

PEKING REVIEW

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Joint Statement of Chairman Liu Shao-chi
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北京周報

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May 24, 1963

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

● A militant, revolutionary statement issued jointly by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh climaxed Chairman Liu's visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Both Peking and Hanoi hail Chairman Liu's visit as an important contribution to the unity and friendship of the two countries based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to the unity of the socialist camp and world peace.

● In view of the deteriorating situation in Laos, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman issued a statement on May 20 condemning the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian reactionaries for their stepped-up efforts to undermine the Laotian Government of National Union and their violation of the Geneva agreements. The Chinese Government fully supports the proposals put forward by Prince Souphanouvong and the stand taken by the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its statement of May 12. The Chinese Government expresses the hope that the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference will carry out their duties to safeguard implementation of the Geneva agreements and the peace of this area.

● On May 18 the Chinese Foreign Ministry in a note to the Indian Embassy in China refuted the Indian Government's groundless charges against China in regard to the captured Indian military personnel. The note pointed out that one of the purposes of the Indian Government in slandering China for holding the captured Indian soldiers as "hostages" was to cover up its persecution of Chinese nationals in India.

Meanwhile more captured Indian soldiers were released and repatriated by the Chinese frontier guards last week. Three hundred and fifty-three were released at the northern side of Bang Pass in Tibet on May 15, followed by 160 at west of Spanggur Lake, Sinkiang, on May 17; 498 at Bang Pass on May 20; and 4 on the western bank of Hsilu River in the Hsijang area, Tibet, on May 20.

● The Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged a serious protest with the Indian Government on May 11 concerning four intrusions by Indian troops into Chinese territory in Sinkiang between April 20 and April 26.

● A fleet of Chinese ships left Shanghai to make an on-the-spot investigation of the sinking of the Chinese freighter *S.S. Yueh Chin*.

● V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, arrived in Peking on May 19 for a visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Political Work in the P.L.A.

The regulations governing political work in the Chinese People's Liberation Army, recently promulgated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, have been hailed as a major event in the history of the P.L.A. These regulations—19 in all, including general principles and regulations governing the work of the General Political Department, Party committees and political commissars—brilliantly embody Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thinking and crystallize the rich

experience gained in political work in the P.L.A. over the past three decades and more.

The *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily), emphasizing the importance of the regulations in its May 8 editorial, pointed out that they would surely have a profound effect in strengthening political work in the army, ensuring the absolute leadership of the Communist Party over it, carrying forward the fine traditions of the Party and the army, and building the P.L.A. into a revolutionary army fully

imbued with a proletarian, militant spirit, thus enabling it to fulfil the great task of safeguarding the motherland and world peace.

Since the founding of the P.L.A., the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have attached primary importance to political work in the army. The resolution of the historic Kutien conference in 1929, drafted by Chairman Mao himself, laid the foundation for this work. Since then, the Party has, at each stage in the P.L.A.'s development, laid down regulations concerning this work. In 1954, a draft of the regulations governing political work in the P.L.A. was promulgated by the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and the People's Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central People's Government. Amendments were made to this draft and the result is the present regulations.

As the *Jiefangjun Bao* points out, the regulations embody Mao Tse-tung's thinking in their entirety. The regulations make it clear that Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the guide for the Chinese people's revolution and socialist construction as well as the building of the people's army and its political work.

Mao Tse-tung's Thinking

Mao Tse-tung's thinking is Marxism-Leninism creatively developed through the application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and to the collective endeavours of the Party and the people, at a time when imperialism is collapsing and socialism is advancing to victory. Mao Tse-tung's thinking in this great historic epoch is a powerful ideological weapon against imperialism, modern revisionism and dogmatism. In the post-liberation years, just as in the years of war, the Chinese people, with the guidance of the Party and Chairman Mao, have successfully solved every vital problem that has confronted them.

The class struggle is raging today in the international sphere. Within the country it is protracted and complicated; it ebbs and flows, sometimes becoming very sharp. In these circumstances, it is all the more necessary to hold still higher the revolutionary banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, to carry to a triumphant conclusion the great historic task of safeguarding the nation's sovereignty,

territorial integrity and security, liberating Taiwan, and defending peace in the East and the rest of the world.

Since the day the Red Army was founded, Chairman Mao has clearly set forth its nature and its tasks, the fundamental principles of building it and carrying on its political work. He has stressed the fact that political work is the lifeline of a revolutionary army, and defined the three basic principles governing political work in the P.L.A.: the principle of unity between officers and men, the principle of unity between the army and the people, and the principle of splitting and breaking up the enemy forces. And he has also formulated the content and methods of political work and the systems to be used in carrying on that work.

Absolute Leadership of the Party

The regulations expound the principle of absolute Party leadership over the army, and stipulated that the army must adhere to the systems of Communist Party committees, of political commissars and of political work.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out the need to set up Party committees in the army at all levels, with Party branches in the companies; of introducing the system of political commissars in all army units; and of instituting a system of political work in the army. This is aimed at realizing absolute Party leadership over the army, ensuring the thorough carrying out of the Party's line, principles and policies in the army, and preserving and developing the traditions of a people's army.

The Party committees at all levels are the nuclei of unified leadership and unity in the army. The fundamental system ensuring Party leadership in the army is the system of division of labour and responsibility among the leading officers under the unified, collective leadership of the Party committees. This system is set up in accordance with the Party's principle of democratic centralism.

Except for urgent problems which require prompt action by leading officers, all important problems in the army units must be fully discussed at Party committee meetings and decisions taken in accordance with the Party's principle of democratic centralism. Military commanders are responsible for the implementation of military decisions, while the political

commissars are responsible for the implementation of decisions relating to political work. This ensures a high level of centralization and unification of the army under the unified, collective leadership of the Party, brings into full play collective wisdom, prevents possible subjectivism and one-sidedness arising from individually made decisions on important questions, and leads to correct leadership. On the other hand, the army is a highly centralized organization which has combat duties. Therefore, responsibility for carrying out the decisions taken by the Party committee meetings on important questions must rest with the commanders and political commissars, and the other leading officers must work under their guidance, in order to ensure a centralized command.

Orientation of Political Work

The regulations clearly define the orientation of political work in the army and set forth the fundamental tasks and main content of that political work.

Chairman Mao, proceeding from the concept of a people's war and a people's army, has always placed the successful fulfilment of work relating to men, political-ideological work, above all other work in the army. He said: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive." On the basis of this concept, the regulations explicitly point out that first place must be given to the human factor in handling the relationship between weapons and men, to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work, to ideological work in relation to the other aspects of political work, and to living ideas in ideological work.

Style of Work

Finally, the regulations stipulate that, in the political work of the army, it is necessary to carry forward the style of work of the Party and to implement the mass line.

The style of work of the Party is a style which integrates theory with practice, a style of keeping close ties with the masses, a style of work in which self-criticism is practised. Chairman Mao has always stressed that, in all our work, it is necessary to carry out the principles of "from the masses, to the masses," and "summing

up the views of the masses and taking the resulting ideas back to the masses"; to employ the methods of linking general directives with specific guidance, and linking the leading group with the broad masses; to adopt the attitude of seeking truth from facts, and greatly develop the style of work based on investigation and study.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the soul and nucleus of all the points set down in the regulations. It runs through them like a red thread. With the promulgation of the present regulations, says the *Jiefangjun Bao* editorial, the building of the army and political work in the P.L.A. will be further developed and carried to new heights.

Co-operation With African States

Friendly relations between the Chinese and African peoples took a further step forward on May 15 with the signing of a Sino-Somali trade and payments agreement and a Sino-Mali cultural co-operation agreement.

Under the former, China will export to Somali textiles, daily necessities, metal products, machinery, chemicals, medical equipment and tea in exchange for Somali oil seeds, cereals, frankincense, myrrh, gum-arabic, hides and minerals. Total value of imports and exports on both sides will be based on the principle of balance. Commodities exchanged will enjoy most-favoured-nation treatment. The Sino-Somali trade and payments agreement is the first between the two countries.

The cultural co-operation agreement and two other documents on cultural exchange signed between China and Mali were supplemented by a protocol which stipulates that the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio of China will help the Cinema Bureau of Mali to make documentaries.

"The Sino-Mali cultural co-operation agreement carries cultural co-operation between the two countries to a new historical stage," said Chang Hsi-jo, Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, after that agreement was signed. Conceived on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference these agreements will help to develop greater understanding between the Chinese and African peoples and strengthen their unity in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

The Sino-Somali trade agreement was signed in Peking by Yeh Chichuang, Minister of Foreign Trade, and Ali Mohamed Hirave, Minister of Information and head of the Somali Government Delegation. The Somali delegation left Peking for home on May 16 after a ten-day visit during which they had a cordial talk with Premier Chou En-lai who also attended the signing ceremony, and were guests of honour at a banquet given by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien.

The Sino-Mali cultural agreement was signed by Chang Hsi-jo and Moussa Keita, leader of the visiting Mali Government Cultural Delegation and High Commissioner for Youth and Sports of Mali. Premier Chou En-lai and other high Chinese officials and the Mali Ambassador Birama Traore attended the signing ceremony.

The Mali Government Delegation's visit to China lasted three weeks and they left Peking on May 17. They were received on separate occasions by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai and had cordial talks with them. They also took part in the Peking May Day celebrations and visited several other Chinese cities.

Indian Persecution of Overseas Chinese: Fresh Attacks

The first group of over 900 of the Chinese nationals victimized by the Indian Government returned to China last month, but more than 1,000 others are still suffering in the Indian concentration camps. Now news comes of fresh brutalities committed against them.

Reports are coming in that New Delhi has permitted and instigated the secret agents and other hooligans of the Chiang Kai-shek clique to beat up Chinese nationals held in the Deoli concentration camp in an attempt to terrorize them and disrupt the Chinese Government's effort to bring them back to China.

The interned Chinese are all innocent people, many of them very young or old, who cannot by the farthest stretch of the imagination be considered to constitute a "danger" or "threat" to India as New Delhi has alleged. Nevertheless, the Indian Government has barbarously persecuted these people and cynically obstructed their quick return to China. Earlier reports revealed that the Indian Government, in secret talks with

Chiang Kai-shek representatives, discussed with them a plan to abduct numbers of victimized Chinese nationals to Taiwan. It is no accident, therefore, that the Indian Government should have instigated Chiang's agents to attack these Chinese who desire to return to their motherland.

In the light of these facts, the Chinese Embassy in India sent a note to the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on May 12 demanding immediate clarification of these reports of the assaulting and beating up of Chinese nationals held in the Deoli concentration camp and desiring to return to China. The note calls on the Indian Government to furnish information about the victimized Chinese who have been wounded or killed. It also demands that the Indian Government arrange visits to the concentration camp by personnel of the Chinese Embassy, and provide a list of all the victimized Chinese now held in the concentration camp. The note points out that the Indian Government cannot evade responsibility for what happens in the camp which is under the tight control of the Indian authorities. The Chinese Embassy reserves the right to make further demands as circumstances may require.

Investigation of Chinese Freighter Disaster

On May 1 while on its way to Moji, Japan, the S.S. *Yueh Chin*, a 15,930-ton Chinese freighter, met disaster and sank in the waters southwest of Chejudo, south Korea. It was carrying cargo for Japan in accordance with the memorandum signed between Liao Cheng-eh and Tatsunosuke Takasaki in November last year for the promotion of non-governmental trade between China and Japan.

The Chinese Government, attaching great importance to this incident, has been investigating the cause of the sinking of the vessel ever since, and on May 17, the Hsinhua News Agency was authorized to make a statement concerning the matter. It says that on the instructions of the Chinese Government, the Ministry of Communications has made a preliminary investigation to find out how and why the freighter sank. On the basis of an analysis of the report of the captain of the ship and information given by its crew, the ministry considers it very likely that the ship sank after having



Fruit Time
Painting in Chinese ink and colours by Lin Hsi-min

struck a rock, but the possibility that it suffered an underwater attack cannot as yet be ruled out.

To ascertain the actual cause of the disaster, the statement goes on, the Chinese Government has decided, therefore, that an on-the-spot investigation should be made under the direction of the Ministry of Communications and with the assistance of the vessels and aircraft of the navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. For this purpose, an investigation operations zone has been defined in the sea area within a radius of 15 nautical miles centring on the point 31° 58' N. latitude and 125° 11' E. longitude between Socotra Rock, Le Bruix and Alacrity.

The investigation operations will begin on May 19, 1963. It is hoped, says the statement, that there will be no misunderstanding on the part of vessels and aircraft of other countries and that they will not interfere with

the investigations in the appointed area.

In another statement issued by Hsinhua News Agency on May 18, it points out that the zone of investigation is not closed and fishing vessels of other countries may carry on their fishing in this area. However, in order to avoid misunderstanding and hindering the investigation, it is hoped that fishing boats and other vessels of all countries passing through this zone will, when necessary, maintain contact with the Chinese ships engaged in the investigation operations.

The May 17 Hsinhua statement declares that further notification will be given on completion of the investigation operations.

The Chinese Government has expressed gratitude to the Japanese fishing vessels *Iki Maru* and *Tsushima Maru* and the patrol boat *Koshiki* for rescuing and sending back the crew of the *Yueh Chin* and thanked the Japanese people who have expressed sympathy concerning the disaster.

Where the Yellow River Flowed

Barely 13 years ago the old, abandoned course of the Yellow River meandered like an arid brown scar across four provinces in northern China. Today that long stretch of wasteland has been transformed into thriving vineyards and orchards producing a choice variety of fruits and wines for the people.

