stage.

This pageant of revolutionary songs and dances by revolutionary working people has delighted and inspired all who saw it, professionals, amateurs and general public alike. The fact that these former serfs, slaves and impoverished peasants and herdsmen can take the centre of the stage in the nation's capital, and, masters of their own fate now, sing revolutionary songs and perform dances composed or arranged by themselves, speaks of the magnificence of the cultural achievements of liberation and the socialist revolution. It is no wonder that oft repeated at the festival are the words "without the Communist Party there would be no New China and the happy life of today."

The songs, dances, instrumental music, ballads and local operas presented at the festival have abundantly demonstrated the creativeness of the minority peoples and their great potentialities in developing a new socialist art. Besides giving performances these keen amateur, folk artists have made full use of opportunities to meet professional artists in the capital and exchange experience in cultural activities. The festival will clearly have an immense influence on the further revolutionization and development of the arts of the people.

Dalai Lama Denounced as Traitor

The State Council, at its plenary meeting on December 17, adopted a decision to dismiss the traitor Dalai Lama Dantzen-Jaltso from his posts as chairman and member of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Made in accordance with the demand of the people of Tibet, the decision says: "Dalai Lama Dantzen-Jaltso, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autono-

mous Region, staged a traitorous armed counter-revolutionary rebellion against the country in 1959. After fleeing abroad, he organized a bogus exile government, published a bogus constitution, supported the Indian reactionaries in their aggression against our country and actively organized and trained remnants of the bandits who had fled abroad to harass frontier areas of the motherland. All this proves that he has long cut himself off completely from the motherland and the people and is an incorrigible traitor who is a running dog of imperialism and foreign reactionaries."

U.S.-Made Chiang Spy Plane Shot Down

A U.S.-made RF-101 spy plane belonging to the Chiang Kai-shek gang was shot down over east China on December 18 by an air force unit of the Chinese Navy.

Marshal Lin Piao, Minister of National Defence, issued an order on the same day commending the unit on this victory.

Pilot Hsieh Hsiang-ho, who baled out after his plane was hit, landed in the East China Sea. Members of a fishermen's militia unit who were fishing spotted him and immediately brought their boat up. After capturing him, they turned Hsieh over to local People's Liberation Army units.

Hsieh was a major in the Chiang gang's air force. After his capture, he received lenient treatment from the P.L.A.

The Ministry of National Defence issued an order commending the fishermen's militia for their success.

Forum on Asian-African Literature

A two-day forum on Asian-African literature was held last weekend in Peking. It was sponsored by the Union of Chinese Writers, the Chinese Liaison Committee with the Permanent Bureau of Afro-Asian Writers and the Delegation of the Afro-Asian Writers' Permanent Bureau to Asia. Taking part were 27 writers from Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan, the Sudan, Thailand, Zimbabwe and China.

They discussed and exchanged experience on the relationship between literature and the struggle against imperialism. Speakers were unanimous in stressing that Asian and African writers should unite in their common struggle and use literature as a weapon in the fight against U.S. imperialism and old and new colonialism and for national independence and liberation.

Liu Pai-yu of China, who delivered the opening speech, described the forum as an important event in the history of Asian-African literature. He praised the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle of the people of Asia and Africa and said that revolutionary and progressive writers the world over should work together for the rapid development of literature for the people.

Indonesian writer Bakri Siregar gave a talk at the forum. He noted that exchanges of revolutionary and militant literature and art would contribute to consolidating and developing the militant friendship and solidarity between the people of Asia and Africa. Citing facts collected on his recent tour to several Asian countries, he castigated U.S. imperialist military aggression against the Asian and African people and its cultural infiltration in these two continents. "It is the sacred task of Asian and African writers," he said, "to hold high the anti-imperialist banner and struggle for independence and liberation."

Japanese writer Seiji Shimota described how the U.S. imperialists and Japanese monopoly capital used their propaganda machines and money to spread reactionary culture and ideas among the Japanese people. But, he said, these vile attempts would not succeed because the Japanese people wanted a healthy culture and art with lofty ideas.

Sudanese poet Ahmed Mehemmed Kheir pilloried U.S. imperialism as the ringleader in military, political, economic and cultural aggression in Asian and African countries. Noting that Asian and African culture was in the midst of a vigorous renaissance, he called on all working in the field of culture to reflect the desires and noble character of their people

and serve them wholeheartedly. John Mataure from Zimbabwe called on writers to strive conscientiously to make literature a powerful weapon in the hands of the people fighting against imperialism and colonialism, and inspire the masses with courage to liberate themselves.

Chiang Personnel Cross Over

More and more personnel of the Chiang Kai-shek regime are seeking and seizing chances to cross over to the mainland. One of the latest is Cheng Yi-ming, former major-general and chief of the Macao section of the intelligence office of the Chiang Kai-shek gang's "Ministry of National Defence."

Cheng worked in Chiang's secret service organizations for 31 years and, starting in 1950, was in charge of sabotage activities organized against the mainland from Macao. Recently, getting a clearer understanding of the situation and realizing that he had no future with the U.S.-Chiang clique, he made up his mind to sever his relations with the Chiang gang. He left Macao on December 13 and arrived in Canton the same day. He brought with him a wireless set, codes, documents, five pistols with silencers, four revolvers of various types, hand-grenades and many other things used on spying missions.

Lin Li-ming, Vice-Governor of Kwangtung Province, received him on December 16. Praising him for his just action, the Vice-Governor said: "The policy of the People's Government towards those who are patriotic and cross over, no matter what position they may have held or what grave crimes they may have committed, is to welcome them and not to go into their past deeds. They will be rewarded according to the merit of their actions and appropriate arrangements will be made for their livelihood."

On December 4, Chen Tzu-wei, a former technician of the U.S.-Chiang Air Asian Company in Taiwan, seized the opportunity of passing through Hongkong to cross over the border into People's China. Misrule and terror under the Chiang Kai-shek regime on Taiwan are opening the eyes of an ever increasing number of Chiang personnel.

Third National People's Congress Opens

THE first session of the Third National People's Congress, the highest organ of state authority, opened in Peking's Great Hall of the People on the afternoon of December 21.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the people of all nationalities in China; Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chou En-lai,

Premier of the State Council; Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; and other Party and state leaders attended the opening ceremony. When they and other members of the session's presidium mounted the rostrum, the huge hall burst into stormy applause lasting several minutes.

At 3:30 p.m., Chairman Liu Shao-chi declared the session open. The band played the national anthem.



On the rostrum (left to right): Peng Chen, Chou En-lai, Soong Ching Ling, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Teng Hsiao-ping



The auditorium in the Great Hall of the People where the Congress is meeting

Supreme State Conference

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi called a meeting of the Supreme State Conference on December 18. Among the 187 people attending were Vice-Chairmen Soong Ching Ling and Tung Pi-wu, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Premier Chou En-lai, leading members of the Chinese Communist Party, democratic parties and people's organizations, as well as persons prominent in various fields.

At the meeting, Premier Chou En-lai gave an account of the main contents of the report on government work to be made at the first session of the Third National People's Congress. Peng Chen, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. and Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, gave an account of the agenda of the forthcoming sessions of the N.P.C. and the C.P.P.C.C., and dealt with other major questions related to the two sessions. The meeting approved their reports.

C.P.P.C.C. in Session

THE first session of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference opened in Peking on December 20. Presided over by Chou En-lai, Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee, the meeting adopted the agenda of the session, elected the members of the presidium and approved the name list of the motions committee.

Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo presented a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Third National Committee. He reviewed the work done, the successes achieved during the past five years and future tasks; he called upon the people of all circles to rally still more closely around the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and make their contribution to the socialist revolution and construction.

Prolonged applause greeted Premier Chou En-lai when, on behalf of the State Council, he gave a report on the work of the Government which had been discussed and approved by the State Council at its plenary session on December 17.

Attending the meeting were 2,836 Deputies. Members of the State Council, leading members of the Supreme People's Court and of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, high-ranking officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and members attending the first session of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference attended the meeting as observers.

On the second day of the session, copies of a written report on the work of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. were distributed to the Deputies.

Agenda of First Session

In addition to hearing and discussing Premier Chou En-lai's report on government work, other important items on the agenda of the first session of the Third N.P.C., as adopted at its preparatory meeting on December 20, include:

election of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the People's Republic of China;

election of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary-General and members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress;

choice of the Premier of the State Council;

election of the President of the Supreme People's Court;

election of the Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;

choice of Vice-Premiers, Secretary-General, Ministers and Chairmen of the various Commissions of the State Council;

choice of Vice-Chairmen and members of the National Defence Council;

nominations for the Chairmen and members of both the Nationalities Committee and the Bills Committee of the Third National People's Congress.

The session will also adopt resolutions on the report on government work, the main targets set in the 1965 national economic plan and the preliminary arrangement of the state budget for 1965 and other matters.

For Your Reference

The National People's Congress Of China

THE People's Republic of China is a socialist country led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. All power in the country belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses.

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power in the People's Republic of China. It is the sole organ exercising the legislative power of the state.

The National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

1. to amend the Constitution;
2. to make laws;
3. to supervise the enforcement of the Constitution;
4. to elect the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the People's Republic of China;
5. to decide on the choice of the Premier of the State Council upon recommendation by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and of the component members of the State Council upon recommendation by the Premier;
6. to decide on the choice of the Vice-Chairmen and members of the Council of National Defence upon recommendation by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China;
7. to elect the President of the Supreme People's Court;
8. to elect the Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;
9. to decide on the national economic plan;
10. to examine and approve the state budget and the final state accounts;
11. to ratify the following administrative divisions: provinces, autonomous regions, and cities directly under the central authority;
12. to decide on amnesties;
13. to decide on questions of war and peace;
14. to exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress considers it should exercise.