The Yellow River cradled Chinese civilization, but then became "China's Sorrow." Rushing down from the mountains and loess plateaux of the northwest, it carried down an enormous mass of sand and silt. It deposited much of this on its lower reaches as it flowed across the eastern plain to the sea. Gradually this raised the river-bed. As things were under reactionary rule, the dykes built to

contain the river were often out of repair and other water conservancy measures were neglected. Wanton destruction of forests and grasslands along the banks made matters worse. All this spelt disaster during the flood seasons. On several occasions, the river breached its dykes, inundated vast areas and changed its course, devastating millions of *mu* of farmland and leaving behind millions of *mu* more of wasteland in its old course, much of it sandy gravel.

The river's last abandoned course, extending for about 500 kilometres from Chengchow in the west to the East China Sea, cuts across the four provinces of Honan, Shantung, Anhwei and Kiangsu. The soil here is sandy, but the mild climate and adequate rainfall in this region are favourable conditions for turning this land to account.

Soon after liberation survey teams were sent to assess possibilities there. Findings were encouraging. About 10 million *mu* were reported suitable for fruit cultivation. Soon, a number of state orchards were established; and the peasants in the surrounding areas were also encouraged to plant fruit trees on a big scale. Since 1958 more orchards have sprung up here, and large numbers of reservoirs, ponds and irrigation channels have been built, turning these former wastelands into one of the country's major fruit-producing centres.

Today, the region has 170 orchards and vineyards, totalling 1.5 million *mu*. Either state-run or jointly operated by the state and the people's communes, over half of them are large orchards of 1,000 *mu*, while some exceed 10,000 *mu*. Famous species of apples, pears, grapes and other fruits have been introduced here from northeast and south China. Under expert care, they have been acclimatized and output is increasing every year. Last year, the region produced 40 million *jin* of apples, grapes and pears alone.

Many processing plants have been built to make use of these big harvests. Over 20 wineries have been established here. Last year they produced 10,000 tons of vintage wines from locally produced grapes. More recent surveys indicate that the region has big possibilities. Plans are afoot for building more orchards, vineyards and wineries here.

A New Chapter in Sino-Vietnamese Comradeship-in-Arms

by SU MIN

A JOINT statement, which is a highly militant, revolutionary document of vital significance both in theory and practice, was signed by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh last week. The joint statement and Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit to Viet Nam opened a new chapter in the proletarian internationalist friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, as well as in the steadily developing fraternal relations between the two countries and the two Parties of China and Viet Nam.

A Revolutionary Document

Here is a brief summary of some of the main points made in the joint statement (the full text of which is given on p. 10):

- Both parties unanimously hold that the present international situation is favourable to the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries, but unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries. However, the aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous enemy of world peace. The peoples of the world must unite more closely and wage an indefatigable struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, and its lackeys.

- Both parties fully support the struggle of the working class and labouring people in the capitalist countries.

- Both parties resolutely support the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for winning or upholding national independence. The combination of the forces of the powerful socialist camp with this tremendous revolutionary force is playing a decisive role in the defence of world peace and the promotion of the cause of human progress.

- Both parties firmly oppose U.S. imperialist armed aggression in southern Viet Nam. The Chinese people resolutely support the Vietnamese people in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

- The only correct way to maintain and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is to abide by the principles guiding mutual relations among the fraternal Parties and fraternal countries as clearly stipulated in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

- In the present circumstances, revisionism, in other words Right opportunism, is the main danger in the international communist movement. Further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist clique remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of all countries.

- Both parties reaffirm the necessity of calling a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers'

Parties of the whole world in order to eliminate differences and strengthen unity through internal consultations.

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi pays warm tribute to the great achievements attained by the Vietnamese people following a correct line and carrying out a policy of rapid, vigorous and steady development. President Ho Chi Minh pays warm tribute to the great successes achieved by the Chinese people guided by the three red banners—the general line for socialist construction, the great leap forward and the people's commune.

The Chinese people are elated by the success of Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit. They attach great importance to its results. These popular sentiments found expression in an editorial published by *Renmin Ribao* on May 18.

Of Vital Significance

Hailing the fruitful talks between Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh, *Renmin Ribao* said that the two leaders had made "a new contribution to the strengthening of the solidarity and friendship between our two Parties and two countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism." "This will exert a far-reaching influence in promoting the victory of the common struggle of the two countries to build socialism and oppose imperialism. It will furthermore help to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, and help to safeguard world peace and promote the cause of human progress."

Assessing the significance of the joint statement, *Renmin Ribao* wrote: "Proceeding from Marxism-Leninism and an objective analysis of the present reality, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh expound in their joint statement the views and attitude taken by the two Parties and two countries of China and Viet Nam on major international problems of common interest to the Communists of all lands and the peace-loving people throughout the world. The joint statement is a highly militant revolutionary document. It is of vital significance both in theory and in practice."

On the question of defending world peace, *Renmin Ribao* said: "Here [in the joint statement] the Party and state leaders of China and Viet Nam have pointed both to the danger of imperialism engineering a new world war and to the possibility of safeguarding world peace and preventing a new world war and the correct strategic and tactical principles to be followed by the people of various countries in this struggle. This is a great source of inspiration for the people of the whole world who are struggling against imperialism and for the defence of world peace."

Chairman Liu Shao-chi Concludes Visit to Viet Nam

FRATERNAL Viet Nam's capital gave Chairman Liu Shao-chi a most affectionate send-off on May 16.

Hanoi citizens began to gather in front of the Presidential House and along both sides of the road around four o'clock in the morning. Then there was a sudden downpour lasting over an hour. Messages were broadcast from vans telling the crowds that both President Ho Chi Minh and Chairman Liu Shao-chi, while appreciating their enthusiasm, urged them to go home in view of the torrential rain. But the people wouldn't disperse. With their rain-cloths they carefully covered the portraits of Vietnamese and Chinese leaders which they held, and folded the national flags of the two countries to their breasts. They stayed till they were able to give another cheer to Chairman Liu Shao-chi when he left for the airport in the company of President Ho Chi Minh.

President Ho Chi Minh, who with other leaders of the Vietnamese Party and state farewelled Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Vice-Premier Chen Yi at the airport, issued a valedictory message which ended with the following verse:

*Saying adieu, we are reluctant to part.
O'er mountains and passes good friends depart.
Hand in hand, and heart to heart
We pledge to each other:
The red banner of Marxism-Leninism*

The joint statement, *Renmin Ribao* noted, stresses that **the historic task confronting the revolutionary people** of various countries is: Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite, oppose the common enemy and strive for common victory. "The national-liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are a tremendous revolutionary force in the present era and constitute the most important ally of the workers of all countries in their revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle," *Renmin Ribao* continued. "To give all-out support to their just struggle and form a close alliance with them is the compelling internationalist duty of the socialist countries and the international working class and also the necessary condition and reliable guarantee for victory in the struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace."

The joint statement, *Renmin Ribao* wrote, outlines **the basic contents of the foreign policy of the socialist countries** as have been repeatedly pointed out by the two Parties and two countries of China and Viet Nam. These are: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation among the socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples. "Only when the foreign policy of the socialist countries completely covers these three aspects," *Renmin Ribao* stated, "can it conform to Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism, can it unite the people of

We'll hold high together.

Earlier that morning, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh signed a joint statement in the Presidential House.

The Chinese guests had a busy schedule on the previous day, May 15. (For earlier events, see *Peking Review*, No. 20, p. 8.) In the morning, Comrade Liu Shao-chi visited the Nguyen Ai Quoc Party School (Nguyen Ai Quoc is the name once used by President Ho Chi Minh). There he spoke at a welcome meeting (the text of his speech appears on p. 9). Truong Chinh, Director of the School and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, made a speech of welcome.

In the evening, Chairman Liu Shao-chi gave a farewell banquet in honour of President Ho Chi Minh.

Despite their many official duties, the two leaders and Marshal Chen Yi took time out to meet 500 Young Pioneers and other children by the woods behind the Presidential House that afternoon. Overjoyed, the boys and girls sang and danced for their guests. Then, accompanied by President Ho Chi Minh, Chairman Liu Shao-chi planted two banyan saplings in front of the main building of the Presidential House, a living memento of the ever deepening Sino-Vietnamese comradeship-in-arms.

various countries, mobilize all forces that can be mobilized and promote the cause of human progress."

Referring to the parts of the joint statement on the necessity to **strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement**, *Renmin Ribao* said that they vividly demonstrate the earnest desire of the two Parties and two countries of China and Viet Nam to strengthen this unity and their firm stand in upholding and carrying through the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

On the question of opposing modern revisionism, *Renmin Ribao* wrote: "The international communist movement is now in a vital, crucial period. An acute worldwide struggle is going on between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists over a series of important problems of principle. What attitude to take towards this struggle is a serious test for the Communists of all countries."

Renmin Ribao drew attention to the section of the joint statement on revisionism which is the main danger in the international communist movement under present circumstances; on the essential task of further exposing the Yugoslav revisionist clique; and on the necessity, while combating revisionism, to combat dogmatism which runs counter to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution and construction in each country, and alienates a Party from reality and from the masses. "This clear-cut stand and resolute attitude of the two Parties and two countries of China and Viet Nam are positive contributions to the great struggle for preserving the

purity of Marxism-Leninism and safeguarding the theoretical position of Marxism-Leninism," *Renmin Ribao* declared. "We firmly believe that the Communists of the whole world who are genuinely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, by uniting together, upholding principle and persisting in struggle, will surely defeat revisionism and through this struggle bring about new developments in revolutionary Marxism-Leninism."

The joint statement, *Renmin Ribao* concluded, "holds high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of proletarian revolution, the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of unity and the banner of opposing imperialism and defending world peace." "All revolutionary people of the world will undoubtedly attach importance to and welcome the brilliant ideas embodied in the statement."

Liu Shao-chi Speaks on Opposing Modern Revisionism

Following is the full text of a speech delivered by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, at a meeting held on May 15 in his honour at the Nguyen Ai Quoc Party School in Hanoi. Our subheads. — Ed.

**Dear Comrade Ho Chi Minh,
Dear Comrade Truong Chinh,
Dear Comrades:**

I am very glad to have this opportunity today to visit your Party school which is directly under the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and is named after Comrade Ho Chi Minh, beloved leader of the Vietnamese people, and to meet all comrades of its faculty and staff and all student comrades. Here I would like to extend to you warm comradely regards and communist greetings in the name of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in my own name, and in the name of all comrades on this visit.

Mutual Assistance

Comrade Director has just referred to China's assistance to Viet Nam. To help you insofar as our circumstances permit is an international obligation which we should undertake. Your acknowledgement that we have fulfilled this obligation of ours is an encouragement and a satisfaction to us. But it should be pointed out that, first of all, it is you who have helped us. The socialist revolution and socialist construction which you carry out in the north, the consolidation of your state, and the valiant struggle of your compatriots in the south all constitute a tremendous support for us and for the entire socialist camp. In the cause of proletarian revolution, assistance has always been mutual. Now, there are certain people who always stress their assistance to others and disown others' assistance to them. This is flying in the face of facts. This is not a Marxist-Leninist attitude.

The Path of the October Revolution

Comrade Director also touched on the question of the path of the October Revolution, a very important question of principle. The October Revolution has universal historical significance. The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution. The Vietnamese revolution is also a continuation of the October Revolution. The 1957 Moscow Declaration sums up the universal truths of the Great October Revolution in nine common rules. Any proletarian revolution in the world must follow the path of the October Revolution, must follow the path already traversed by the Russians. Some people now claim

that it is not necessary to do what the Russians have done. This is utterly wrong.

Comrades here are studying Marxism-Leninism. Normally this study is a regular task for Communists, but at present a campaign to study Marxism-Leninism is of particular importance for the raising of our Marxist-Leninist level.

There Can Be No Middle Course

The international communist movement is now in a crucial period of utmost importance. An acute struggle on a worldwide scale is going on between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists over a series of important problems of principle. The polemics are centred on whether the people of the world should carry out revolutions or not and whether the proletarian Parties should lead the world's people in revolutions or not. The course of this struggle has a bearing on whether the entire cause of the proletariat and the working people throughout the world will succeed or fail, and on the destiny of the whole of mankind. On questions of such an important struggle of principle, we cannot act as lookers-on or follow a middle course.

The modern revisionists, donning a cloak of Marxism-Leninism, are actually wantonly adulterating Marxism-Leninism, emasculating Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary soul, repudiating the historic necessity for proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship in the period of transition from capitalism to communism, negating the leading role of the proletarian Party, substituting hypocritical bourgeois "supra-class" viewpoints for Marxist-Leninist viewpoints of class analysis, and substituting bourgeois pragmatism for dialectical materialism. They are trying their utmost to benumb the revolutionary will of the working class, to tamper with the essential contents of socialism and communism as strictly defined by Marxism-Leninism and in fact to restore or preserve capitalism. Under such circumstances, the militant task of all Marxist-Leninists is not to evade the challenge of modern revisionism, but to unite in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to smash this attack completely, to hold aloft the red banner of revolution, and to show the proletariat and the working people the correct direction for struggle and the road to victory.