The National People's Congress has the power to remove from office:

1. the Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen of the People's Republic of China;
2. the Premier and Vice-Premiers, Ministers, Chairmen of Commissions and the Secretary-General of the State Council;

3. the Vice-Chairmen and members of the Council of National Defence;

4. the President of the Supreme People's Court;

5. the Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of four years. Should exceptional circumstances arise preventing the election of deputies to the succeeding National People's Congress, the term of office of the National People's Congress may be prolonged until the first session of the succeeding National People's Congress.

The first session of the First National People's Congress was convened in September 1954. The first session of the Second National People's Congress took place in April 1959. The Third National People's Congress opened its first session on December 21, 1964.

The National People's Congress holds its session once a year, convened by its Standing Committee. It may also be convened whenever its Standing Committee deems this necessary or one-fifth of the deputies so propose.

The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by provinces, autonomous regions, cities directly under the central authority, the armed forces and Chinese who live abroad. The number of deputies to the National People's Congress and the manner of their election are prescribed by the Electoral Law.

The permanent working organ of the National People's Congress is its Standing Committee. The Standing Committee is composed of the following persons, elected by the National People's Congress: the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen, the Secretary-General and the members.

The number of component persons on each of the Standing Committees of the First and Second National People's Congresses was 79. The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress was Liu Shao-chi and the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress was Chu Teh.

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

THE Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is an organization of the people's democratic united front uniting all nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties, people's organizations, overseas Chinese and other patriotic democrats of China.

According to its constitution, the C.P.P.C.C., under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, was established to unite the people of all nationalities of the country more extensively through the unity of all democratic parties and people's organizations, and to make joint efforts and overcome the difficulties in constructing a great socialist country.

The tasks of the C.P.P.C.C. are:

1. to consult on international problems;
2. to consult on the nomination of candidates for deputies to the National People's Congress and to local people's congresses of corresponding levels, and on the nomination of the component members of the C.P.P.C.C. at all levels;
3. to assist the state organs and mobilize the social forces to solve problems concerning the relations between various classes in social life, to maintain contact with the masses and reflect the opinions and proposals of the masses to the appropriate state organs;
4. to consult on and settle questions of co-operation within the C.P.P.C.C. itself and among various political parties and organizations;
5. to study Marxism-Leninism and strive for ideological remoulding on a voluntary basis.

The C.P.P.C.C. is formed primarily by the Chinese Communist Party, the democratic parties and people's organizations. It has a National Committee and local committees at various levels.

The National Committee consists of representatives recommended by the Chinese Communist Party, the democratic parties and people's organizations. Individuals may be invited as members of the National Committee whenever necessary. The local committees consist of representatives recommended by the local

organizations of the Chinese Communist Party, the democratic parties and people's organizations. Individuals may be invited as members of the local committees whenever necessary.

Each National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. has a four-year term of office. The plenary session of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. is convened once a year. It may be held before the scheduled time or may be postponed whenever necessary.

The first plenary session of the C.P.P.C.C. was held in September 1949 when the First National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. was elected as a working organ to exercise the functions and powers of the National People's Congress. It ceased to act as an organ of state power in September 1954 when the first session of the First National People's Congress was held. The first session of the Second National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. was held in December 1954. The first session of the Third National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. took place in April 1959 and the Fourth National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. began its first session on December 20, 1964.

The Chairman of the First National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. was Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung was the Honorary Chairman, and Chou En-lai was the Chairman of both the Second and Third National Committees of the C.P.P.C.C.

Anniversary Celebration of S. Viet Nam Liberation Front

Heroic Struggle Supported

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

WHOLEHEARTED admiration for the glorious victories of the south Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys keyed China's celebration of the fourth anniversary of the founding of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front.

On the eve of the anniversary, December 19, Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of warm greetings to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Front. "The South Viet Nam National Liberation Front," the message stressed, "is the glorious standard bearer and illustrious leader of the south Vietnamese people in their struggle for national liberation." This heroic struggle has time and again foiled U.S. imperialist plans of aggression and war in south Viet Nam, thus contributing enormously to the defence of peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia and setting a shining example for the oppressed peoples of the world in their fight against imperialism. The Chinese Government and people have consistently given firm support to the just, patriotic anti-U.S. struggle of the south Vietnamese people. The 650 million Chinese people, the message

reaffirmed, would forever remain their close comrades-in-arms.

Three days earlier, a mass rally sponsored by 14 people's organizations in Peking marked the occasion as well as the recent Hanoi International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace. (See *Peking Review*, Nos. 49, 50.) Among Chinese leaders present were Vice-Premier Ho Lung and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The rally was addressed by Liu Ning-I, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and head of the Chinese delegation to the Hanoi international conference; Nguyen Minh Phuong, Acting Head of the Permanent Delegation to China of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front; and Tran Tu Binh, Vietnamese Ambassador to China. Following the speeches, a message of support for the people of south Viet Nam and all Viet Nam was adopted amid stormy applause. Mass rallies were also held in Shanghai, Tientsin, Nanning, Wuhan and other major cities.

The reception given by Nguyen Minh Phuong on December 19 was attended by Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other Chinese government leaders.

Brilliant Leadership

Liu Ning-I's Speech. In his speech at the Peking rally, Liu Ning-I paid tribute to the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front for the brilliant successes it has achieved in the past four years in leading the struggle of the 14 million south Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and its stooges. "Using simple and crude weapons, the south Vietnamese people are fighting back at the U.S. aggressors and their puppets in south Viet Nam, who are armed to the teeth, and, overcoming inconceivable difficulties, have won great victories. Firmly relying on the masses, they have closely combined the mass political struggle with the armed struggle and built up a wealth of experience. The south Vietnamese people's armed struggle has provided a glorious example for the peoples of various countries in their struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for national liberation," Liu Ning-I declared.

The United States, he stressed, must at once cease its violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements. The problem of south Viet Nam can only be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves according to their own wishes. "The schemes of U.S. imperialism and its collaborators to intervene in the problem of Indo-China through the United Nations will never be tolerated; nor will it work," Liu Ning-I warned.

"The Chinese Government has repeatedly made it clear that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China are fraternal neighbours who are as close to each other as lips and teeth, that close kinship exists between the Chinese people and the people of the various countries of Indo-China and that the Chinese people will never sit idly by when their fraternal neighbours are subjected to aggression."

Success of Hanoi International Conference

Liu Ning-I acclaimed the success of the Hanoi international conference which, he said, fully reflected the firm determination of the peoples to unite in struggle against imperialism and in defence of peace, and their great strength to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression.

The conference completely supported the road of armed struggle the south Vietnamese people have been taking under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, considering this to be the only correct one. "Those fallacious arguments that publicize the capitulationist line and advocate 'international co-operation' and 'peaceful coexistence' with U.S. imperialism made no mark at all at the conference."

Citing many facts, Liu Ning-I continued, the overwhelming majority of the delegates to the conference proved that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism

will never change and that only by resolute struggle can the people defeat the U.S. imperialist plans of aggression and war and effectively defend their interests and world peace. "Those wrong ideas and deeds which prettify U.S. imperialism and echo its policies of aggression and war were fully exposed and thoroughly criticized. What happened at the conference showed that those who took the enemy—U.S. imperialism—for friends and were keen to collude and strike a deal with Washington are isolated among the people of various countries and are inexorably doomed to failure."

The conference firmly supported the just proposals put forward by the delegations of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front for the solution of the problems of Viet Nam and Indo-China. The overwhelming majority of the delegates to the conference angrily refuted the revisionists' various erroneous arguments and proposals for settling the Viet Nam problem. "Those who, on the one hand, pretended to support the Vietnamese people's struggle and, on the other hand, made every effort to advocate arguments for begging U.S. imperialism for peace and requesting the United Nations, which it controls, to interfere in the problems of Viet Nam and Indo-China were subjected to the exposure and criticism they deserved," Liu Ning-I emphasized.

The conference, Liu Ning-I observed, was held at a time when the Vietnamese people were winning continuous victories in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and when the erroneous line of revisionism was discredited everywhere and the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism was gaining incessant victories. The conference showed the fraternal concern and support of the peoples for the struggle of the Vietnamese people. "The conference has strengthened the united front of the world's people against U.S. imperialism. The success of the conference is a heavy blow for U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and an enormous encouragement to the struggle of the Vietnamese and other peoples," Liu Ning-I stressed.

Nguyen Minh Phuong's Speech. Nguyen Minh Phuong in his speech at the Peking rally pointed out that U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war presented a serious threat to the national-liberation movement and world peace. Therefore, he added, the south Vietnamese people realized that it was a real contribution to the cause of national liberation and peace if they opposed U.S. imperialism in a war of active and uncompromising resistance, achieved their own emancipation and defeated U.S. imperialist schemes of aggression and war in south Viet Nam.

"Can a small nation still recovering from the wounds of an aggressive war defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors armed with the most modern weapons and backed by huge amounts of money?" Nguyen Minh Phuong asked. "The experience gained in south Viet Nam shows that its people are defeating and will definitely defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their flunkys. Now that U.S. imperialism has suf-

ferred defeat in its 'special warfare' of aggression in south Viet Nam, it will certainly fare no better in other parts of the world."

"Should U.S. imperialism extend the war to the northern part of Viet Nam, the people of south Viet Nam and the whole Vietnamese people would rise up as one and fight resolutely to the end until complete victory."