The Leninist Method of Study

In order to smash the attacks of modern revisionism, we should first of all seek guidance from Marx, Engels,

Lenin, and Stalin, conscientiously study their works, and grasp this incisive weapon—Marxism-Leninism. We should also make a serious study of the lessons provided by teachers by negative example, including the writings of the modern revisionists and those of Bernstein, Kautsky, Plekhanov, and other old-line revisionists, as well as imperialist evaluations of modern revisionism. We should also, of course, read the writings of modern revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. In this way we should be able to make a comparative study, and see on each question now under controversy what Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin had to say; what the old-line revisionists had to say; what the modern revisionists have to say; what the imperialists have to say; and what the modern revolutionary Marxist-Leninists have to say. In this way we should be able to understand truly how the objective situation develops and how modern revisionists distort and tamper with Marxism-Leninism. The revisionists would then be unmasked and their features clearly exposed to public gaze. This is, I think, a method of study which links theory with practice; this is the Leninist method of study. By so doing, we could surely raise greatly our theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism and increase a hundredfold our strength and confidence in combating modern revisionism.

All of us have read some of the Marxist-Leninist works. Some comrades might think that it is not necessary to read again what they have read before. This is not true. When we read Marxist-Leninist works in the past, we often failed to understand them deeply and forgot them after reading, because we did not read with a view to solving any particular question. Now the case is different and we acquire a deep understanding since

we read them over again with the object of answering the challenge of the revisionists. For the many propositions advanced by the modern revisionists are not "creative developments" of Marxism-Leninism as alleged, but a repetition and development under new conditions of the opportunist viewpoints of Bernstein, Kautsky, and other old-line revisionists. Most of their arguments were repudiated long ago by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

While opposing revisionism, the main danger confronting the present-day international communist movement, we must also oppose dogmatism, oppose all forms of "Left" opportunism. Dogmatists do not formulate their line and policies by integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with specific revolutionary practice at home and abroad. They copy from books literally and from the experience of other countries indiscriminately, and parrot others on important international issues. The history of the development of Marxism-Leninism is one of fighting against and overcoming all kinds of opportunism. It is our firm belief that, although the present struggle against revisionism will be a protracted and complicated one with twists and turns, invincible Marxism-Leninism will surely overcome revisionism and develop in the course of the struggle.

Let us hold still higher the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and march forward vigorously to win victory in the struggle for world peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism!

Workers and oppressed nations all over the world unite, oppose our common enemy!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Document

Joint Statement of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh

Following is the full text of the joint statement signed in Hanoi on May 16 by Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and President of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. — Ed.

LIU SHAO-CHI, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, paid a friendly visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam from May 10 to May 16, 1963, at the invitation of Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and President of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi was accompanied on the visit by Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Fang Yi, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission and Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of

Foreign Affairs; Lo Ching-chang, Deputy Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; Chou Chiu-yeh, Director of the Second Department of Asian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Kung Peng, Director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Yu Pei-wen, Director of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Yueh Hsin, Departmental Director of the Ministry of Public Security; Huang Shu-tse, Deputy Director of the Department of Health Service of the Ministry of Public Health; Li Shu-huai, Chief Security Aide for the Chairman of the People's Republic of China; and Comrades Chang Chien and Wang Kuang-mei.

During the visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the comrades accompanying him on the visit were accorded a grand and warm welcome and cordial and friendly hospitality by the fraternal Vietnamese people everywhere they went.

During the visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh held talks on the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and on important international problems of common interest to both parties.

Present at the talks on the Chinese side were: Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of

Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Fang Yi, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission and Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Lo Ching-chang, Deputy Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; and Chu Chi-wen, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Present at the talks on the Vietnamese side were: Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Pham Van Dong, Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Pham Hung, Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Nguyen Duy Trinh, Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Le Thanh Nghi, Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Phan Ke Toai, Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Le Duc Tho, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Hoang Van Hoan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Nghiem Xuan Yem, Minister of State Farms and General Secretary of the Viet Nam Democratic Party; Nguyen Xien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly and General Secretary of the Viet Nam Socialist Party; Xuan Thuy, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Hoang Minh Giam, Minister of Culture; Phan Anh, Minister of Foreign Trade; and Tran Tu Binh, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the People's Republic of China and Member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

The talks were held in an extremely sincere, cordial and friendly atmosphere.

BOTH parties unanimously hold that the present international situation is favourable to the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries, but unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. The strength of the socialist camp has become more powerful. The national-democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is on a continual upsurge. The struggles of the working class

and the masses of the people in the developed capitalist countries against monopoly capital, for improved living conditions and democratic rights have seen new development. The movement of the people of the world against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in defence of world peace is growing in breadth and depth. The general crisis of capitalism is daily deepening. The contradictions among the imperialist powers, especially those between U.S. imperialism and other imperialist powers have become more and more acute. The imperialist camp is heading further towards disintegration. The emergence of this situation is the result of the protracted struggle by the socialist camp and the people of the world against imperialism and the reactionaries, and the result of mutual support and joint struggle by the great forces of our time, namely, the forces of the socialist camp, the forces of the national-liberation movement, the forces of the international working-class movement and the forces of the peace movement, and particularly the forces of the socialist camp and those of the national-liberation movement.

BUT the aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. The more it approaches its doom, the more will it make frenzied and desperate kicks. U.S. imperialism is redoubling its efforts in pushing ahead with its aggressive and war plans, actively fostering the reactionary forces of various countries, and particularly the militarist forces of West Germany and Japan, and is increasing its attacks on the peoples of the world. It is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations, getting ready to fight both a nuclear war and conventional wars, and is already waging "special warfare." U.S. imperialism is carrying out neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America by armed suppression, political deception, economic penetration and other means. It is also tightening its grip on its allies and is more fiercely competing with other imperialist powers in grabbing markets, colonies and spheres of influence. In regard to the socialist countries, U.S. imperialism, besides perpetrating military aggression and war threat, is intensifying its subversion and infiltration and is pushing ahead with its policy of "peaceful evolution," vainly attempting to have capitalism restored in these countries. The doings of U.S. imperialism have further confirmed it as the international gendarme suppressing the just struggles of the peoples, the chief bastion of modern colonialism, the main force of aggression and war, the most dangerous enemy of world peace and the common foe of the peoples throughout the world.

The two parties hold that to preserve world peace, to stop imperialism from launching a new world war and to prevent a nuclear war, the peoples of the world must heighten their vigilance and further join their hands to form the broadest possible united front and wage an indefatigable struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, and its lackeys.

The two parties firmly believe that in the present time when the forces of socialism have surpassed those of imperialism and the forces of peace have surpassed those of war, it is possible to safeguard peace, prevent a new world war, and prevent a nuclear war, by relying on the unity and struggle of the masses of the people of all countries and relying on the correct policies of the so-

cialist countries and of the proletarian Parties of various countries.

THE two parties stand for general disarmament, for the total prohibition of the use, stockpiling, manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons and for the establishment of a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Pacific region including the United States of America. The two parties believe that through persistent struggle by the people of various countries it is possible to force imperialism to accept certain agreements on disarmament and an agreement to ban nuclear weapons. In the circumstances in which imperialism rejects disarmament and continues preparations for a nuclear war, it is highly necessary to strengthen the national defence might of the countries in the socialist camp, including the development of nuclear superiority of the socialist countries.

Both parties fully support the struggle of the working class and labouring people in the capitalist countries for democracy and social progress and against the ruling circles' fascist and militarist policies and their policies of aggression and war. The two parties strongly protest against the suppression and persecution of the Communists and other patriots and progressives in these countries.

Both parties pay warm tribute to and express resolute support for the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for winning or upholding national independence.

The two parties express immense admiration for the heroic Cuban people, who have won great victories in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and in defence of their state sovereignty, dignity and fruits of revolution. Both parties are unanimous in their support for the five just demands put forward by Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban people's revolution. The two parties note with satisfaction that the revolutionary ideas of the Havana Declarations are exerting an ever greater influence among the Latin American countries where the national-democratic movement is surging daily.

The two parties are unanimous in their support for the struggle of the heroic Korean people against the continued occupation of south Korea by U.S. troops and for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. Both parties firmly believe that the Korean people's just struggle will surely win final victory. Both parties express sincere sympathy and support for the struggling Japanese people and believe that they will surely win still greater successes in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and the reactionary forces of Japanese monopoly capital. The two parties warmly congratulate the great Indonesian people who, through protracted struggles, have won important victories in respect of the recovery of West Irian and the realization of the unification of their fatherland. The two parties support the revolutionary struggle of the people of North Kalimantan against colonial rule. The two parties oppose the neo-colonialist scheme of Malaysia.

The two parties extend fraternal greetings to the people of the African countries who are uniting more and more closely in waging resolute struggles. Following the great victory of the Algerian national-liberation war, the just struggles of the people of Cameroon, Angola, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa for national independence and freedom are

developing rapidly. China and Viet Nam are looking forward to the early victory of their struggles.

Both parties hold that the ceaselessly rising national-democratic revolutionary struggles in the Asian, African and Latin American countries are dealing severe blows to and weakening the foundation of imperialist domination, and that the combination of the forces of the powerful socialist camp with this tremendous revolutionary force is playing a decisive role in the defence of world peace and the promotion of the cause of human progress. The historic task confronting us is: workers and oppressed nations of all countries, unite, oppose the common enemy and strive for common victory!

Both parties firmly support the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Kingdom of Cambodia, approve and support the proposal put forward by the Royal Cambodian Government concerning a pledge to respect Cambodia's independence and neutrality, and express the hope that the countries concerned will respond positively to this proposal.

THE two parties strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for its recent provocative acts of intensified intervention in Laos. The United States, utilizing the Laotian reactionaries, is redoubling its efforts to sow discord among the Laotian patriotic forces and disrupt their unity in an attempt to subvert the Laotian Government of National Union and rekindle the civil war in Laos so as finally to realize the scheme of placing Laos under its control. This is a flagrant violation of the 1962 Geneva agreements and poses a serious threat to the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos. The People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are neighbours of Laos and signatories to the Geneva agreements; they cannot help feeling intensely concerned over the grave situation in Laos which has been created by U.S. imperialism single-handed. The two parties reaffirm their resolute support for the Laotian policy of independence, peace and neutrality and for the struggle of all Laotian patriotic forces to strengthen unity, oppose U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression and build up a peaceful, neutral, independent, united and prosperous Laos. The two parties hold that it is the duty of all the participating nations of the Geneva Conference truly to abide by and uphold the Geneva agreements. The two parties reaffirm their request that the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference take effective emergency measures to check U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in Laos, remove the threat to the independence and neutrality of Laos and safeguard peace in this region.

Both parties support the proposal of the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of the German Democratic Republic for concluding a German peace treaty and, on this basis, normalizing the situation in West Berlin with a view to removing the hotbed of war in the centre of Europe. At the same time, the two parties support the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic for establishing normal relations between the two German states.

Both parties firmly oppose U.S. imperialist armed aggression in southern Viet Nam, the barbarous and brutal "special warfare" conducted by U.S. imperialism and the use of poisonous chemicals by U.S. imperialism as a means of war there. U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Ngo

Dinh Diem regime, are intensifying their sabotage of the Geneva agreements and are feverishly carrying out suppression and enslavement of the south Vietnamese people in an attempt to perpetuate the division of Viet Nam and to turn southern Viet Nam into a U.S. military base and new-type colony in Southeast Asia. All this has aroused not only strong resistance from the south Vietnamese people, but also strong opposition from the people in Asia and the rest of the world. The south Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, are closing their ranks and waging a resolute struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, to achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, and further to bring about the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. In the face of inhuman slaughter by U.S. imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, the south Vietnamese people have unfolded a heroic and stubborn armed struggle in self-defence, dealing heavy blows to the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. The just and patriotic struggle of the south Vietnamese people has won wide sympathy and support from the peoples throughout the world. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are brothers and comrades-in-arms who go through storm and stress together and share weal and woe. The Chinese people firmly support the heroic south Vietnamese people's just and patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique and regard this struggle as a brilliant example for the oppressed nations and peoples in the world in fighting for liberation. The Chinese people resolutely support all the Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and are firmly convinced that this struggle will surely win final victory.

BOTH the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are socialist countries, and both take Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as guiding principles of their foreign policies. The Chinese and Vietnamese Parties and Governments have repeatedly pointed out that in international affairs and external activities, each socialist country must develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with fraternal socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, must oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war and strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles, and must support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi warmly praises the important contributions made by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in international affairs. He points out that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a socialist country occupying an important place in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. Standing firmly at the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp, it plays a significant role in safeguarding the security of the socialist camp, opposing the imperialist forces of aggression and war and safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and the world. The Government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports the stand and policies of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in upholding and carrying out the 1954 Geneva agreements and striving for the peaceful reunification of the country. It warmly praises the series of correct measures taken by

the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for safeguarding peace in Indo-China. On the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has established friendly relations with a number of nationalist countries in Asia and Africa. The Chinese people heartily rejoice to see the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam growing steadily in strength and its international prestige increasing day by day.