Sole Representative of S. Vietnamese People

Nguyen Minh Phuong recalled: "The struggle of the south Vietnamese people has undergone an important change since the birth of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front. Born in the storm of the

people's revolution, the Front is a symbol of the south Vietnamese people's indomitable will and their determination to fight and win. . . . World public opinion regards the Front as the sole genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people."

The only correct way to solve the problem of south Viet Nam, Nguyen Minh Phuong emphasized, was for U.S. imperialism to stop its war of aggression, withdraw all its military personnel, armaments and war materiel and leave the south Vietnamese people to settle their internal affairs on the basis of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality as put forward in the programme of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

A Great People, a Glorious Banner

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" December 20 editorial greeting the fourth anniversary of the founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. Subheads are ours. —Ed.

THE founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation four years ago was a major turning point in the history of the south Vietnamese people's liberation struggle. Since then, the south Vietnamese people have embarked on the path of a well-organized war of resistance, under a strong leadership, against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. The flames of an armed struggle of the whole people have spread from the 17th Parallel to Mui Ca Mau, from the highlands to the Mekong River. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has in the last four years been a glorious banner for the people of south Viet Nam. It is a banner of daring to struggle and daring to win; a banner of trusting and relying on the masses. Carrying the people's fervent hopes for liberation and sharing their hatred for the enemy, the Front has led the 14 million south Vietnamese in the fight against the U.S. robbers who have broken into their homes. These four years have been years of bitter, arduous and stubborn fighting, with the south Vietnamese people displaying unparalleled heroism and winning one victory after another.

On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Front, the Chinese people extend, with the warmest militant friendship, their loftiest fraternal salute to their comrades-in-arms of the Front and all the people of south Viet Nam.

A People's War of Self-Defence

The south Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation is

a people's war of self-defence. It is entirely just. When the French colonialists were defeated in 1954, the south Vietnamese people hoped that they would be able to live in peace. However, U.S. imperialism forced its way into south Viet Nam before the ink was dry on the Geneva agreements. It flagrantly undermined these agreements, provoked an "undeclared" "special war" and barbarously slaughtered and tried to suppress the innocent south Vietnamese people. It turned south Viet Nam into a huge concentration camp in which the masses were deprived of the minimum human rights and where they lived in misery and under the constant threat of death. To submit and be slaughtered or to fight for survival — this is the problem that was starkly presented to the south Vietnamese people. At the end of their forbearance, they were compelled to rise and take the road of armed struggle. It was amid the flames of war that the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation was born and has since grown up.

Four years is only a very short interval in history but the situation in south Viet Nam has radically changed during this period.

The scattered, small and weak guerrillas of four years ago have grown into a strong people's armed force composed of the liberation army, the local units and the militia-guerrillas. They have liberated more than three-fourths of the land with a population of over 8 million and have firmly established liberated areas. In the past few years, the people's armed forces have put out of action or disintegrated more than 400,000 enemy troops including over 3,000 U.S. aggressors, thus striking a heavy blow at the effective strength of the U.S.-puppet clique. The people's guerrilla war today has extended from the highlands and the delta to the vicinities of enemy-occupied towns and commu-

nication lines. A favourable strategic situation in which cities are encircled by villages has appeared. The stormy mass and political struggles in the cities have opened up a second front for the fight against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. High in spirit and strong in morale, the people of south Viet Nam are striving for still greater victories with full confidence. Their revolutionary struggle presents an excellent situation unknown before.

U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have come to a dead end in south Viet Nam and can do nothing about it. The United States had intended to use south Viet Nam as the testing ground for its "special warfare" so as to gain experience in suppressing national-liberation movements. This plot has ignominiously failed. Its "Staley-Taylor" plan, its "strategic hamlets," its "pacification and entrenchment" plan and its "heli-borne" tactics went bankrupt one after another. It has engineered the "Gulf of Bac Bo incidents" and made desperate efforts to extend the war in Indo-China, but none of these can save the aggressors from their defeat. The U.S.-fostered puppet clique is disintegrating. Washington has changed its lackeys five times but each new lackey puts up a poorer show than his predecessor. It is now more isolated than ever before, with its allies half-hearted in their support and its own house ceaselessly squabbling. In short, the utter defeat of U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam is now a foregone conclusion.

No Fear of U.S. Imperialism

The struggle of the south Vietnamese people shows that in order to defeat U.S. imperialism, first of all one must not fear it.

The reason why the forces of the south Vietnamese people have grown from small and weak units into a strong army capable of withstanding any enemy assault is that the south Vietnamese people from the very beginning formed the strategic concept of not fearing U.S. imperialism. Armed with such a concept, one dares to despise the enemy, dares to struggle and to win victory, is able to turn the tide in one's favour and gradually change the balance of forces between the enemy and oneself. If one fears U.S. imperialism at the outset and thinks that this "colossus" must not be offended, the result can only be docile submission—and south Viet Nam would not be what it is today.

As a matter of fact, U.S. imperialism is not in any way formidable. It appears powerful but actually it is a paper tiger, outwardly strong and internally weak. It has sent its armed forces to south Viet Nam without any justification. The morale of its soldiers is very low. As soon as they intrude into south Viet Nam they are besieged by the people and reduced to utter passivity and isolation. Propping up the cause of counter-revolution of the whole world, U.S. imperialism has to deploy its forces over a wide front. The result is that when anti-U.S. storms break out in various

parts of the world, U.S. imperialism, like one who tries to use his ten fingers to catch ten fleas at one and the same time, is completely incapable of coping with the situation. Precisely because of this, U.S. imperialism is not formidable at all but can be defeated.

The People Have Strength

The struggle of the south Vietnamese people also shows that to defeat U.S. imperialism, it is necessary to mobilize the masses on the broadest possible scale and rely on them. The victory of the revolutionary struggle in south Viet Nam is in the last analysis the victory of the people's forces.

With neither an air force, nor a navy, nor atomic weapons, the south Vietnamese people have yet been able to hit the U.S. aggressors hard blows with simple weapons. Why? Because the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation fully trusts the people, mobilizes them and relies on them. Once the broad masses take up arms and are determined to liberate themselves, no force, no new-type weapons, can stop them—no ant can shake a big tree. This truth has been borne out by the victories of the Chinese, Cuban and Algerian revolutions, it is once again proved by the new practice of the south Vietnamese people.

Who is really strong? It is the people. Wherein does strength lie? It lies in the people. The south Vietnamese people's revolutionary guerrilla war has developed into a war of the whole people in which everybody, man or woman, old or young, participates. This is more powerful than any atomic weapons. It is a wall of steel which nobody can break down.

The people form the majority. The aggressors, however truculent and ferocious, are always in the minority. Compared with the 14 million people of south Viet Nam, the 30,000 American military personnel plus the several hundred thousand puppet troops are like tiny islands in a boundless sea. A whole people mobilized is an inexhaustible source of strength and wisdom. It is the guarantee of victory.

International Significance

The great victory won by the south Vietnamese people under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is of great international significance. The south Vietnamese people's struggle has enriched the common store of experience of all oppressed nations and peoples. The south Vietnamese people have proved by living example that no force can crush a people who are awakened and have taken their destiny into their own hands. The south Vietnamese people's successful experience will, therefore, greatly encourage the revolutionary peoples of the whole world, making them dare to oppose U.S. imperialism, firmly believe in their own strength and thus push forward the revolutionary struggles to a new high.

While stepping up its "special warfare" in south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration is at present

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation







THE South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation was established four years ago on December 20, 1960. Today it is the centre of unity of all patriotic forces in south Viet Nam and the organizing and leading force of the victorious struggle of the south Vietnamese people. It is an anti-U.S. imperialist, patriotic united front made up of patriotic forces of various classes, nationalities, political parties, social organizations and religious bodies. It comprises more than 20 political parties and people's organizations, with the South Viet Nam Working People's Association for Liberation as the core.

The establishment of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation marked a new stage in the development of the revolutionary movement of the 14 million south Vietnamese people opposing U.S.-puppet rule. On its formation the Front put forward a clear political programme: Smash the new-type colonial system of imperialism and its stooges; set up a national democratic union government; establish independence and democracy; improve the people's livelihood; bring about peace and neutrality in south Viet Nam and then realize the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

From the middle of February to early March 1962 the Front held its first congress and elected its Central Committee, with the well-known lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho as President of the Presidium of its Central Committee.

The Front has achieved great successes over the past four years in the struggle for national independence and peace and against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their puppets' dictatorial rule. At home and abroad its prestige is being daily enhanced. Many countries now look upon it as the real representative of the people of south Viet Nam.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is a member of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and other international bodies and has taken part in many conferences called by international organizations. It has set up permanent delegations in China, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Indonesia and Algeria.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S VICTORIES (1961-64)		
AREA LIBERATED more than three-quarters of south Viet Nam		PEOPLE LIBERATED more than 8 million (over one-half of total population)
Enemy Troops Put Out of Action over 400,000 	U.S. Invaders Put Out of Action over 3,000 	Enemy Aircraft Destroyed or Damaged nearly 2,000 
Military Vehicles Destroyed or Damaged over 2,000 	Naval Vessels Sunk or Damaged over 800 	Military Trains Blown Up 148 
Weapons Captured over 40,000 	"Strategic Hamlets" Destroyed over 6,400 	Total Count of People Taking Part in Political Struggles over 100 million (since 1962) 

Facts and figures taken from a recent communique issued by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation reviewing successes of the south Vietnamese people in the four years since the founding of the Front. (Figures based on incomplete statistics.)

wildly crying for an extension of the war to all of Indo-China. It has sent more military personnel and equipment to south Viet Nam, carried out repeated air and sea raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, extended its armed intervention in Laos, stepped up its aggressive and subversive activities against the Kingdom of Cambodia and accelerated its criminal preparations for expanding the war. The situation in Indo-China and Southeast Asia has become more dangerous. But the spirit of righteousness grows much faster than the spirit of evil. The Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are ever ready to deal crushing blows to the aggressor. The morale of the people in south Viet Nam is ever higher and they have girded themselves to fight shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in the north to crush any U.S. adventure in extending the war. The

Laotian people are successfully carrying on the struggle against U.S. armed intervention. The Government and people of the Kingdom of Cambodia are staunchly determined to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Whatever desperate step it may take, the United States cannot save itself from a fiasco in south Viet Nam and will only end up in still more disastrous defeats there.