President Ho Chi Minh warmly praises the People's Republic of China for its important contributions in international affairs. He points out that the People's Republic of China is playing a significant role in the struggle to uphold the unity of the fraternal socialist countries, support the revolutionary struggles of oppressed nations and peoples and defend world peace. President Ho Chi Minh reiterates that in settling major international questions, the participation of the People's Republic of China representing a population of 650 million people is indispensable and that China's rightful position in the United Nations must be restored. China is the initiator of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, it has consistently upheld these principles and the Bandung spirit and pursued a policy of friendship with its neighbours. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam firmly supports the consistent stand of the Government of the People's Republic of China for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations. It warmly praises the ceasefire, the withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards, the release of all captured Indian military personnel and other important measures taken by China on its own initiative, and deems that these measures fully demonstrate China's sincere desire to seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. President Ho Chi Minh expresses the hope that China and India may quickly start direct negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

BOTH parties emphasize that it is of great importance for the victory of the common struggle of all peoples for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. The only correct way to maintain and strengthen this unity is to abide by the principles guiding mutual relations among the fraternal Parties and fraternal countries as clearly stipulated in the Declaration and the Statement, namely, the principle of unity, the principle of independence and equality, the principle of attaining unanimity through consultation, and the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance. Both parties reaffirm that they will unswervingly uphold and put into practice the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and do their utmost to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement.

Both parties uphold the correct thesis in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement that in the present circumstances, revisionism, in other words Right opportunism, is the main danger in the international communist movement. Revisionism, or Right opportunism, is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology. It seeks persistently to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, deny

the historical need of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, paralyse the revolutionary will of the working class and labouring people, and undermine their confidence in socialism. Yugoslav revisionism is the concentrated expression of modern revisionist "theories." The Yugoslav revisionist clique has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, has led Yugoslavia out of the socialist camp and is engaged in sabotage against the socialist camp and the world communist movement, and in activities detrimental to the unity of all peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist clique remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of all countries. While combating revisionism, it is also necessary to combat dogmatism. Dogmatism runs counter to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution and construction in each country, and alienates a Party from reality and from the masses. Dogmatism prevents a revolutionary Party from developing Marxism-Leninism on the basis of scientific analysis and from creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in the light of specific conditions. Both parties stress that to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and defend the theoretical position of Marxism-Leninism is a militant task of the Communists of all countries at the present time.

Both parties are deeply concerned over the differences now existing in the international communist movement and the socialist camp. Both parties reaffirm the necessity of calling a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the whole world in order to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity through internal consultations. Both parties affirm that to enable the international meeting of fraternal Parties to achieve positive results, it is necessary to make adequate preparations, including bilateral or multilateral talks among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries.

The two parties note with satisfaction that the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union, through their recent exchange of letters, have decided to hold bilateral talks. The two parties express their sincere hope that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties will achieve positive results, strengthen the unity of these two Parties and prepare the conditions necessary for the convocation of an international meeting of fraternal Parties.

President Ho Chi Minh stresses that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China are the two biggest Parties and bear the greatest responsibility in the international communist movement, and that the unity of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China is the pillar of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. President Ho Chi Minh expresses the belief that, through the efforts of the Soviet Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party and the joint efforts of all the Communist and Workers' Parties, the international communist movement and the socialist camp will strengthen their unity and continue to win still greater victories in the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The two parties are deeply satisfied with the close unity of the Chinese Communist Party and the Viet Nam Workers' Party and with the relations of friendship and

co-operation between China and Viet Nam. In recent years, China and Viet Nam have in their joint struggle supported and assisted each other and respected each other's independent and equal status, and have carried on comprehensive mutual assistance and co-operation in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields. These relations of mutual assistance and co-operation have a great significance for the promotion of the common progress of socialist construction in the two countries and for the steady strengthening of the might of the socialist camp. The friendship and unity between the Chinese Communist Party and the Viet Nam Workers' Party and between China and Viet Nam are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are for ever unshakable. The two parties affirm that the Chinese Communist Party and the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the two countries will exert every effort to strengthen and consolidate still further the friendship and unity of the two Parties and two countries.

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi pays warm tribute to the great achievements in socialist transformation and socialist construction attained by the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh in accordance with their correct line and their policy of rapid, vigorous and steady development; and expresses admiration for the Vietnamese people's revolutionary spirit of building socialism through their own efforts and building their country through diligence and thrift, and for their style of hard working and plain living. He expresses the conviction that the Vietnamese people will make still greater achievements in fulfilling the tasks defined in their First Five-Year Plan and in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

President Ho Chi Minh pays warm tribute to the great successes achieved by the Chinese people in socialist construction under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and guided by the three red banners — the general line for socialist construction, the great leap forward and the people's commune. He expresses the conviction that the Chinese people will surely be able to build China into a socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, and modern science and culture and to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the unification of their motherland. President Ho Chi Minh avails himself of this opportunity to express his gratitude to the Chinese people for their full sympathy and support for the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people.

The two parties firmly believe that the present visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the cordial talks between the Chairman and the President not only further strengthen and consolidate the militant friendship between the two countries but help enhance the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement and contribute to the cause of defending world peace and promoting the progress of mankind.

(Signed)

LIU SHAO-CHI

Chairman of the
People's Republic of China
and
Vice-Chairman of the
Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

(Signed)

HO CHI MINH

President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
and
President of the
Central Committee of the
Viet Nam Workers' Party

Criminal U.S. Intervention in Laos

by CHENG HAO-MIN

TWO years ago, on May 16, the enlarged Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question was opened. After more than 14 months of twists and turns, the conference finally overcame the obstacles set up by U.S. imperialism and its followers, and an international accord on the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question was reached. The Geneva agreements created the necessary international conditions for Laos to take the path of peaceful development, free from foreign intervention. This result is in the interests of the Laotian people and of Asian and world peace.

However, in the nine months since the signing of the Geneva agreements, the U.S. imperialists, unreconciled to their defeat in Laos, have not stopped their criminal activities in encroaching on Laos' sovereignty, interfering in its internal affairs and violating its peace and neutrality. Having suffered serious setbacks in their military adventure, they use all kinds of political schemes to stage a comeback and to place the whole of Laos under their colonial domination. Recently, in an effort to subvert the Laotian Government of National Union, and rekindle the civil war in Laos, the U.S. imperialists have intensified their violations of the Geneva agreements by instigating the reactionary Laotian forces to engage in political assassinations and create armed clashes. As a result, the Laotian situation has become very serious and once again it attracts international attention.

Nine Months of Criminal Record

In the past nine months, the U.S. imperialists' violation of the Geneva agreements and their activities in undermining the Laotian Government of National Union have become more outrageous than ever before.

In the first place, the U.S. imperialists refused to withdraw their military personnel from Laos in accordance with the Geneva agreements. On the surface, a certain number of U.S. military personnel have withdrawn from Laos. In reality, however, the majority of them remain in the country; they simply disguise themselves as "economic" and "cultural" members of the U.S. Embassy, as members of the office of the "Agency for International Development" and "civil aviation companies," etc. A large number of these U.S. military personnel, organized into scores of groups, hide themselves in the Savannakhet-controlled military bases in Vientiane, Paksan, Luang Prabang, Savannakhet and Champassak. They are secretly training the Savannakhet clique's troops and directing military exercises.

Secondly, the U.S. imperialists have continued to provide military aid to the Laotian reactionary forces and made big efforts to expand the military strength of the Savannakhet group. They have sent a large number of the Savannakhet group's troops to the south, to be hidden in the various secret military bases, or designated them as "construction and economic teams," and sent many more to "study" abroad, thus keeping the group's

military strength intact. They have granted the group more than U.S.\$30 million in military expenditure, and increased its troops from 54,000 to 63,000 men. In moving a large number of the Savannakhet troops to Lower Laos, the U.S. imperialists have the strategic aim of seizing opportunities to attack the liberated areas there, so that they can control the whole of Lower Laos, proclaim it "independent," that is, turn it into a colony of the United States and Thailand, and then use it as a base to attack Upper and Middle Laos.

Thirdly, the U.S. imperialists have sent the Savannakhet group's bandits to the liberated areas, and have airdropped arms, ammunition and even reinforcements to them on the pretext of supplying "food" to "refugees" from planes of the "civil aviation companies." The U.S. imperialists have even egged on the remnant bandits of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on the Thai, Burmese and Laotian borders to enter again the Houi Sai Province of Laos.

Fourthly, the U.S. Air Force has intruded into the liberated areas of Laos, engaging in harassing and reconnaissance activities. According to incomplete statistics, 21 U.S. air intrusions took place in Sam Neua Province alone from the signing of the Geneva agreements to the end of 1962. The Laotian patriotic forces shot down U.S. planes twice, on November 17, 1962, and on January 5, 1963.

Fifthly, the U.S. imperialists have prevented the Laotian coalition government from effectively exercising its functions and powers. First of all, they have instigated the Laotian reactionaries to insist that the organizations of the coalition government be set up in Vientiane which is controlled by the Savannakhet group and that the security of the coalition government be put in the hands of the "Bureau of National Security" controlled by U.S. special agents and the Laotian reactionaries. As a result, all the activities of the coalition government are practically controlled by U.S. imperialism and the Laotian reactionaries. All its contacts with the outside world must be approved by the Savannakhet group. On any pretext or no pretext at all, the group can at any time prevent planes carrying the Laotian neutralists or members of the Neo Lao Haksat from taking off from or landing at the Vientiane airport. Even telegrams and letters and newspapers are censored by the Laotian reactionaries.

The Laotian patriotic forces have repeatedly put forward proposals for neutralization of Vientiane and the formation of a mixed police force from the three sides. An agreement reached on the formation of the mixed police force could not be put into effect because of obstruction by the Laotian reactionaries. In these circumstances, ministers of the neutralist group and the Neo Lao Haksat could not carry on their work; even their personal safety could not be guaranteed. Despite their nominal recognition of the Laotian coalition government

the U.S. imperialists are actually engaging in outright intervention in the country's internal affairs.

Sixthly, the U.S. imperialists have abetted members of the Savannakhet group in refusing to hand over government offices to the neutralist and Left-wing ministers, with the result that the latter have no real power. Although part of the administration was subsequently handed over as a result of repeated negotiations, many key government posts are still illegally in the hands of the Savannakhet group.

Seventhly, the U.S. imperialists have done all they could to buy over some waverers in the neutralist group, instigating them to foment internal friction, and sowing discord between the neutralists and the Left-wingers so as to undermine their unity and co-operation. Their aim is to strengthen the "union of non-communists," as Harriman remarked, that is, to get the neutralists to join forces with the Laotian reactionaries.

Eighthly, the U.S. imperialists use the notorious SEATO to menace the security of Laos and interfere in its internal affairs. Although the Geneva agreements explicitly stipulate that Laos will not recognize SEATO's "protection," the U.S. imperialists have constantly, in the name of that aggressive bloc, held military exercises around Laos and particularly in the northeastern part of Thailand in order to intimidate the Laotian people and the patriotic forces. At the recent SEATO ministerial council meeting plans for intervention and aggression against Laos were discussed.

All these U.S. crimes in Laos are too obvious to be denied. But there are those who maintain that there has been a change in the U.S. policy since the signing of the Geneva agreements and that the United States has supported the neutrality of Laos. This is quite groundless.

Intensified Intervention and Aggression

The most vicious part of the U.S. imperialists' schemes in Laos is their attempt to divide and split asunder the neutralist group, wreck the unity and co-operation between it and the Neo Lao Haksat and undermine Laos' national united front. Their purpose is to weaken the Laotian patriotic forces and facilitate their own aggressive designs in Laos. The assassination of the outstanding neutralist patriotic Laotian statesman Quinim Pholsena is the concrete expression of these U.S. imperialists' criminal designs. It is a signal of intensified U.S. intervention and aggression in Laos.

The U.S. imperialists calculate that since the signing of the Geneva agreements, they have been successful in increasing the military strength of the Savannakhet group and buying over the waverers in the neutralist group. And so they have hastened to put into operation their plots to split the neutralist forces; they have not scrupled to assassinate those who, like Quinim Pholsena, insisted on the peace and neutrality of Laos. This sinister plot is simply designed to force the neutralists to go over to U.S. imperialism and to the Laotian reactionaries.

In order to gain control of the neutralist group's armed forces, the U.S. imperialists, through the Laotian reactionaries, have bought over the reactionary neutralist military officers. To this end, they have sent U.S. and other foreign countries' special agents to the Plain of Jars, introduced the Savannakhet group's bandits into the armed forces controlled by the reactionary neutralists,

and assisted reactionary officers of the neutralist group to coerce their men to attack armed units of the genuine neutralist group. Since November 1962, sharp conflicts have occurred one after another among the neutralist troops in the Xieng Khouang area. In March this year, a number of progressive officers and men (Commander and Deputy Commander of the Youth Artillery Battalion and 27 officers and men) were murdered in cold blood by the reactionary neutralist officers at the instigation of the U.S. imperialists. On April 2, reactionary officers hidden in the neutralist forces attacked the units under the command of the progressive officers Colonel Deuane (Deputy Chairman of the Coup d'Etat Council) and Major Thiep. All these are a part of the U.S. imperialists' pernicious schemes to weaken the neutralist group's armed forces and its political position.

At the same time, the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian reactionaries have egged on the reactionary neutralists to provoke the Pathet Lao Fighting Units in an attempt to drive them out of Xieng Khouang and the Plain of Jars.

In order to prevent aggravation of the incident, General Sinkapo, representative of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units, and General Kong Le on April 4 agreed to (1) refrain from taking hostile action against each other; (2) restore normal contacts between the two sides; (3) resume the regular meetings of the Supreme Military Council; and (4) safeguard the unity and co-operation of the two forces, maintain order and defend the people's security and freedom.

But on April 5 and 6, the armed forces controlled by the reactionaries in the neutralist group launched attacks on the Pathet Lao Fighting Units in Khang Khay and the neutralist forces in Xieng Khouang City. In co-ordination with these frenzied attacks, the bandits of the Savannakhet group directed by the U.S. special agents have also become very active. At the same time the Savannakhet group ordered its mobile forces in various places to push forward to Xieng Khouang and the Plain of Jars and occupied a number of strongpoints in the surrounding area in preparation for an invasion of the Xieng Khouang liberated areas. To contain the Pathet Lao Fighting Units, the United States also instigated the Thai and south Vietnamese forces to enter Laos in co-ordination with the Savannakhet group's "mopping-up" operations in Lower Laos against the liberated areas there.

Faced with this situation, the neutralist forces and the Pathet Lao Fighting Units had no alternative but to counter-attack in self-defence and they recovered the various strongpoints around Xieng Khouang City. The reactionaries in the neutralist group and the Savannakhet clique have thus suffered initial reverses.

The Danger of Full-Scale Civil War

On April 21, Prince Souvanna Phouma, together with representatives of the two co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference and members of the three nations on the International Control Commission, went to Khang Khay to meet Prince Souphanouvong. After the talks, Prince Souphanouvong issued a declaration pointing out that the two Princes agreed that the main cause for the present conflict was the intrusion of Phoumi Nosavan's troops into the neutralist forces. But because the U.S. imperialists are intent upon pushing forward their

aggressive designs in Laos, the situation there, instead of turning for the better, is going from bad to worse. Whole battalions of Savannakhet troops were airdropped into the Muong Phan area in the Plain of Jars under the control of the reactionaries in the neutralist group. The U.S. imperialists are now introducing large amounts of weapons into Xieng Khouang and the Plain of Jars for the Laotian reactionary troops. U.S. government officials and propaganda agencies have even clamoured for the dispatch of "expeditionary detachments" for "armed intervention" in Laos. On April 30, Phoumi Nosavan said that he would send his troops to intervene in the conflict provoked by the reactionaries in the neutralist group in Xieng Khouang and the Plain of Jars. The Savannakhet group is studying a plan to mount offensives to drive the Pathet Lao Fighting Units out of the Plain of Jars.

At present, the situation in Laos is serious. Once more it is in the grip of a grave danger of full-scale civil war.

The Reasonable Stand of the Laotian Patriotic Forces

The Laotian patriotic forces, particularly the Neo Lao Haksat, have not been cowed by the grave provocations of the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian reactionaries. Holding high the banners of peace and neutrality, the Geneva agreements and the coalition government, they are waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian reactionaries. While being compelled to counter-attack in self-defence, they have urged Prince Souvanna Phouma to hold talks for a peaceful settlement of the differences between the two sides; they oppose the intervention by the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian reactionaries.

The Neo Lao Haksat has demanded that a commission be set up to investigate the assassination of Quinim Pholsena, that the culprit be brought to trial. It has also demanded the neutralization of Vientiane and the formation of a mixed police force of the three sides. All these reasonable proposals, however, were rejected. The culprit for Quinim Pholsena's assassination has not yet been punished. On April 12, Lieutenant-Colonel Khanthy Siphanthong, a patriotic police officer of the Vientiane neutralist group, was also assassinated. On April 19, the Ministry of Information, Publicity and Tourism of which Phoumi Vongvighit is Minister was raided and searched by the troops commanded by Colonel Siho of the "Bureau of National Security," which is controlled by the Savannakhet group.

The Neo Lao Haksat has more than once appealed to the reactionary neutralists to stop the conflicts in Xieng Khouang, and demanded that the Savannakhet group withdraw its bandits and mobile forces from the area.



Troop Carrier

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

The Neo Lao Haksat has taken the initiative in reaching an agreement with General Kong Le for this purpose.

But these efforts of the Laotian patriotic forces are taken by the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian reactionaries for a sign of weakness. At present, the U.S. imperialists have not only continued to move up the Savannakhet group's "crack force" for a large-scale attack but are trying to use the International Control Commission as an instrument of intervention in Laos. On April 28, disregarding the opposition of the Polish representative, the Indian and Canadian representatives on the commission unilaterally decided to send a permanent team to the Plain of Jars. This decision immediately won the applause of Washington.

Illegal Decision of the International Commission

This decision of the International Commission is contrary to the Geneva agreements in letter and in spirit. Firstly, the Geneva agreements contain no provision whatsoever which empowers the International Commission to dispatch "permanent teams" to various places in Laos. This activity oversteps the commission's terms of reference and encroaches upon Laos' sovereignty. Secondly, the decision runs counter to the desire of the Neo Lao Haksat, a party to the Laotian Government of National Union, thereby violating the principle of unanimity among the three factions of that government and also violating the principle of the Geneva agreements that the activities of the International Commission must have the approval and full co-operation of the Laotian Government of National Union. Thirdly, according to the Geneva agreements, the International Commission is composed of the Indian, Polish and Canadian representatives. The team dispatched by the Indian and Canadian representatives of the commission to the Plain of Jars has 1.0 Polish representative. The team is therefore entirely illegal and has no basis whatsoever for its existence.

Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat and Vice-Premier of the Laotian Government of National Union, has repeatedly protested against the illegal establishment by the International Commission of a permanent team in the Plain of Jars. In his letter of May 5 to the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Laos, Prince Souphanouvong urged the co-chairmen to instruct the Indian and Canadian representatives to withdraw the team.

On May 12, the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement opposing the illegal decision of the Indian and Canadian representatives and condemning U.S. imperialism for its crimes of sabotaging the Geneva agreements. The statement of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam reflects the common aspiration of the peoples concerned who demand a thorough imple-

(Continued on p. 22.)

Kennedy Holds the Colour Bar

by LO SHAN

SINCE early April Negroes have been staging mighty demonstrations against racial discrimination in Birmingham, Alabama. Spearheading the drive for full civil rights for Negroes in this southern city, they are demanding an end to segregation in shops, restaurants, and other public places. The Birmingham racist authorities, determined to preserve their white supremacy and privileges, countered with typical police brutality. Thousands of Negroes have been thrown into jail. Bomb attacks have been made on Negroes. The Ku Klux Klan has been burning fiery crosses and calling for further acts of terror.

The naive would have thought that in face of this official crime and violence President Kennedy would have taken federal action to restore law and order and protect the Negroes' rights, but, of course, that's not the way things are in the U.S.A. Kennedy indeed sent down federal troops but only for helping the racists to suppress the Negroes when it looked like the racist traditions of the South were endangered by the spontaneous support the Birmingham Negroes have received from the people in North and South, and both inside and outside the United States.

Kennedy has made many high-sounding promises to the Negroes of the U.S.A. Hoping to catch more votes from Negroes in his 1960 campaign for the presidency, he declared that he would "terminate racial segregation and prevent the denial of any civil rights on grounds of race." Since he took office, he has continued to talk about "equal employment opportunities" and his determination to "end racial discrimination." But the facts in the past two years and more of his presidency have shown the fraud of these fine words.

Discrimination in Employment

For the Negroes, so-called equal employment opportunities remain a vote-getting catchword. They are excluded from many trades and branches of industry. Discrimination curtails their chances of being trained in many skills. They are always the first to be dismissed and the last to be employed.

Under the Kennedy Administration, the Negroes' economic conditions have steadily deteriorated. An increasing number of Negro workers have lost their jobs and been forced to take lower paid work. The number of jobless Negro has swollen. The *New York Times* of February 25 reported that the rate of unemployment among Negroes was more than twice as high as among the whites. In January, the paper said, the unemployment rates reported by the Bureau of Labour were 5.9 per cent for whites and 12.7 per cent for Negroes. The paper added: "Negroes also suffer disproportionately from long-

term unemployment. They make up about 11 per cent of the population, but represent 24 per cent of those who have been unemployed for 15 or more work weeks and 26 per cent of those out of work for half a year or more." "Furthermore," the paper noted, "nearly 28 per cent of all unemployed Negroes have been out of work for 15 or more weeks."

Negroes receive far less wages for the same jobs than whites. In 1956 the average income of Negro workers was only 52 per cent of that of white workers. Under the Kennedy Administration, there has been little change in these discriminatory practices. It is estimated that this wage discrimination alone nets the U.S. capitalists annually a super-profit of at least \$4,000 million. Under the system of racial segregation, the cost of living for Negroes is also higher than that for white people. Although their housing conditions are much poorer they have to pay rents two to three times higher than whites.

Negroes' Wish: "Freedom"

In the southern United States where about half of the American Negroes are concentrated and engaged mainly in agricultural production, there exists a system of repaying debts with labour. Agricultural capitalists and plantation owners there first use various tricky methods to put Negro peasants into their debt and then force them to work like slaves on this account. Describing a Negro peasant on a Mississippi cotton plantation, the U.S. *Newsweek* in its May 6 issue reported: "On a sprawling Mississippi cotton plantation a hollow-eyed Negro fieldhand sat under a naked light bulb in his four-room shack and calculated his assets: \$1 in his jeans, no more than \$10 coming on payday, only three beds for his eleven children, a diet so spare that the youngsters get milk only at school. Given one wish, what would he ask? His quick reply: 'Freedom.'"

In the United States, the forces of law are weighted against the Negro. In the southern states especially, they are not allowed to forget the colour of their skin. Racist organizations such as the notorious Ku Klux Klan and White Citizen's Council stand ready to organize a reign of terror at any moment they feel white privilege endangered. Lynching is not a thing of the past. Bomb attacks, dynamiting, economic boycotts of Negro progressives or whites who help them are a part of southern life. These terrorists are backed up by all the southern white reactionaries, including "law enforcement officers," lawyers, judges, Congress members and state governors who in turn have the backing of Wall Street monopoly capital groups.

The Kennedy Administration has given much publicity to its determination to "wipe out any trace of racial

discrimination which violates our [U.S.] constitution and federal laws." But racial outrages have become worse than ever since Kennedy assumed office. In May 1961 a group of nine members of the "Congress of Racial Equality" on a bus trip from Washington to the South to demonstrate against racial segregation were attacked and injured by racists near Anniston. In December of the same year, during the so-called U.S. "Human Rights Week" proclaimed by Kennedy, about 1,000 U.S. citizens were arrested in the states of Georgia and Louisiana for their activities against racial discrimination. 1962 saw more shocking events: the persecution of Negro demonstrators in Albany, Georgia, by the local authorities and the bloody incidents created by racists in Mississippi.

Reneging on its promises to the Negroes, the Kennedy Administration has tacitly let it be known that rampant racists should be treated with kid gloves. In mid-April this year, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission published a report on the inhuman persecution of Negroes by the Mississippi state authorities and racists and recommended choking off the flow of federal funds to that state. This has put the Kennedy Administration in a fix. An Administration official hastened to express regret, saying: "I wouldn't have issued that report. It doesn't do any good. It just makes people mad." The U.S. *Time* magazine in its April 26 issue put it well: "The Administration, painfully conscious of the 81 electoral votes that southern states contributed to John Kennedy's narrow win in 1960, surprised no one with its lack of enthusiasm for the commission's ideas."

Negroes Deprived of Voting Rights

Most of the Negro people in the southern states are deprived of their right to vote. And there has been little change in this situation in the past two years and more. Negroes who try to get themselves on the voting register are subjected by white officials to the discriminatory "literacy test." Voters, who in most cases have been deprived of an education, are given extremely difficult texts to read; and even if they succeed in reading them they are still arbitrarily judged "illiterate." Where such means seem insufficient, terrorist activities are used to intimidate Negroes and prevent them from registering or voting. The southern racists stick at nothing to gain their ends, using economic pressure, arson and murder. In his Message on Civil Rights delivered to Congress on March 1, even Kennedy had to admit the fact that the majority of the American Negro population were deprived of the franchise. The message said that "too often those who attempt to assert their constitutional rights are intimidated," and that "in some instances churches in which registration meetings are held have been burnt." The following U.S. of-

ficial figures released at the end of last year show the extent to which the Negroes in some southern states are robbed of their citizenship rights:

States	Percentage of Negroes in total population	Percentage of Negroes in total number of registered electors
Alabama	30.1	9
Mississippi	42.3	6
South Carolina	34.9	19
Georgia	28.6	14
Louisiana	32.1	14
Arkansas	21.9	13
North Carolina	25.4	11
Virginia	20.8	10

School Segregation Getting Worse

The U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision on school desegregation remains virtually a dead letter. Official U.S. statistics issued at the end of 1962 shows that only 0.4 per cent of the total number of Negro students in Alabama and 9 other states in the South attended schools together with white students; not a single Negro student enrolled with white students in public schools in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina—states with the largest concentration of Negroes in the United States.

Even in the states in the North where "racial equality" is said to be accepted, racial discrimination has all along existed in varying degrees. It has, in fact, been intensified there since Kennedy took over in the White House. A report published on December 2, 1962, by the Civil Rights Commission, reveals that racial segregation in some major northern cities has gone from bad to worse. The report said that in Chicago "the degree of racial comparison in the public elementary schools seems to have increased over the years, rather than lessened," and "approximately 90 per cent of the Negro elementary pupils currently attend schools which are virtually all-Negro."

In Philadelphia, the report disclosed, "more than half of the elementary schools are almost entirely of one race," and in New York State, "more school 'desegregation' cases are pending today than in any other state in the Union." The report also indicated that the white school authorities in some northern states organize their Negro pupils into groups of "slow learners"—a type of grouping branded by Negro leaders as a method of segregating Negro children.