International developments are today most favourable to the south Vietnamese people's struggle. The situation of the struggle itself is excellent. The Chinese people will always stand on the side of the south Vietnamese people and support their just struggle. We are convinced that the heroic people of south Viet Nam, under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, will win more and still greater victories.

Throttling British Guiana's Fight For Independence

by WEN YAO-CHIN

London is resorting to political chicanery, coupled with violence, in its attempt to put off the date of independence for British Guiana, its only colony on the Latin American continent. Going back on their word, and acting on the orders of the neo-colonialists in the White House, the old colonialists in Whitehall have prevented re-elected Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan and his party from taking office and are trying to throttle the independence movement of the people of British Guiana.

THE December 7 election in British Guiana (pop. 600,000) was a mockery of even so-called parliamentary democracy. Tension and terror reigned in Georgetown, the capital city, that day. Truckloads of British troopers and the notorious, ubiquitous American C.I.A. agents openly intimidated voters in an effort to undermine the ruling People's Progressive Party (P.P.P.), which, standing firm for real independence and in its fight against colonial oppression, thrice emerged victorious in the 1953, 1957 and 1961 elections. On election day, 3,500 battle-ready British soldiers and police were posted at the polling stations with R.A.F. helicopters hovering overhead. Dozens of active P.P.P. organizers and members were put under arrest by the Governor; terrorists employed by the forces of reaction, with the connivance of the police authorities, attacked P.P.P. backers; they even planned to blow up the P.P.P. headquarters and threatened the lives of Prime Minister Jagan and his cabinet members.

Sham Election. Constitutionally, the term of office of the Jagan government will not expire until next August but the British Government insisted on an early election. It also ruled that the date of independence could be decided only by the new post-election legislative council. By this method the British colonialists calculated to topple the Jagan government, the last one on earth under which they were ready to see Guiana become independent. Despite the election terror, the P.P.P. headed by Jagan maintained its position as the most popular political party in British Guiana. But, because the election was held under the "proportional representation" system imposed by London (known also as the Sandys plan, inspired by Washington and worked out by Tory Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys), the P.P.P., although it came in first at the polls (with 110,000 votes, or 3.2 per cent more than in the last election), did not have a majority in the legislative council. It received only 24 of the council's 53 seats. The People's National Congress (P.N.C.), the principal opposition, received less votes than in the last election, while the United Force (U.F.), propped up by U.S. and British imperialism, suf-

fered a sharp defeat. Nevertheless, the two together captured 29 council seats. The British weekly the *Economist* (Dec. 12) was forced to admit that "under the old constituency system, Dr. Jagan would have won enough seats in the assembly to govern." According to usual practice, the P.P.P., as the party with the largest number of votes, should have been authorized to form the government. The British authorities prevented this on the pretext that the P.P.P. had failed to win more than half the council seats. All this was designed to throw the P.P.P. out of office before the colony became independent. After the British Labour Party came to power in October, Prime Minister Jagan travelled to London to ask the Wilson government to revoke the "proportional representation" system, ensure that elections would not be held earlier than previously arranged, and grant immediate independence. The new Labour government turned a deaf ear to these reasonable demands and continued to adhere to the Tory policy.

A law unto itself, London amended the constitution of British Guiana and authorized British Governor Richard Luyt to make Forbes Burnham, the P.N.C. leader, the new Prime Minister. Earlier, in a message to Jagan, British Colonial Secretary Anthony Greenwood asserted that his government had "no alternative" but to "resort to a constitutional amendment" if Jagan "obstructed the formation of a new government."



Sketch map by Su Li

Why "No Alternative"? Why was there "no alternative" for the British Government? A UPI dispatch of December 6 provides the answer. "In London and Washington," it reported, "the idea of Jagan leading the colony to independence from Britain is anathema." To London, British Guiana, in addition to its strategic value, is a source of timber, diamonds, coal and possibly oil. Faced with a party in power fighting for real independence, democratic reforms and against foreign intervention, such as the P.P.P. is doing, the vested interests of the British ruling class feel threatened. Hence, its government has "no alternative" but to attack that party.

Another major factor is Washington's pressure on Britain. It was revealed that Britain had promised to keep its troops stationed in Guiana and delay the date of independence in exchange for Washington's support for its policy in South Yemen. U.S. imperialism, concerned with the interests of monopoly capital there as well as in all of Latin America, has no wish to see an independent Guiana under a Jagan government which, in foreign policy, fights imperialism and is friendly to socialist Cuba, and internally, as we have described in the foregoing, advocates democratic reforms. For U.S. imperialism, a socialist Cuba is already a big headache and it does not want to see the emergence of another anti-imperialist country in what it likes to think of as its "back yard." According to American columnist Drew Pearson, when the late U.S. President Kennedy visited London in 1963 one of his objectives was to persuade British Prime Minister Macmillan to deny British Guiana its independence; Kennedy feared that the government of an independent Guiana might take over U.S. properties there and produce calamitous political repercussions. The Johnson Administration, like its predecessor, also regards the Jagan government as a thorn in its side. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk conferred with British Foreign Secretary Gordon-Walker during the latter's recent visit to Washington on measures to suppress the national-liberation movement in British Guiana. Back in Georgetown, Governor Luyt at the time of the recent "elections" held frequent consultations with the U.S. Consul-General in Guiana.

Cash and Violence. U.S. secret service agents and American dollars played an important part in the deterioration of the Guiana situation. The anti-government strikes of 1962 and 1963 were sponsored by the C.I.A. in collaboration with British agents. In staging these strikes they hoped to whip up unrest and overthrow the Jagan government but failed. It has now come to light that this direct and open American intervention was carried out and financed by the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade and by the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the American trade union dangling on the purse strings of the U.S. Government and big business. "While the British Guiana Government was busy with its programmes," reported the American *Monthly Review* (issue for July-August 1964), "the government's enemies were equally hard at work. American labour representatives were regularly in and out of Georgetown, arranging U.S. 'scholarships' for likely (anti-P.P.P.) unionists, advising union officers, and organizing classes stressing

'anti-communism' in the unions." In a letter to the *New York Times* (quoted in the *Nation*, Feb. 10, 1964) Cheddi Jagan noted that "the strike is . . . politically inspired by the opposition and by business elements. . . . The Trade Union Council campaign of passive resistance organized by U.S.-trained unionists is openly supported by the opposition parties and has led to racial violence."

One of the many tactics used by U.S. and British imperialism in obstructing British Guiana's independence is to sow discord between inhabitants of Indian and African origin, to create racial trouble and conflicts. By this means they engineered a split inside the P.P.P. At their instigation, Forbes Burnham, then the P.P.P. chairman, who is of African descent, quit that party in 1955 and at a later date formed the P.N.C., composed mainly of the Negro people in British Guiana, which ever since its founding has become the chief opposition party and a tool of U.S.-British imperialism. With racial conflict fanned, London could make this an excuse for denying the country its independence because the people there, so it claims, are politically "immature" and not in a position to form a "stable" government. This also provided the British authorities with the excuse to proclaim martial law and suppress government-supporters in the name of maintaining "law and order."

When political deception has failed, British imperialism never hesitates to use violence. In 1953, for instance, four months after the P.P.P. came to power after winning the election, London arbitrarily suspended the constitution, dissolved the government and detained Prime Minister Jagan and other P.P.P. leaders. In June this year, under the pretext of the Enmore sugar workers' strike, it took over "emergency powers" and placed a number of P.P.P. leaders under arrest, including chairman Brindley Benn.

The People Protest. On December 14 Burnham's swearing in was hastily called. But the people of British Guiana will not take this lying down. They were protesting against Britain's trampling down the constitution. On December 21, there were protest meetings in 17 places throughout the country, including major rural centres. Speakers at rallies urged P.P.P. members and supporters to step up their fight and be alert to any possible persecution of the party. The people were resolved to be prepared and stand up to defend their rights, declared Cheddi Jagan on the same day at a rally of 15,000 people in Anandale.

A Lesson to Remember. *Renmin Ribao*, commenting on recent events in British Guiana and voicing the Chinese people's belief that the people there would finally defeat the enemy and win independence, wrote that what happened "is a new lesson to the people of the world that the colonialists will never offer independence to the oppressed nations on a silver platter nor will they quit the stage of history of their own accord nor will this leopard ever change his spots."

Referring to the infamous part played by U.S. imperialism in repressing British Guiana's independence movement, *Renmin Ribao* pointed out: Both U.S. imperialism and British imperialism are the ferocious enemies of the people of Guiana.