The past two years have increasingly exposed Kennedy's hypocrisy and lies on the issue of Negro equality in the United States. This has greatly accelerated the awakening of the American Negro masses and they are intensifying the struggle for their rights.



Kennedy's "Equality"
Cartoon by Ho Wei

ROUND THE WORLD

KOREA

Socialist Achievements

The Second Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly which closed in Pyongyang on May 11 highlighted the tremendous achievements which the Korean Democratic People's Republic has scored in socialist construction.

According to Finance Minister Han Sang Doo's 1963 budget report, the revenue for the year will be 2,996,020,000 won, or 3.4 per cent more than last year; the expenditure will be 2,985,730,000 won, or 9.4 per cent over last year, leaving a surplus of 10,290,000 won. Income from the socialist economy will account for 98 per cent of the total revenue this year, while taxes from the population will make up no more than 2 per cent. Compared with 1962, investment in capital construction will grow by 12 per cent. This will greatly increase productive capacity and contribute to the establishment of a solid foundation for a self-supporting national economy. Investment in agriculture this year will be 33.1 per cent more than last, and that in cultural construction 16.1 per cent higher. National income will increase by 6 per cent compared with 1962. In view of the daily more flagrant aggressive activities of the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean military fascists, the budget provides for expenditure to reinforce the national defence.

The significance of the 1963 investment in capital construction is clear when it is remembered that the 1962 figure of 550 million won was itself an increase of 57 per cent over 1956, the year before the five-year plan actually completed in four years, 1957-60, started. Industrial production averaged a huge 29.7 per cent increase annually from 1957 to 1962. In 1960 the national income was 3.3 times greater than 1949 while in 1962 it was 10 per cent higher than 1960.

INDONESIA

Imperialist-Instigated Incidents

The recent counter-revolutionary disturbances in Central and West Java have a very sinister purpose. In-

stigated by the imperialists, they are aimed not only at undermining the country's social order and sabotaging Sino-Indonesian friendly relations, but also at subverting the Indonesian Republic and throwing out President Sukarno himself.

Late in March, counter-revolutionary groups incited racist feelings among some students and young people in Tjirebon, Java, and provoked disturbances which caused destruction of shops, residences and motor-cars belonging to Indonesian citizens of Chinese origin and to Chinese nationals. These incidents later spread to Tegal and other cities. Still larger disturbances took place in Bandung on May 10 and in Bogor on May 14-16, resulting in great material losses.

The Indonesian Government has taken steps to restore order and prevent similar incidents. The Indonesian Information Ministry, in a commentary released on May 14, called on the people to unite and maintain vigilance against counter-revolutionary subversive schemes. "We should not forget that a group, namely the counter-revolutionaries, are constantly lurking around and purposely trying to sow discord," it stated. "Let all strata and groups of society cement their unity to eradicate the colonialist-imperialist remnants who are trying hard to set us against ourselves and hinder Indonesia's national construction." Ruslan Abdulgani, Indonesian Deputy Chief Minister and Information Minister, has asked the student organizations at central and regional levels to prevent any repetition of the Bandung incident. The Governor and Chief of Police of Central Java in their joint statement noted the Tegal disturbances were also directed against government properties and important foodstocks.

The Indonesian public and press have widely censured these disturbances. The Communist Party, the Indonesian Party, the Central Organization of Trade Unions, the Peasants Front and other mass organizations, including a large number of student and youth organizations, have issued statements condemning these imperialist-inspired racist outrages.

President Sukarno, addressing a public meeting on May 19, called on

the Indonesian people to combat the counter-revolutionaries who provoked the disturbances. Noting that the imperialists who had tried to overthrow him by political means, by gossip and by assassination, were now resorting to inciting the people to counter-revolution, he stressed that the imperialists disliked him because the Indonesian Government sought to form the NASAKOM, broaden the scope of Asian-African unity and forge closer relations with the People's Republic of China. "The former P.S.I. elements, Masjumi elements, P.R.R.I. elements, Permesta elements—these counter-revolutionaries together with foreign subversives abroad committed the crime. Now it is our turn to do something," he declared.

INDIA

The Lord Protests Too Much

Before leaving India, Britain's Chief of Staff Lord Mountbatten stressed to reporters that there was "no misunderstanding" between London and New Delhi on the latter's problems in dealing with the so-called Chinese threat. Britain, he pointed out, "was the first country to respond to India's appeal for assistance [last year]." "Our first consignment of arms reached India by air within 48 hours of the request for help," he noted, adding "it is very much in keeping with the spirit of co-operation which exists within the Commonwealth that one half of all Western defence aid which India is receiving is being given by the Commonwealth countries—Canada, Australia and Britain."

The noble lord who was India's Governor-General before independence, did his best to publicize Britain's friendship with India precisely because reports were current in Indian and British papers that he and Sandys, Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary who was also in India at the time, were cold-shouldered by New Delhi while it gave U.S. Secretary of State Rusk a royal reception. The British paper *Guardian*, for example, stated on May 1 that it was Britain, not the United States, which was currently blamed in India for insufficient aid. "Britain is seen in official quarters here [New Delhi] as an obstacle to a more sympathetic understanding of India by the Kennedy Administration," it wrote.

There can be no doubt that both London and Washington are scheming to use India as a pawn against China and the Southeast Asian countries. But in furnishing military aid to New Delhi, both have their own special axes to grind. Washington is as eager to oust traditional British influence as London is determined to retain it. Hence the clash of Anglo-American imperialist interests. *Link*, a weekly Indian journal, shed light on this when it wrote: "The U.K. is said to feel that if U.S. aircraft are supplied to India, it would lose the traditional market. Similarly, Britain would like India to continue use of the weapons now being used which are manufactured in Britain. If new types are introduced, British trade would suffer. But the U.S. would not like to advance credit to India to buy aircraft and weapons of a traditional type from the U.K."

While they mouth niceties about friendship for India, the merchants of death are once more openly tussling for their blood-stained profits.

FROM THREE CONTINENTS

Guerrilla Warfare

Angola: Mario de Andrade, chief of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Angolan People's Movement for Liberation, stated at a press conference in Algiers on May 10 that the conditions existed in his country for an expansion of guerrilla activities. He affirmed that the Angolan, People's Liberation Army is "the guarantee for the completion of the tasks of the present stage and for the realization of the revolutionary objectives of our movement." The army, he said, has modified its structure and set up an operational command of the guerrilla units to mobilize and train the Angolan people. A new front has been opened in the Cabinda area.

Guatemala: The "November 13 Alejandro de Leon" Guerrilla Front has reaffirmed its determination to carry on the armed struggle till the downfall of the pro-U.S. dictatorship of Peralta Azurdia. "Our country is in a sorry plight," it declared in a statement. "Armed struggle is the only way to root out the oppressive system maintained by the followers of Ydigoras." The front described as pure fabrication the claim that the

guerrilla forces had been wiped out by government troops. "The tactics of the guerrilla forces have proved completely successful; they have made the demoralized army despondent," it said.

The front recently joined forces with the "October 20 Revolutionary Movement" and the "April 12 Revolutionary Movement" in common struggle against the dictatorial rule.

Malaya: The large-scale campaign launched by Thai and Malayan military authorities against the Malayan people's armed forces on the Thai-Malayan border has ended in failure. General Chart Trakarn Kosol, Under Secretary of State of the Thai Ministry of the Interior and chief Thai delegate on the "Thailand-Malaya Joint Committee to Wipe Out Communists," told reporters on May 11 that during the month-long drive Thai and Malayan troops had encountered the Malayan people's armed forces four times. They killed one person whom he described as a "Malayan Communist" and arrested several "civilian suspects." Admitting that the search did not result in the discovery of as many "Malayan Communists" in Thailand as had been expected, he announced that the first stage of the joint campaign had ended.

AFRICA

The Arch-Enemy Under Fire

Two Portuguese air force pilots who recently flew from Mozambique to

seek asylum in Tanganyika, have exposed the unsavoury role U.S. imperialism plays in the bloody massacres now taking place in Portugal's African colonies. At a public meeting in Dar-Es-Salaam on May 10, they revealed that Washington is not only supplying arms but is also financially aiding the Portuguese colonialists in building military airfields to be used against the Africans.

The U.S. Government, we know, supplied jet fighters, napalm bombs and other lethal weapons to help the French colonialists wage their dirty war against the Algerians. In Angola, it is doing the same thing to put down the Angolans. (According to figures confirmed by the U.N., 131,000 have been killed.) In South Africa, where the racist government is expanding its army and police units and by mass killings is trying to keep the Africans in bondage, Washington is a chief accomplice. In a recent statement issued in Johannesburg, the South African Peace Council denounced the United States, Britain and other imperialist countries for furnishing arms to the Verwoerd regime and "participating in apartheid." It described as "unacceptable" the statement by the U.S. delegate during the U.N. debate last October that his government "sold no arms to the South African Government which could be used to enforce its apartheid policy."

Washington's hypocritical game of helping the old colonialists in Africa

THE PASSING SHOW

Guarding the Right to Vote

The Birmingham racists are not the only ones to use watchdogs to protect the colour bar. In Greenwood, Mississippi, police dogs guarded the voting register itself. Groups of Negroes who went to the registration office were surrounded by cops and told by the police commissioner to choose whether they'd "go home, go to jail or go register to vote alone." Police dogs were sicked on to them; 19 Negroes were arrested and many others beaten up.

"When I Hear the Word Art, I Reach for My Gun!"

All Munich recently flocked to see a new type of "instant art" produced by a young Parisienne. Mlle. Nikki de St. Phalle buries bottles of ink, raw eggs, beer cans and tins of paint into the plaster reliefs that she makes. At the moment of creation she takes a rifle and peppers the object with bullets—with spectacular results. Prospective purchasers are also allowed to join the shooting.



while trying to keep up the pretense that it is anti-colonialist is played out. Hlomulo J.C. Gwambe, a Mozambique nationalist leader, declared in Cairo: "Superficially, Portugal is our enemy, but essentially NATO headed by the United States and particularly the latter are our major enemies. They are suppliers of weapons to Portugal to suppress our people, and stand with Portugal in the United Nations. The U.S. itself is plotting to replace Portugal through the back door. Therefore, our target is not Portugal only but both."

CLASS STRUGGLE

Facts and Fiction

According to Walter Lippman, class struggle "has faded out" in the United States and "is fading out" in "advanced countries" such as Britain, France and Italy. "The demise of the class struggle is a phenomenon of the postwar world," so declared the doyen of U.S. bourgeois newspaper columnists in a national television programme on May Day.

Well, we have some figures on industrial strikes which show that class antagonism in the so-called advanced countries is very far from being dead.

Britain: From 1954 to 1961, the country lost an annual average of 3.94 million workdays through 2,520 strikes. Last year, it lost 5.79 million days in 2,440 strikes, the most serious

year since 1957 when 8.41 million days were lost.

France: Five million workdays have been lost already through strikes this year (this was reported while the big coal strike was still going on).

Italy: The country has had more industrial stoppages than any other West European country. During 1954-61, an annual average of 6.1 million days were lost through 2,180 strikes. In the first eight months of 1962 alone, 12.6 million days were lost, twice as many as for the corresponding period in 1961.

And the **United States** where class struggle is supposed to have "faded out"? In 1954-61, it lost an annual average of 28.6 million workdays through 3,700 strikes. During the prolonged steel strikes of 1959, 69 million days were lost. Last year, losses in workdays increased sharply. Almost 4 million were lost in the dock and newspaper strikes alone.

These figures are from statistics released recently by the International Labour Office at Geneva, an organization which cannot be accused of carrying on "communist propaganda." All the same, they make laughing stocks of latter-day bourgeois theorists like Lippman who try to deny the hard facts of class struggle.

SHORT NOTES

Tass reports that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union has decided on the composition of the delegation for the Sino-Soviet talks in July. It will be headed by M.A. Suslov, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Delegation members include Yuri Andropov, Leonid Ilyichev and Boris Ponomarev, Secretaries of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and Stepan Chervonenko, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Soviet Ambassador to China.

In accordance with a military assistance agreement signed between Belgrade and New Delhi on May 17, India will receive 30 million rupees worth of ammunition from Yugoslavia. Western news agencies reported earlier that Yugoslavia has also agreed to furnish India with weapons for mountain warfare.

Refusing entry to a committee of the U.S.-dominated Organization of American States to investigate what was called "Haiti's violation of human rights," the Haitian dictator Duvalier said he was not aware that this matter was within the province of the O.A.S. If it was, he asked, why had not the O.A.S. intervened in Birmingham, Alabama, U.S.A., where "there are not only possible threats of but actual acts of violence"?

(Continued from p. 17.)

mentation of the Geneva agreements, respect for the independence and neutrality of Laos and the preservation of peace in this region.

On May 20, the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement expressing the Chinese Government's full support for Prince Souphanouvong's proposals contained in his letter to the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the just stand taken by the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its statement of May 12. The Chinese people maintain that the illegal decision made by the Indian and Canadian representatives on the International Commission and the permanent team sent to the Plain of Jars must be cancelled and the intensified U.S. aggressive activities in Laos must be checked.

The whole history of Laos since the signing of the 1962 Geneva agreements has shown that the U.S.

imperialist policy of aggression there has not changed and will not change. To achieve the aim of wiping out the Laotian patriotic forces, U.S. imperialism sometimes uses political fraud, sometimes military suppression, and sometimes the two methods simultaneously. The military adventure of U.S. imperialism is the continuation of its political scheme and vice versa. Whatever tactics are used, U.S. imperialism will not abandon its ultimate aim of controlling and enslaving the Laotian people.

What is the prospect for Laos? Will it be peace and neutrality? Or will the country be reduced to a colony and war base for U.S. imperialism? This is not determined by the wishful thinking of the U.S. imperialists or anybody else. It is determined by the Laotian people's struggle. If the Laotian people in 1960 and 1962 were able to defeat the U.S. imperialists' military attacks and frustrate their political fraud, then, they are surely able now to defeat their new provocations and safeguard the independence, neutrality and peace of Laos.

The Good Eighth Company On Nanking Road.

by CHUNG HO

NANKING Road is the bustling centre of Shanghai, China's biggest metropolis. Fourteen years ago, in May 1949, when that city was freed by the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Kuomintang reactionaries cherished high hopes of demoralizing the people's fighters with the city's insidious "charms." They predicted that the P.L.A. would "collapse" on Nanking Road, the quintessence of bourgeois corruption and decadence. "Shanghai is a huge dyeing vat. The Communists are red when they come but they'll turn black when they go." That's what they expected of the people's army.

The week before last, on May 8, *Renmin Ribao* declared editorially: "The hopes of the class enemy have not been realized in the past 14 years, nor will they be realized in the years to come. Nanking Road has not succeeded in corrupting the revolutionary troops of the proletariat; on the contrary, it is the latter with its revolutionary spirit which has exercised a purifying effect on the place and cleansed it of its dirt and sin."

The editorial, prominently featured, was written on the occasion of the Shanghai ceremony on May 5 at which the P.L.A. Eighth Company, stationed in Shanghai ever since liberation and twice detailed for duty along Nanking Road, was officially named by order of the Ministry of National Defence: the "Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road." Praising the company highly, the paper described it as having triumphantly withstood the test of steel bullets in time of war, and of "sugar-coated bullets" in time of peace. It had set a fine example for the whole nation, the editorial said, by staunchly preserving the revolutionary tradition of the proletariat, characterized by plain living and hard struggle, in the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

"Sugar-coated bullets," incidentally, is the term widely used in this country as a synonym for the thousand and one ways used by the class enemy in its attempts to corrupt revolutionaries it has failed to defeat in battle. As early as March 1949, Chairman Mao Tse-tung warned all the revolutionary cadres to beware lest they fall victim to "sugar-coated bullets."

With that warning still fully valid today, the nation has been called upon to learn from the example of the Good Eighth Company. Speaking at the Shanghai ceremony, attended by Party and government leaders, high-ranking generals, and representatives of the citizens of Shanghai, Ko Ching-shih, First Secretary of the East China Bureau of the Communist Party's Central Committee, and Mayor of Shanghai, pointed out that "in building a socialist China, we have to wage a long-term struggle on the one hand against Nature, and on the other, against the enemies of the working class. To fulfil this arduous task, we need thousands upon thousands of

outstanding 'good eighth companies,' not only in the army, but also in all our factories, enterprises, people's communes, schools, government and people's organizations."

WHAT is the "secret" of the success of the Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road, and how to learn from it?

The *Renmin Ribao* editorial gave the answer: The all-important thing is that the Eighth Company has most conscientiously armed itself with Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has long since pointed out that the workers' and peasants' army led by the Chinese Communist Party is a people's army of a new type and its sole aim is to stand close by the people and serve them with wholehearted devotion. The Good Eighth Company has never lost sight of this for a moment. That is why it has lived up to the P.L.A.'s fine tradition, remained ever close to the people, and preserved the outstanding characteristics of the working people: industriousness and courage.

The men of the Eighth Company come from the working people. As sons of workers or peasants, they have always treasured their kinship with the masses. They know that all we have is the fruit of labour. Knowing the value of things, they make a point of saving even though it is only a grain of rice, a drop of water, or a piece of cloth. They are good with their hands and mend whatever needs to be repaired, a habit which also speaks eloquently of their attitude to public property. They grow their own vegetables and are ever ready to volunteer their services if needed.

All this, however, has nothing in common with puritanical asceticism. The company never demands senseless display of "contempt for pleasure." Intensive political education enables everybody to have a clear picture of the aim of the proletarian revolution: the liberation of the masses from exploitation and their deliverance, once and for all, from poverty and hardship; the building of a communist society based on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." They know that as China's socialist construction progresses, the living standards of the people as a whole will rise gradually and steadily. They are fully aware of the importance of putting the interests of the nation as a whole above those of the individual.

The Good Eighth Company is outstanding too in the way it translates into action Chairman Mao Tse-tung's injunction to attach primary importance to political and ideological work in the people's army. It helps the Party branch to play its full role as the bulwark of the company. It has steadfastly upheld the Party's principle of democratic centralism. It has done a superb job in mobilizing all its Party members and members of the Com-

unist Youth League as activists around whom the rest of the company is closely rallied. With the old soldiers coaching the new recruits, the advanced helping the backward, officers and rank-and-file have become close knit into one single unit.

The leadership of the company, led by the Party, has never for a moment ceased to educate the men in the meaning of the class struggle, and in this respect, it pays special attention to tackling ideological problems through living examples. Thus all members of the company are assisted in learning to draw a clear-cut line between the

enemy and the people, to take and hold a firm class stand and to know what to love and what to hate. These efforts have proved to be most rewarding.

In the current campaign to emulate the Good Eighth Company, the company's experience in doing political and ideological work has been summed up and passed on to the whole nation. There is every reason to expect that, inspired by the good example set by the company, more and more such advanced units will come to the fore, playing an increasingly important role in various aspects of China's socialist construction.

Ideological Education

The Story of the "Good 8th Company"

by KUO MA-HU

THE "Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road" has become known to the whole nation.* It gave a good account of itself in the very first days it took up duty on Nanking Road after the liberation of Shanghai, but it is in its deportment and activities especially in the ensuing 14 years that it has shown its mettle as an exemplary unit of the P.L.A. Shanghai Garrison worthy of national emulation.

Following their first tour of duty on Nanking Road, the company was transferred to the suburbs. Later, they were again detailed for duty on Nanking Road and this is when our present story really begins.

It was in the autumn of 1956. Shanghai, seven years after liberation, was no longer the "Paradise of Adventurers" it used to be. But Nanking Road was still the busy centre of Shanghai, a street of tall buildings, great commercial undertakings, heavy traffic and fascinating department stores with well-filled show cases. The transfer therefore caused a flurry of excitement in the company. At that time most of the veterans were demobilized and over 80 per cent of the men were new recruits. A few were overjoyed at the prospect of sampling the fun and interest offered by Nanking Road. They polished up their newly issued leather shoes and busily packed their new uniforms.

At the Communist Party branch meeting, committee members discussed how they were to carry out the highly responsible task of guarding Nanking Road. They realized that the men's excitement had a negative as well as a positive side to it and that it must be made clear that they were going back to Nanking Road to fulfil a revolutionary duty and not to have a good time. Orders were issued to the effect that the company was to march to its destination on foot instead of going by bus; that all personal effects and equipment must be carried by the men themselves and that the march would be made at midnight. To many new recruits all this came as a surprise since there was no lack of transport. It was only days afterwards that they realized this was a demonstra-

tion of revolutionary spirit designed to educate the men in the fine traditions of the P.L.A. However, no one grumbled at the time. For all, it was an order, discipline, and for those who might have complained — well it was a march to their dreamland — Nanking Road.

Struggle Between Two Forces

However, unusual things began to happen after their arrival: some people began to ask for leaves of absence repeatedly; some even used the knapsack cords as laundry lines and when an order was issued to muster, some failed to fall in formation promptly. There was talk that "standing guard on Nanking Road is better than going to a show," and "everything is good except our pay, which is too little."

This came to the attention of the Party branch and Liu Jen-fu, the company's political instructor. They began to appreciate better the profound significance of the warning Chairman Mao Tse-tung gave in his *Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China* delivered in March 1949 on the eve of liberation. Here Chairman Mao warned that those revolutionaries who had not succumbed to the enemy's guns should guard against developing a love of pleasure and distaste for hard living lest they fall victim to the sugar-coated bullets of the enemy. The fact was that although Shanghai was under the rule of the people led by the proletariat and the revolutionary tradition of the P.L.A. and the Communist Party had exerted a profound influence, the rottenness spawned by reaction in pre-liberation days died hard. In the old days Nanking Road was infested with the scum of society: fortune-seeking foreigners, venal, self-seeking comprador-capitalists, racketeers of all kinds, thieves, prostitutes and other city riff-raff. Even after liberation speculators and unregenerate capitalists and their hangers-on shot sugar-coated bullets at the revolutionaries, trying to corrupt them. There were still opportunities for bourgeois ideology to exert its influence. Liu Jen-fu knew that not all the men's enthusiasm and curiosity about Nanking Road was negative, but when one placed one's personal interests above those of the revolution it was obviously a case of bourgeois influence. Two forces, two traditions — one proletarian and the other bourgeois — were locked in struggle on Nanking Road. Which tradition should the

*The play *On Guard Under the Neon Lights* reviewed in the previous issue of *Peking Review* has called attention to this fine P.L.A. company with a drama based on the company's first tour of duty on Nanking Road.



On Nanking Road: Men of the "Good Eighth Company" returning from work on a commune farm

men of the proletarian army carry forward? This was the key question.

A Fine Tradition

Company headquarters started painstaking education. One night an emergency order was issued to "fall in" with full equipment. A private who had used his knapsack cord as a laundry line was taken by surprise and came up late. Instead of criticizing him, the leadership asked the soldiers to discuss why some comrades failed to fall in formation promptly. A heated and illuminating discussion followed and the men's vigilance was heightened.

To correct some comrades' mistaken ideas about Nanking Road, instructor Liu Jen-fu took the entire company to the Museum of History of the Shanghai Working-Class Movement. There they saw for themselves how in the patriotic anti-imperialist "May 30th Movement" of 1925 the workers had shed their blood on Nanking Road, shot by the British police; how, in 1947, Liang Jen-ta, a shop assistant, gave his life in the struggle to boycott U.S. goods; how the revolutionary people demonstrated on Nanking Road against the U.S.-Chiang reaction; and how Nanking Road was finally liberated by the P.L.A. — again at the cost of the people's blood.

Attention was drawn to cases of exemplary conduct: mess officer Ko Shih-chi did all sorts of repairs himself,

saving money for the company; Liu Yun-yen, officer in charge of supply and ordnance, had worn his pair of cotton shoes for as long as three years. . . . Small matters though these were, they were in the fine tradition of the proletariat — a tradition of plain living and hard struggle. This style of living and working is innate in the Communist Party and the P.L.A.; it is innate in the proletariat. The Eighth Company itself had been reared in this tradition. The question then was to keep this spirit alive and not to allow it to languish and tarnish.

The struggle was carried out quietly, practically without words. A new recruit joined the company, was influenced by its "wordless language," and became a worthy member of the collective. The company kept a vegetable plot over ten kilometres away from their barracks. The men went to work on foot as a rule. Company Commander Chang Chi-pao explained it this way: this was not just to save money; it was designed to train the troops — how could they fight if they couldn't walk? But Yi Kuei-sheng, a new recruit who had attended senior middle school, did not understand this. Tired as he was after working on the plot, he could not see why he shouldn't take a bus home. He reasoned: there were so many buses and they were meant to be used; besides, he could afford to pay the fare himself. So he sounded out his section leader: "Don't you think it's a rather long way to walk?" The section leader of course knew what he was driving at and answered off-handedly: "No, the more often you walk it, the shorter it gets." Shame flushed Yi Kuei-sheng's cheeks and he began walking with an agitated heart. Some days later a newcomer asked him the same question. He almost smiled, but answered in all seriousness: "No, the more often you walk it, the shorter it gets."

Public Interest Above All

It is the company's major task to patrol the important business and other premises in the vicinity of Nanking Road, and they put their heart into their job. Tao Yuan-chi would rather stand in torrential rain than have his view obstructed by any kind of shelter. One wintry night Hsiung Hsiao-kou rather let his ears get cold than use ear-muffs lest his hearing be hampered. Every night even after working and studying late Wang Ching-wen, who succeeded Liu Jen-fu as the company's political instructor, would go out to check the guard posts. . . .

In their off-duty hours, men of the Eighth Company devote much time to working on their vegetable plots. They cleared 32 small plots of debris and reclaimed a waste plot in the suburbs. As a result of hard work, they are producing more vegetables than they can consume.

Over the years many "rules" have become tacitly accepted and observed by all men of the company: they never take a bus but always walk unless on urgent business; they do as much as they can of their own repairs and mending; everybody has savings in the bank. . . . Company Commander Chang Chi-pao makes straw sandals for himself and others; Political Instructor Wang Ching-wen still uses his quilt which is over ten years old; Private Yang Kuang-pin has used his washing basin for more than nine years. . . . All this bespeaks their simple way of living. But when they learnt that certain areas were hard hit by natural calamities and the people there were suffering from the resulting difficulties, they im-



Political Instructor Wang Ching-wen teaching new recruit Yi Kuei-sheng how to sew

mediately contributed clothing and other things to the public relief fund. Private Wu Yueh-sheng put all his savings into construction bonds to aid socialist construction. Such acts come naturally to them because they know very well how necessary it is to carry forward the tradition of plain living and hard struggle, especially while China is still poor and backward.

Heightening Class Consciousness

The men of the Eighth Company have gone through a school of life that gives them extra strength to resist the attacks of bourgeois ideology.