Joint Statement of Indonesian C.P. and Australian C.P. (Marxist-Leninist)

- **Marxist-Leninists throughout the world must firmly unite and actively oppose "modern revisionism without Khrushchov."**
- **The two Parties support each other in strengthening their struggle against U.S. imperialism and other imperialist countries and condemn the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America.**
- **The success of China's nuclear test has altered the world balance of forces in favour of the new emerging forces and to the disadvantage of imperialism.**

A joint statement of the Communist Party of Indonesia and the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), signed in Djakarta on December 6, was published in "Harian Rakjat," organ of the Communist Party of Indonesia on December 14. Excerpts from the joint statement follow. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

ON the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, the statement says, a delegation of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) consisting of Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman, and Comrade C.L. O'Shea, Deputy Chairman, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia (M.-L.), paid a fraternal visit to Indonesia.

On December 3 and 6, 1964, official talks were held between the delegation and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia. The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of warm cordiality and close friendship. Complete agreement was reached between the two sides on all matters discussed.

The statement says: "The U.S. imperialists use Australia for U.S. investment and as an important area from which to further their plans for world domination. They have invested and are continuing to invest at an ever expanding rate millions of dollars in Australia. No sphere of the economy is left untouched. They exploit the Australian workers and working people. . . .

"They use Australia as an area from which to export the products of their Australian factories to Southeast Asia and from which to exploit the market and raw materials of Southeast Asia. Hence they use Australia, assisted by their Australian puppets, as a base to prepare attacks upon the national-liberation movement in Southeast Asia."

U.S. imperialism now calls upon Australia to increase its contribution to "the defence of the free world" which really means extended aggression by the U.S. imperialists, the statement continues. **In the circumstances of extended U.S. imperialist aggression, the**

modern revisionists' assertion that international tensions have relaxed, their failure to give all-out support to the national-liberation movement, their one-sided presentation of peaceful coexistence and disarmament, their concealing of the fact that the main enemy of peace is U.S. imperialism, their playing down of the struggle against U.S. bases in Australia and their 'unity' with the Australian Labour Party leaders who frankly and openly support the so-called Australia-U.S. alliance, in fact serve U.S. imperialism. Therefore the struggle against revisionism is an essential part of the struggle against imperialism. The working class must unite against imperialism and revisionism.

The statement says, "the Communist Party of Indonesia pays highest tribute to the Australian Marxist-Leninists and progressives for their courageous struggle against U.S. military bases in Australia, against ANZUS and SEATO, against Australian troops being used in 'Malaysia' by putting forth the slogan 'no Australian troops for "Malaysia,"' and against the aggressive actions of the Menzies government in support of the neo-colonialist 'Malaysia' project, all of which clearly pose a threat to the security and safety of the Republic of Indonesia and the peoples of Southeast Asia.

"In the spirit of solidarity for the national independence struggle of these peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Communist Party of Australia (M.-L.) expresses its complete support for the struggle being waged by the Communist Party and people of Indonesia to defeat the neo-colonialist project of the so-called Malaysia."

The Communist Party of Australia (M.-L.) and the Communist Party of Indonesia fully support the Unitary State of North Kalimantan and the present armed struggle of the people of North Kalimantan, under the leadership of the government headed by Premier Azahari, for independence, the statement says.

"In line with the principles of proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960

81 Parties' Statement, the two Parties strongly support the struggles being waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the entire world to build a new life free from exploitation and oppression. **The two Parties agree that the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed peoples fighting for independence is the main contradiction in the world today.**"

U.S. imperialism as the ringleader of world imperialism is the main obstacle of the Geneva agreements on Indo-China, the statement says. The two Parties condemn U.S. imperialist aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and demand that all U.S. imperialist war bases and troops be withdrawn from Indo-China.

The two Parties protest strongly against the barbaric aggression launched by the U.S. imperialists together with the Belgian imperialists, and support the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) who, under the leadership of the National Council for Liberation of the Congo, are waging an armed struggle against the U.S. and Belgian imperialist robbers and their lackeys of the Tshombe ilk.

The two Parties affirm the strong support of the Indonesian and Australian working people for the people of Cuba who are resisting U.S. aggression and subversion unremittingly and courageously, for the peoples of Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, Bolivia and other Latin American countries who are taking up arms to fight against the domestic reactionary regimes which fully serve U.S. imperialism.

The statement says, "the two Parties enthusiastically welcome the successful testing of a nuclear weapon by

the People's Republic of China. In contrast with the revisionists the two Parties are of the opinion that this nuclear bomb test not only further consolidates the defence of the socialist camp but also strengthens the struggle of the people of the whole world for independence and genuine peace. China's nuclear bomb test has altered the balance of forces in the world to the advantage of the new emerging forces and to the disadvantage of the old established imperialist force."

Khrushchov's downfall, it says, is a victory for the constantly expanding Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world. Khrushchov's downfall testifies to the bankruptcy of the modern revisionist domestic and foreign policy of capitulation to imperialism, of the policy of splitting the international communist movement. It benefits the international communist movement. But the two Parties are fully aware that the imperialists as well as the modern revisionists will always do all they possibly can to ensure that Khrushchov's disastrous line continues to be applied. **Thus, the fall of Khrushchov does not mean that the struggle against modern revisionism has now come to an end. Marxist-Leninists throughout the world must firmly unite and actively oppose "modern revisionism without Khrushchov." With or without Khrushchov, modern revisionism must be vigorously opposed!**

"For the cause of unity of the international communist movement, the two Parties hold that an international conference or meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties can only be justified if it is preceded by adequate preparations in which the Communist and Workers' Parties of all the socialist countries participate," the statement concludes.

The Indonesian C.P. Will Not Participate in Schismatic Meeting in Moscow

— Reply to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

Following is a translation of the December 14 press release of the Information Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party. — Ed.

SOVIET Ambassador Mikhailov on December 14, 1964, called at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party to meet D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party. During the meeting they discussed the question of a visit to the Soviet Union by the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party at the invitation of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. The Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party has accepted the invitation. The date of the visit will be agreed upon by both Parties later and it will also de-

pend on developments in the international communist movement.

In the name of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, Aidit handed to Mikhailov the reply of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party to the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated December 1, 1964. In its letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. invited the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party to attend the international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties to be convened in Moscow on March 1, 1965.

The Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party stated in its reply that unless the most

adequate preparations were made before the conference and unless the Communist and Workers' Parties of all the socialist countries took part in it, the Indonesian Communist Party could not and would not take part in any international conference.

In other words, in view of the fact that adequate preparations have not been made for the international conference and that not all the Communist and Workers'

Parties of the socialist countries will take part in it, the Indonesian Communist Party will not participate in the conference to be held on March 1, 1965.

D.N. Aidit then told Mikhailov that instead of convening such a conference it would be better not to convene it at all, because it would further split the international communist movement and further sharpen the contradictions in it.

Talks Between V.G. Wilcox and E.F. Hill

V.G. WILCOX, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, visited Melbourne recently and held informal talks with E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and other Party leaders, according to a Melbourne report quoting *Vanguard*, organ of the Australian Communist Party (M.-L.).

In their talks, the two sides discussed matters deeply affecting the world Marxist-Leninist movement. They agreed that the main danger, the force causing disunity in the international communist movement today, was constituted by the activities of the modern revisionists in all countries.

Both sides held that although the C.P.S.U.'s removal of the arch-revisionist Khrushchov from office opened up possibilities of reunification, many difficulties still stood in the way of achieving in the communist movement in all countries principled unity based on Marxism-Leninism, on the 1957 Declaration and the 81 Parties' Statement of 1960.

They also agreed that it was a proletarian and communist duty to continue to vigorously fight for this objective.

Taking part in the talks were also P. Malone and C.L. O'Shea, Vice-Chairmen of the Australian C.P. (M.-L.) and F. Johnson, Secretary of the Party.

"Writing About Middle Characters"— A Bourgeois Literary Notion

Following is the second and concluding instalment of a slightly abridged translation of an article by the editorial department of "Wenyi Bao" (Literary Gazette) which appeared in its September 30 issue. The first instalment appeared in our last issue. Subheads and boldface emphases are "Wenyi Bao's." — Ed.

Distortion of Engels' and Chairman Mao's Words Must Be Opposed

THE advocate of writing about "middle characters" has unscrupulously distorted the meaning of what Engels and Chairman Mao have written and has used this wrong interpretation as the theoretical basis for his call to "write about middle characters." This too must be refuted.

He has gravely misinterpreted the letter written to Margaret Harkness by Engels. The basic spirit of this letter is an earnest hope and demand that writers energetically portray the advanced characters of the working class and describe its revolutionary struggles.

Such descriptions, the letter said, "may lay claim to a place in the domain of realism." Engels criticized the authoress of *City Girl* presenting an untypical, too passive image of the workers and for failing to present correctly the ethos of the 1880s. Engels was evidently not satisfied with this novel and he placed his hopes on another work by the same authoress. He earnestly urged her in her future writings to pay attention to describing the active side of the working class. How can such a letter filled with revolutionary spirit be distorted to make out that Engels also approved of stressing the description of the passive side of the working class and writing a great deal about "middle characters" who are neither good nor bad?

As we all know, Chairman Mao from the beginning to the end of his *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* called on revolutionary writers and artists to sing the praises of the proletariat, the workers, peasants and soldiers and of the bright things of life; he called on writers to write about the new people and the new world. He called on writers and artists to

plunge themselves without reservation, wholeheartedly and for long periods into the heat of the struggle of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and to observe and analyse the various classes and characters and all kinds of social phenomena from the class viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. Only by so doing, he declared, could they proceed to creative work and produce works suited to the needs of the workers, peasants and soldiers. How can these words be distorted to make out that Chairman Mao also supports the idea of stressing descriptions of "middle characters" who are neither good nor bad?