Instructor Tsung Chih-liang joined the people's army during the War of Liberation. His father had died at the hands of a ruthless landlord and he was brought up by his mother. When the P.L.A. came to his village, he was only 15. Nevertheless, he enlisted, determined to avenge his father. When he left home, his mother gave him all the family savings—a total of 40 fen! He bought a pencil for nine fen and returned the rest of the money to his mother, saying: "With the pencil I shall learn to read and write in the army. You keep the rest of the money; you need it." Later he spent two years in Shanghai with the Eighth Company and never bought anything beyond necessities. He often told his comrades: "We must never forget we are sons of the poor." It is understandable that to these men decadent bourgeois ways of life are repugnant. Tsung Chih-liang's experience is typical of the veterans of the P.L.A. These are men of the working people and the political education of the Communist Party awakens and heightens their class consciousness.

Of course the level of awakening of the men of the Eighth Company today is far higher than that of Tsung Chih-liang when he first joined the army. They are working hard not just to avenge their fathers or so that their mothers can enjoy a better life; they know they are, first of all, serving the people, the collective, the socialist motherland, the communist cause of all mankind.

One day soon after the Eighth Company arrived in Shanghai, Private Hsu Shu-chao reported to the instructor in all seriousness: "I picked up one fen on the road

and I want to hand it over to the authorities." A new recruit who was standing by could not suppress a chuckle. But the instructor praised Hsu, saying: "One fen isn't much, but if you keep it, it will be a black spot on your heart never to be wiped clean. . . ." This is not just preaching; it is a demonstration of true unselfishness. Up to the end of 1962, men of the Eighth Company had returned 1,390 lost articles to their rightful owners, including 87 fountain pens. Once Private Chen Chin-lin found 28 yuan while on duty, he returned it to the person who had lost it. This was discovered only in a roundabout way. When asked why he did not report this occurrence, he answered simply: "It's what every revolutionary soldier should do; it's in the tradition of our Eighth Company so there was nothing worth reporting."

True Comrades

Why did Political Instructor Wang Ching-wen not buy a new quilt for himself? What was he saving money for? It happened several times that a soldier had got a letter from home saying that someone was sick and asked for money, and then found that some mysterious person had remitted the amount asked for before the soldier concerned himself managed to find the sum needed. The secret finally came to light. It was found that the soldier in question had told his section leader about his family difficulties, that the section leader had reported, or unwittingly "leaked" it, to the political instructor and that the latter had taken action—in secret.

Comradely mutual aid is part of the tradition of the Eighth Company. Commander Chang Chi-pao has willingly walked several kilometres to relieve a soldier on duty so that the latter could go to a show. When a man gets sick, everyone else looks after him. . . .

This comradely concern is not limited to within the company. One day at the railway station Private Wu Tsai-ling noticed an old man looking worried and with a little child in his arms. He found out that the old man was taking the child home but had lost the money he had for the train fare. Thereupon Wu gave the old man all the money he had. The old man was overjoyed and Wu himself had the satisfaction of "a job well done."

In the spring of 1961 when China was suffering its third year of natural disasters, vegetables ran short in Shanghai. The Eighth Company's plots were also hard hit by adverse weather. Nevertheless, they voluntarily made what fresh vegetables they had available to ordinary consumers making do with a minimum for themselves.

In the last analysis, the Eighth Company has maintained its proletarian ideological position and become the "Good Eighth Company" because officers and men have studied Chairman Mao's writings in real earnest and put what they have learnt into practice. They live simply and frugally, but when it is a question of spending money on Chairman Mao's works and other study material, they don't hesitate. Every one has a copy of one or another of Chairman Mao's works handy for study whenever an opportunity presents itself. "Read Chairman Mao's works, listen to his teachings, go about things according to his instructions and be a good soldier of his" has become a motto guiding the actions of the whole company.

CORRECTION: In the article "Basing Industry on Agriculture" in our May 10, 1963 issue (No. 19), page 13, line 12 from bottom in right-hand column: for "5.2-fold" read "52-fold."

MUSIC

The People Sing

Two unusual and hugely attended concerts were held recently in Peking and Shanghai; the former drew a crowd of over 3,000; the latter, more than 4,000. Concert artists, professional troupes and amateur choirs sang, but what gave these concerts their special interest was the zest with which, in between numbers, the audiences—workers, P.L.A. men, students and cadres—joined in singing revolutionary songs of yesterday and today.

Mass singing of revolutionary songs has a firm tradition in China. In the most crucial days of the democratic revolution, student demonstrators, striking workers, insurrectionary peasants and revolutionary soldiers went into action singing songs many of which remain favourites to this day. *Dockers' Song* by Nieh Erh, pioneer of modern Chinese revolutionary music, is still popular among Shanghai's 30,000 stevedores.

But times have changed. New struggles inspire new songs. Most of the items performed at the Peking and Shanghai concerts were written by Chinese composers in the past two years. Many sing the praises of socialism, the three red banners—the general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's commune—and extol new heroes—outstanding builders of the new society; others express the Chinese people's determination to fight imperialism, support the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and carry the revolution to final victory. *Stand Always in the Van of Socialist Construction*, *Raise Aloft the Banner of Revolution* and *Song of the People's Commune* were among the latest songs sung with gusto at the Peking concert. A number of new songs were dedicated to Lei Feng, the young P.L.A. man whose sterling qualities as a Communist have inspired the whole nation.

While everyone joined in singing the ever popular *The East Is Red* and *People of the World Are of One Heart*, each group in the audience had its own special favourite. During the intermission at the Peking concert, the workers sang their favourite: *Without the Communist Party There Could*

Have Been No New China. The soldiers immediately answered with *Song of the "Three-Eight" Working Style* (of the P.L.A.). Accompanied by accordions, college students chanted *Learn From Lei Feng's Example* and the Young Pioneers replied with *We Are the Successors to the Cause of Communism*.

Composers Li Huan-chih, Meng Po and Chieh Fu were on hand to conduct the audience in their own works—*Socialism Is Good* and other songs.

These concerts have been highlights of a new upsurge in mass singing for which there is no dearth of new compositions. The Shanghai branch of the Union of Chinese Musicians alone received more than 4,000 new songs in the first part of this year. Many of them were contributed by amateur song-writers.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Rare Rhinoceros-Shaped Wine Vessel Found

The Museum of Chinese History in Peking has acquired a valuable new addition: a 2,000-year-old gold-inlaid bronze wine vessel in the shape of a rhinoceros. It was discovered by Chao Chen-hsiu, a people's commune member in Hsingping County, Shensi Province, while working in the fields. He immediately presented it to the authorities. Archaeologists of the Institute of Archaeology of Shensi are of the opinion that it dates back to the Chin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.) or Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.).

This ancient ritual wine vessel is 34.1 cms. high, 58.1 cms. long, 20.4 cms. wide, and weighs 13.3 kgs. It is

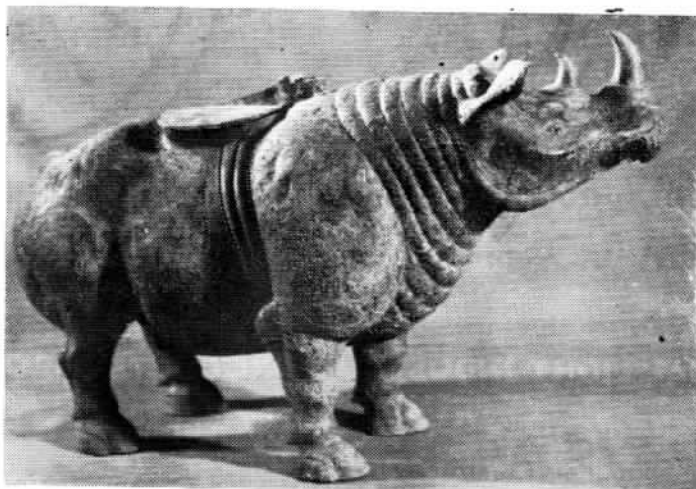
cast in the shape of a double-horned rhinoceros of the African species standing with its head raised, staring ahead, ears pricked up and tail stiffening, as if alerted and ready to fight. The body is inlaid with spiral patterns in gold. The wine is poured in through an oblong opening on the back covered with a bronze lid with a ring and a small conduit in the mouth serves as the spout.

Rhinoceros-shaped wine vessels were very rare in ancient China. The rhinoceros was considered an auspicious animal and ritual vessels in that shape were usually used in royal households. Another rhinoceros-shaped wine vessel unearthed before liberation in Shou-chang County, Shantung Province, was 24.5 cms. high and ascribed to the Yin Dynasty of over 3,000 years ago. But this was one of many antiquities spirited away from China by the U.S. imperialists.

Hsingping County, where the new find was discovered, is in central Shensi, situated to the west of Hsienyang, the ancient capital of the Chin Dynasty, and Changan (present-day Sian), capital of the Western Han. The present discovery is of great value to the study of bronzes and the history of handicraft art in ancient China.

"Shanghai Spring Music Festival." Shanghai held its fourth annual Spring Music Festival in mid-May. During its 13 days, 3,700 professional and amateur musicians performed in 43 concerts. The dominant feature of the programmes was revolutionary songs and instrumental compositions. Notable among them was a suite of compositions originally written for the film *A Red Detachment of Women* and a new symphony *Cheng Cheng-*

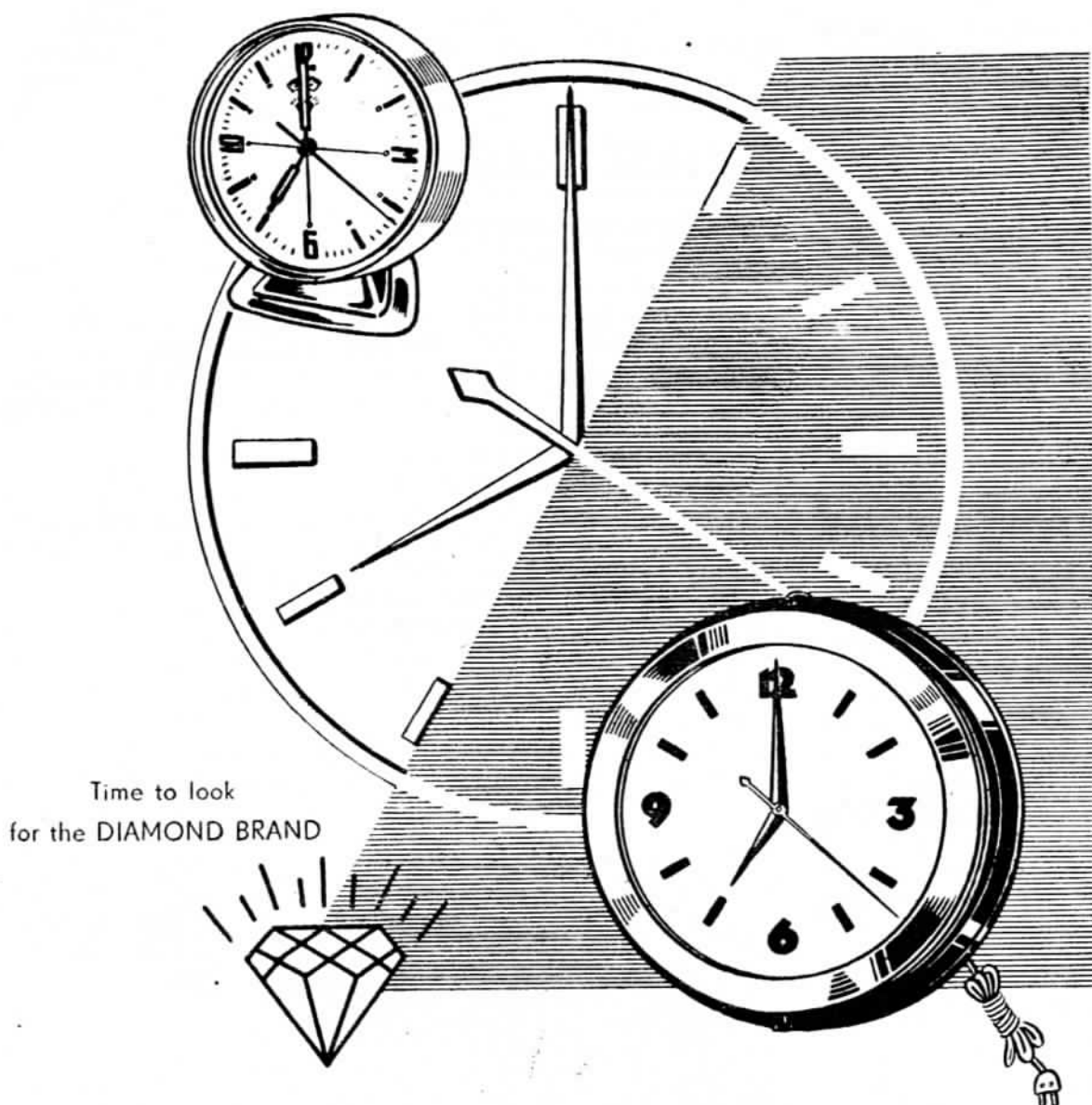
kung, dedicated to the 17th-century national hero who drove the Dutch invaders from Taiwan. Over 2,000 of the amateur participants were Shanghai workers, peasants, soldiers and students. New China's first contests for the violin and the *erh hu*, a two-stringed Chinese violin, were also held as a part of the festival.



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