Engels long ago criticized the so-called "real socialists" among the German writers, and reproached them for devoting all their energy to praise of "the 'petty character' in all his forms, but not the proud, redoubtable and revolutionary proletariat."¹ This thought and stand conforms with those expressed in his letter to Margaret Harkness, in which he raised his objections to writings which dealt exclusively with the passive side of the workers' life. **In 1955 Chairman Mao wrote in the editor's note to "Chen Hsueh-meng Takes the Lead in Agricultural Co-operation": "There are no less than tens of thousands of such heroic characters in China, but it is a pity that the writers have not looked for them yet." More than eight years have passed but our creative writing has not responded to this call very well. Now, the person who proposes "writing about middle characters" has even distorted the original meaning of Engels and Chairman Mao to defend his mistaken views. This further exposes the anti-Marxist essence of this theory and proposal.**

So it can be seen that in view of the fact that literature and art reflect their era, in view of their educational role and the present state of creative writing, and because the Marxist classics are mistakenly interpreted; the theory, stand and major reasons for "writing about middle characters" are all untenable. They run counter to Marxist thinking on literature and art, and contravene the policy of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, and the line of socialist literature and art.

It must be pointed out: **In spite of the fact that this theory and proposal are very wrong and cannot stand up to criticism, they may still exert a certain attraction and may be, and actually have already been, welcomed by a number of writers.** These latter consist of the following: The first group comprises those who, taking a bourgeois stand, are fundamentally opposed to praising heroic characters from among the proletariat and the rest of the working people. Under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, they dare not declare openly that they want to praise the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants. They welcome the theory of "writing about middle

characters" and regard it as their own, because it actually leads to praise of the bourgeoisie and opposition to the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants. The second group comprises people who, because of their isolation from the heat of the mass struggle, still preserve a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois kingdom in their innermost soul. They fail to perceive the heroic characters and outstanding deeds of the masses; they see only the passive and backward things and it is these that they appreciate. They show no interest in anything that is advanced. Their mental world is so narrow that it cannot take in the towering images of the heroes of our new times. Their own mentality remains on the level of "middle characters" and so naturally they welcome the proposal to "write about middle characters." The people in the third group know that it is relatively difficult to write about heroes. To do so demands that they overcome a whole series of difficulties in life and creative art, identify themselves wholeheartedly with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and take an active part in their class and production struggles and scientific experiment. Afraid of difficulties, these people prefer to take the easy road. When they hear that someone has advanced a theory offering this very course and so making them feel justified in taking the easy path, they are naturally very happy because this "opens a road" for them. Besides these, there are some other comrades who for a long time have neglected theoretical studies and given no attention to a serious study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Such comrades can easily become the ideological captives of other people — either of dogmatists or revisionists. **No matter from what angle they support the "portrayal of middle characters," it is extremely dangerous! They run in varying degrees against the correct direction — the direction that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism. They have already become or may possibly become fellow travellers of the revisionists. Now it is high time for them to switch to the right road!**

What Is "Deepened Realism"?

Replacing the portrayal of heroic characters by "writing about middle characters" inevitably eliminates the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

The advocate of "writing about middle characters" has advanced the theory of a "deepened realism." What is this? It is claimed that this means describing the protracted, arduous and complex nature of actual struggles. Naturally it is an excellent thing to take the viewpoint of class struggle and describe correctly the arduous and complex advance of the struggles of the popular masses in transforming the world. However, this protracted, arduous and complex nature must be presented, according to him, through the portrayal of large numbers of "middle characters," by stressing description of the "old things" among the popular masses and generalizing "the spiritual burden which individual peasants have carried for thousands of years." New revolutionary things and persons, the revolutionary spirit

¹K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. ed., State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1955, Vol. IV, p. 208.

of the socialist era and the spirit of revolutionary heroism in our time are not included in the scope of this "deepened realism." So what kind of realism is this? **He opposes the realistic character of our literature to its revolutionary character and then deprives it of its revolutionary character. The realism he advocates is one bereft of its revolutionary character and one, moreover, bereft of the revolutionary ideals of communists. This realism, in essence, is bourgeois realism which opposes socialism and communism. By "deepening" this kind of realism, will our literature not be dragged on to the anti-socialist road and become a variety of reactionary bourgeois literature?**

In line with the theory and proposal about "portraying middle characters" and a "deepened realism," he specially advocates the description of "ordinary" things in creative writing, the idea of "seeing the big through the small" and of "seeing the whole kaleidoscopic world in a single grain." He regards these as important means of achieving realistic depth. If writers study life from the revolutionary viewpoint of Marxism, it is, of course, also possible for them to discern extraordinary things in the ordinary daily life of the worker and peasant masses, things which are of sharp and general significance. By summing up and generalization, they can produce works which reflect matters of general significance through the description of ordinary things. Such works are also needed. However, should writers discard the revolutionary spirit, grow tired of revolutionary struggle, refuse to take the road of plunging themselves into the heat of struggle and identifying themselves with the masses, and hunch themselves over their desks every day to ponder the deep meaning of "seeing the whole kaleidoscopic world in a single grain"; then their vision will inevitably be limited to the narrow range of daily trifles. They will only be able to produce banal little works which deal solely with trifling matters and cannot possibly reflect anything of general significance. How can such works project the magnificent poetic meaning of our great era?

However, the intention of the advocate of "portrayal of middle characters" is precisely to replace the creative method of combining revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism with his "deepened realism" and "commonplace realism."

The basic requirement of revolutionary realism is description of the fiery struggles waged by the popular masses in transforming reality and the expression of their great determination to change the world. The soul of revolutionary romanticism is revolutionary idealism [to realize revolutionary ideals] and revolutionary heroism. Revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism are inextricably linked to form an integrated artistic creative method. We put forward this method to promote the further revolutionizing of our literary and artistic creation; this not only correctly reflects reality, but plays a mighty role in the revolutionary remoulding of reality. An important prerequisite in using this creative method is to revolutionize the ideology and sentiments of writers and artists. When their ideology and sentiments have changed, they will naturally dis-

card the old bourgeois creative method and accept the best creative method of the proletariat. The revolutionary creative method of the proletariat has never been imposed on anyone, but neither can anyone be allowed to distort it as he likes.

Our literature, said this advocate of "the portrayal of middle characters," had "enough" revolutionary qualities in it and "too much" revolutionary heroism; in other words, there was no longer any need for revolutionary romanticism. On the other hand, he held that on the basis of his "deepened realism," there will "emerge a mighty romanticism." Isn't that very strange? Can one say that revolutionary romanticism does not emerge in the heat of the struggle, which is fully imbued with revolutionary heroism, does not grow out of the revolutionary enthusiasm and revolutionary ideals of the writers, and find embodiment in splendid images of heroic revolutionary characters? Or can one say that revolutionary romanticism emerges from a realism that is deprived of revolutionary character and from a description of "middle characters" who are not revolutionary at all? With revolution rejected, how is it possible to "seek the road of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism" on the basis of a "deepened realism"?

Need to Consult the Mirror

Should the emphasis in our literature and art be on the advanced personalities among the workers, peasants and soldiers, or should it be on the "middle characters" who are "neither good nor bad"? Should our literature and art extol the great achievements of the workers, peasants and soldiers, or should they publicize and "expose" the so-called "old things" that burden them? These are questions that concern the basic stand of the writer and artist; they also relate to the basic difference between the socialist and anti-socialist lines in literature and art. Advocating the "portrayal of middle characters" and a "deepened realism" means, in essence, urging writers not to write about advanced people, not to praise the the people's revolutionary spirit and not to encourage the people to advance. It means urging writers to wax enthusiastic about portraying the backward and the wavering, publicizing or "exposing" the people's "shortcomings," and thus dragging the people backwards.

The struggle over this fundamental issue has never ceased since the founding of New China. We criticized the film *Life of Wu Hsun* because it eulogized Wu Hsun as a hero in the people's fight against feudal oppression, whereas in reality he was a most hideous, hypocritical and reactionary henchman of feudal society. We also criticized the reactionary statements of the counter-revolutionary Hu Feng clique and the bourgeois Rightists. They slandered our new heroes: they were against the creating of heroic literary and artistic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and opposed the artistic creative method of the proletariat. We criticized their reactionary works which distorted revolutionary reality and projected distorted images of the workers,

peasants and soldiers. Didn't Hu Feng vigorously publicize such thoroughly reactionary concepts as "the wounds of mental slavery" and "genuine realism"? Didn't Hu Feng advocate writing about the "most ordinary things" and about the "most stagnant life" and loudly tout his absurd ideas about "one person being a world," and "seeing the world in a grain of sand"? Didn't Hu Feng vilify our advocacy of writing on big, important themes and heroic characters and of literature and art serving the political struggle as a "knife" and something that "strangles literature and art"? Those who took part in criticizing the reactionary ideas on literature and art of Hu Feng and others have today themselves picked up the weapons of Hu Feng and his like to fight the policy of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, and the socialist line in literature and art. Can this be tolerated?

Modern revisionist literature and art are for us material which can teach us by negative example. The modern revisionists vilify heroic revolutionary images in works of socialist literature and art as "characters put together of reinforced concrete" and products of "formulas." They advocate "de-heroization," asserting that there is really no difference between positive and negative characters, and advocating that great efforts should be devoted to portraying "ordinary people, who can neither be described as good nor bad." In their works, they either eulogize the bourgeois individualist as the hero of our times, or else take a particular delight in describing the misfortunes of "petty characters." They display a signboard of socialist literature and art, but sell contraband bourgeois literature and art, and in so doing, try to transform the proletariat's socialist literature and art into appendages of modern reactionary bourgeois literature and art. Wouldn't it be as well for those who advocate writing about "middle characters" and a "deepened realism" to take a look at themselves in the mirror of modern revisionist literature and art and learn the lesson they need?

It must be realized that the revolutionary consciousness of the masses has been greatly enhanced by the struggles against the counter-revolutionary clique of Hu Feng, against the bourgeois Rightists and, internationally, against the modern revisionists. It is quite impossible today to baldly oppose the direction of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and socialism, to oppose the exaltation of the heroism of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to oppose the literary and artistic creative method of the proletariat and to come out openly for bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ideology. **The methods some people use today are much more subtle. While they mouth high-sounding phrases about supporting the policy of the Party on literature and art, they are doing their level best to advertise non-revolutionary or not so revolutionary things, which are actually bourgeois or petty-bourgeois, to contend for position with that which are revolutionary and are of the proletariat. They make deceptive proposals camouflaged in Marxist phraseology which are actually theories and proposals of the bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeoisie, to cater to the backward mentality**

of some people in the literary and artistic circles and gradually draw them away from the literary and artistic direction of the proletariat. Consequently, the nature of the present struggle is more devious and complicated than it was before. Such bourgeois theories and proposals cannot be treated lightly. They must be dealt with seriously because there is a market for them in literary and artistic circles.

Struggle Over Major Issues of Right and Wrong in Literature and Art

In recent years, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, has been quite acute on the various political and economic fronts of our country. This struggle cannot but be reflected on the literary and artistic front. **The series of theories and proposals centring around the "portrayal of middle characters" have inevitably led to discussions and criticisms. This sharply reflects in literary and artistic circles the class struggle in society and the struggle between the two roads.**

All these theories and proposals put out by the advocate of "writing about middle characters" are advantageous to the bourgeoisie and capitalism but are disadvantageous to the proletariat and socialism.

Firstly. The advocate of this idea of "portraying middle characters" put it forward at a time when the class struggle and the struggle between the two roads were growing more acute in the urban and rural areas. According to his concept and explanation, the bulk of our worker-peasant masses and the people of various strata are wavering between the two roads, standing outside the socialist revolution, while those who are firm in the revolution, and resolutely take the socialist road are only a minority. **This is actually using the "supra-class" concept of "middle characters" to sow confusion, to blur class antagonisms and the line-up in the class struggle, ignore the revolutionary desires of the masses (including those temporarily in an intermediate state of mind), negate the mass basis of heroic and outstanding figures among the masses, and of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. This is entirely contrary to reality. It can be only of reactionary use, strengthening the influence of capitalism and weakening the forces of socialism.**

Secondly. The ideological stand of a writer is embodied in the characters portrayed in his creative writings. **To stand up for the energetic creation of heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers means working energetically to consolidate and expand the position and influence of the revolutionary and socialist forces in literature and art and in social life. To advocate "writing about middle characters" is in effect an attempt to weaken and narrow down the position and influence of the revolutionary and socialist forces in literature and art, and in social life. The former educates the masses of people by warmly praising heroic characters and by projecting the socialist and communist spirit embodied**

in such heroic characters. The latter corrupts the masses of people by portraying the passive side of the "middle characters" in a sympathetic and appreciative way and by projecting the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology embodied in them. Thus to exclude heroic characters from our literature and art is to exclude socialism and communism.

Thirdly. To extol heroic characters among the workers, peasants and soldiers is to praise the proletariat, to inspire the revolutionary people's militant courage and confidence in victory. To "write about middle characters" sympathetically and appreciatively means, in fact, to sing the praises of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, to sap the revolutionary people's militant courage and confidence in victory. As Chairman Mao has said, "If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will not eulogize the proletariat but will eulogize the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will not eulogize the bourgeoisie but will eulogize the proletariat and the working people: It must be one or the other."² This problem is particularly acute today. Writers and artists, and especially those who are Communist Party members, must ask themselves whether as writers and artists of New China, they should encourage the worker, peasant and soldier masses to be of one mind and one heart and engage in the struggle to foster proletarian ideas and wipe out bourgeois ideas, or should they cause the masses to fall away, and harm the socialist revolution and socialist construction? Serious consideration must be given to this. But some people, on the pretext that heroic people are "new shoots" and relatively "few" in numbers consider that heroes are not worth writing much about. At every opportunity they link the portrayal of heroic characters with writing according to "formula" and "fixed concepts" to "prove" that not much should be written about heroic characters. What does this mean? "Jeering at the feebleness of the young shoots of the new order, cheap scepticism of the intellectuals and the like," Lenin had said, "... these are, essentially, methods of class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, a defence of capitalism against socialism."³ These words of Lenin must be noted.

Fourthly. To oppose the task of creating heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers by advocating "writing about middle characters," to oppose the demand for descriptions of the fiery struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers by advocating writing about the "ordinary," and to oppose the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism by advocating a "deepened realism" . . . all these are aimed at taking out the revolutionary and socialist content from our literature, removing its class character, militancy and realism, and turning it into a "neutral literature" that is devoid of revolutionary

character, or is of a diluted revolutionary nature, and then letting it slide down the bourgeois slope until it becomes out and out reactionary bourgeois literature.

In actual fact, those advocating the "portrayal of middle characters" will not stop at writing about "middle characters." Have they not also proposed writing about "petty characters"? Have they not also advocated the portrayal of anti-Party "heroes"? Neither will these people stop at writing about the "ordinary." Have they not also pleaded for works that are most out of the ordinary and "criticize" socialist reality? This so-called "deepened realism" will inevitably go "deeper," lower and lower, down the anti-socialist slide. Class struggle has its own laws. To be blind to this will lead to the gravest mistakes.

Thus our contention with them is not an ordinary controversy about literary and art theory. It is a struggle on the literary and artistic front between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, a struggle between the proletariat's socialist line in literature and art and the bourgeoisie's anti-socialist line in literature and art. It is a struggle over a major issue of right and wrong.

In 1962, just when the class struggle at home and abroad was growing acute and there were certain temporary difficulties in the countryside, some people contracted out of the fiery struggle of the worker, peasant and soldier masses to defeat the enemy and overcome difficulties. They failed to notice the magnificent heroism of the worker-peasant masses and lost revolutionary ideals and revolutionary optimism. In their view, the direction of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, and socialism, the socialist line in literature and art, the combination of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, and the creation of brilliant images of heroes . . . all these banners should be furled and replaced by flags calling for the "portrayal of middle characters" and a "deepened realism." For them, the ideal characters of the proletariat simply do not exist. They would rather have their so-called "middle characters" for ideal characters, which means, in fact, to see social life through the eyes of backward people, use the mentality of negative characters to interpret the contradictions and struggles in socialist society, employ dismal colours to portray the mental outlook of the broad masses, and use bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology to blunt the fighting will of the masses. If their proposals were implemented, the revolutionary soul of our literature and art would inevitably be torn out and, step by step, our socialist literature and art would evolve into reactionary bourgeois literature and art. That kind of literature and art can only corrupt, destroy and undermine the economic base of socialism, and serve to bring about the "peaceful evolution" of socialism into capitalism. Therein lies the seriousness of the problem.

In order to consolidate and enlarge the positions of socialism and socialist literature and art, it is imperative to discuss and criticize these extremely erroneous theories and proposals publicly so as to eliminate their evil influence.

² Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, p. 35.

³ Lenin, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. II, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, p. 229.

ROUND THE WORLD

NATO Council Squabbles

What's Left Unsaid

After three days of intense wrangling, NATO on December 17 ended its semi-annual ministerial council meeting in Paris—with members more divided than ever. The communique issued afterwards is notable not for what it said but what it left unsaid. Predictably, the apple of discord was the "multilateral nuclear force" which the United States, despite previous rebuffs, tried hard once again to sell to its allies before and during the session, in the conference hall and outside.

Secretary of State Rusk who led the American team of heavy-weights including Defence Secretary McNamara to the meeting, ran into heavy weather from the very beginning. The M.L.F. scheme met with strong French opposition and was given a cold reception by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and other countries. Only West Germany, keen as usual on having a finger on NATO's nuclear trigger, came out with anything like clear support for Washington's pet project. Thus not a word was mentioned in the communique about the

squabbles over the M.L.F. "because," as AFP put it, "the alliance members are split down the middle on it and agreement on language was clearly impossible."

Secondly, the communique said nothing about Rusk's proposal that deputy foreign ministers of NATO states meet every two or three months to review the world situation. The proposal, first broached by U.S. Under Secretary of State George Ball during his visit to Paris a fortnight before and rejected outright by France, was designed to hold U.S. allies in leash so that they could be more readily pressured into serving aggressive U.S. schemes in various parts of the world.

Thirdly, the communique avoided any mention of the controversy arising from the American demand that the NATO allies increase their conventional armed forces instead of developing their own nuclear forces. But the tactics used by the United States to prevent nuclear aspirants within the bloc from threatening its dominant position only succeeded in drawing sharp rejoinders.

There were several more issues that kept the NATO members at odds with each other: for instance, the question of "East-West relations" and that of Cyprus. The cracks have indeed remained wide open. Not the least important for U.S. imperialism was its attempt to get NATO allies to provide more "tangible help" to the U.S. "special war" in south Viet Nam. But most refused to be sucked in. As in the last meeting at the Hague earlier this year, the U.S. had to face up to the fact that as it sank deeper and deeper

in the south Viet Nam quagmire it became harder and harder to get even token assistance from its NATO allies.

The U.S. delegation went to Paris trying, UPI said, "to restore a semblance of unity to the dissension-strained Atlantic Alliance." But since the U.S. policy is domination of the Atlantic bloc while that of its partners is to free themselves from Washington's control, the participants had taken fixed positions. A feeling of gloom was cast over Paris before the meeting opened. Even NATO's Secretary-General Brosio did not keep his dejection to himself. He told the press that the Paris ministerial council meeting could do no more than explore matters, it could not resolve the contradictions besetting the members.

Crisis-Ridden India

Shastri Tilts at China

Prime Minister Shastri has been shouting himself hoarse in anti-China calumnies. Like his predecessor, he must have thought this was the best way to divert attention from the troubles tormenting his government. Between November 5 and December 1 he attacked China by name on no fewer than 17 occasions. It seems that the Indian Prime Minister has learnt nothing from his abject failure to win an audience for his anti-China statements at the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Nations.

At Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, where the Indian Congress Party met recently to discuss the food crisis that was assuming alarming proportions, Shastri, discomfited by the fact that the explosion of the first Chinese atom bomb has broken the nuclear monopoly of his U.S. patrons, charged that the Chinese nuclear test "had now encroached upon the safety and security of mankind." While countries in Asia and Africa lauded China for its achievement and contribution to the safeguarding of peace, the Indian Prime Minister suggested raising the matter in the United Nations.

On November 23 he told the Indian House of the People that his government had initiated a move to



NATO Nocturne

Cartoon by Feng Cheng

mobilize opinion at the United Nations against what he called the "nuclear threat" posed by China. The following day, in the Council of States, he attacked the Chinese Government for proposing a summit con-

ference to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

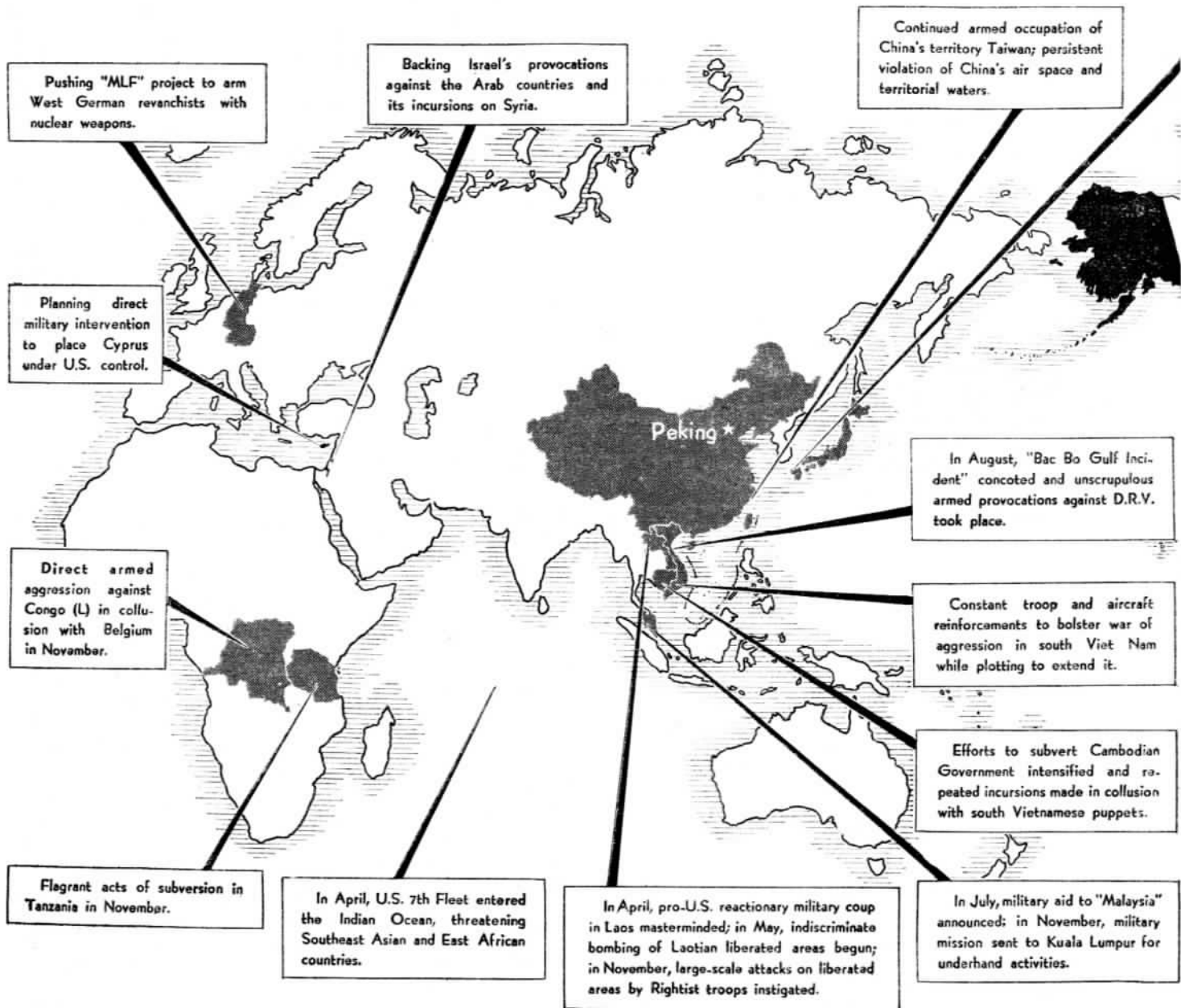
All this was in vain, as even the Indian press admitted. The *Hindustan Times* said in a recent issue that the

diplomatic soundings which India had taken on the subject of China's nuclear test had revealed "little support for the view that Peking might be openly condemned in the U.N. on this score." The *Hindustan Standard*,

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S RECORD OF

"U.S. imperialism has stretched its hands too far. Wherever it
a new noose around its neck. It is heavily besieged by the people o

— Chairman Mao's statement in support of the Congolese (L)



too, complained: "At Cairo, India failed to win enthusiastic support against China's nuclear threat. And now after the Chinese atomic explosion, India stands practically isolated from the Afro-Asian nations."

Nosavan's Ravings at U.N.

His Master's Voice

Phoumi Nosavan, the Laotian Right-wing leader now running errands in Saigon for his American masters in

connection with the American plot to escalate the south Viet Nam war, did what was expected of him at the United Nations. In the General Assembly on December 8, he slung mud at the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in an effort to divert world attention from the dangerous moves the United States is taking in an attempt to save itself from utter defeat in Indo-China. On the following day Vientiane put out a so-called white paper alleging "north Vietnamese interference in Laos." The whole show bore the unmistakable U.S. trade mark.

of north Vietnamese" overrunning Laos. From beginning to end, the slander against the D.R.V. was nothing but a reproduction of the White House lie.

The lie was nailed to the counter by a Foreign Ministry spokesman of the D.R.V. on December 12. The slander campaign mounted by the United States and its yes-men at the United Nations General Assembly, he said, "is clearly aimed at preparing public opinion for new U.S. adventurous acts on a larger scale in Laos, south Viet Nam and north Viet Nam, with a view to extending the war all over Indo-China." The official statements and press reports emanating from Washington during and following U.S. "ambassador" Maxwell Taylor's visit to the United States at the end of last month could leave no one in doubt that the United States has been spoiling for an escalation of its war in this part of Asia. The appointment of Sullivan, Taylor's No. 3 man in Saigon, as U.S. Ambassador to Laos to co-ordinate collaboration between the stooges in Saigon and Vientiane is preparation for further open acts of aggression which now mark U.S. policy towards Laos.

U.S. Arraigned for Congo Massacre

Stevenson's Antics Unavailing

Criticism and condemnation by Afro-Asian delegates made Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. permanent delegate, wriggle in the Security Council. Since December 9 when hearings on the 21-nation complaint against the Johnson Administration's armed aggression in the Congo (L) began, Stevenson had to defend as best he could his government's brazen behaviour. For this apologist of Yankee imperialism it was a role he has seldom had to play. The United States had hitherto been more used to throwing its weight about than being called to account in this international body. The accuser now appeared as the accused, impeached and indicted before the world like an arch criminal — which it is.

Face to face with the African and Asian delegates who had catalogued the U.S. acts of aggression before

A statement by the White House on December 1 alleged that the D.R.V. had violated the Geneva agreements. Nosavan echoed his master's voice and said the same thing in his U.N. rigmarole. The White House alleged that there were "north Vietnamese troops in and passing through Laos." The loyal minion parroted his master and talked about "thousands

AGGRESSIVE CRIMES

commits aggression it puts the whole world."

people against U.S. aggression



Sketch map by Wang Chieh

the Security Council. Stevenson quibbled and avoided answering the charges altogether. Vilifying those who had dared to raise their voices against the almighty U.S.A., he stated that in his long career as the American permanent delegate to the United Nations he had never heard the kind of "irrational, irresponsible, insulting and repugnant language" used by the African delegates to denounce the United States. But his abuse made no impression. When asked what he thought of Stevenson's tirade, one

African delegate, AP reported, said: "It's about what we would have expected. How else could he justify American actions in the Congo?"

The African delegates administered stern rebuttals to the absurd countercharges made by Stevenson in his statement at the December 14 meeting. Foreign Minister Joseph Mbazumutima of Burundi, for one, told the Security Council that it was the U.S. Department of State which should stop interfering in the Congo, and not

Burundi as accused by the American delegate. He reminded Stevenson that the United States should be held responsible for many crimes perpetrated in many parts of the world, such as in south Viet Nam and Cuba. The *Nationalist*, organ of the ruling Tanganyika African National Union, in an editorial on December 17 condemned Stevenson's statement as "cynical arrogance of a big power and obvious contempt for the O.A.U. member states which have raised the question."

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