

PEKING REVIEW

29

July 19, 1963

We Want Unity, Not a Split

Renmin Ribao editorial on the bilateral talks between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union (p. 7).

COMMENTARIES BY OBSERVER:

**No Meddling in Sino-Soviet Differences
By U.S. Imperialism**

**A Demarcation Line Must Be Drawn
With the Renegade Tito Group**

**Indian Reactionaries in the Anti-China
Chorus**

Chemical Industry Serves Agriculture

北
京
周
報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

MAO TSE-TUNG ON THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

by Chen Po-ta

(Revised English Translation)

Citing concrete examples from Chinese revolutionary history, the author expounds Mao Tse-tung's views on a number of questions concerning the Chinese revolution. These include: the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, the leadership of the proletariat, the establishment of revolutionary base areas, the united front, the continuous development of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, and the building of the Communist Party. The author explains how Mao Tse-tung's theoretical conclusions are based on the invaluable experience gained in integrating Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution.

pp.74

The Revolution of 1911

by Wu Yu-chang

The Revolution of 1911 failed in its deeper purpose – to establish a bourgeois democratic republic – but it did overthrow the age-old feudal monarchy in China. Wu Yu-chang, author of this book, is a Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He tells about that revolution from the inside as a participant and analyses it with deep insight and a wealth of facts. Especially enlightening are his answers to such questions as: What were its causes? What were its achievements and how and why did it fall? What part did the people play in it? This book will help the reader to a deeper understanding of the great democratic revolution in China's history.

Illustrated with photographs

Hard Cover

pp.146

Published by:

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Distributed by:

GUOZI SHUDIAN

P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

July 19, 1963 Vol. VI No. 29

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES	
We Want Unity, Not a Split — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	7
No Meddling in Sino-Soviet Differences by U.S. Im- perialism — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Observer	9
A Demarcation Line Must Be Drawn With the Renegade Tito Group — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Observer	10
Indian Reactionaries in the Anti-China Chorus — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Observer	12
The World Congress of Women — Wang Hsi	14
Peking Acclaims Women Delegates From Asia, Africa and Latin America — Our Correspondent	17
Refutation of Revisionists' Calumnies Against Na- tional-Liberation Wars — <i>Malayan Monitor</i> Article	19
Safeguarding the Unity of the International Com- munist Movement — Njoto	21
Chemical Industry Serves Agriculture — Kao Kuang-chien	25
ROUND THE WORLD	23
THEATRE, SPORTS	29

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- In connection with the bilateral talks between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties *Renmin Ribao* last week published an editorial entitled "We Want Unity, Not a Split" (July 13). It also published three commentaries by Observer: "No Meddling in Sino-Soviet Differences by U.S. Imperialism" (July 14); "A Demarcation Line Must Be Drawn With the Renegade Tito Group" (July 15); and "Indian Reactionaries in the Anti-China Chorus" (July 16).

- China and Korea celebrated the second anniversary of the signing of their treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance.

- A Peking citizens' rally to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle for the peaceful unification of their country voiced confidence that the anti-U.S. struggle of the south Vietnamese people will be victorious.

- Asian, African and Latin American delegates to the World Congress of Women in Moscow were welcomed at a solidarity meeting in Peking. They censured the congress for discarding the militant tasks of anti-imperialism, for the undemocratic methods used and for the anti-China activities at it.

The congress drew criticism in the press too. Chinese newspapers reported last week that both *Rodong Shinmoon* of Korea (July 9) and *Nhandan* of Viet Nam (July 9) stressed that there can be no emancipation of women without anti-imperialist struggle.

- The Chinese press last week published:

- an article from *Hoc Tap*, theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, entitled "The Renegade Tito Again Spreads the Venom of Revisionism";

- excerpts of an article in the Vietnamese paper *Nhandan* declaring that denunciation of the Yugoslav revisionists by the Moscow Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960 was entirely correct;

- reports of a speech made in South Sumatra by Njoto, Second Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party in which he pointed out that to defend peace it was necessary to oppose U.S. imperialism and pledged that the Indonesian Communist Party would do its best to uphold the unity of the international communist movement.

- China's Foreign Ministry last week sent three notes to the Indian Embassy in China sternly rejecting recent Indian fabrications that Chinese aircraft had flown over Indian territory (July 8 and 9) and protesting against 17 sorties of Indian aircraft intruding into Chinese air space in April, May and June (July 12).

- China's industry chalked up fresh achievements. Machine-building departments reported that more machinery and electrical equipment for agriculture was turned out in the first six months of the year than in the corresponding period last year. In the first half of the year the nation's collieries overfulfilled their target by over a million tons a month.

Sino-Korean Solidarity

The Chinese and Korean peoples last week celebrated the second anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Korean Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance. Anniversary meetings were held in all the major cities of the two fraternal

countries; people's organizations exchanged greetings, and all leading newspapers carried editorials on the occasion.

Forged in the long years of war fought together first against the Japanese aggressors and later against the U.S. invaders, the comradeship-

in-arms and unity between the two peoples have stood searching tests. These close ties have been strengthened in the joint struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and in the common cause of building socialism. The signing of the treaty two years ago sealed in a formal document this fraternal friendship and new type of friendly co-operation.

Peking Celebrates

Peking celebrated the occasion at a rally on July 11. Among the 1,500 people attending were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other leaders, diplomatic officials of the Korean Embassy and many Korean guests now visiting the country.

In his address, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Kuo Mo-jo described the signing of the treaty as a great event in the history of Sino-Korean relations and an important milestone in the development of the great friendship between the two peoples. "China and Korea," he said, "are as closely related as flesh and blood. The socialist camp is a single entity. The security of China is inseparably linked with that of Korea, and the security of the entire socialist camp is indivisible. No matter what the circumstances, the Chinese people will always stand by the side of the Korean people."

Declaring that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the whole world, Kuo Mo-jo exposed Kennedy's "strategy of peace," describing it as yet another attempt to paralyse the militancy of the world's people and through "peaceful evolution" facilitate the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. He called on the people of all countries to heighten their vigilance and not to harbour any illusions about U.S. imperialism. "For the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism," he stressed, "the safeguarding and strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement is of paramount importance." He pledged that the Chinese people would struggle shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people for the complete realization of their common cause and common ideals.

Zung Bong Koo, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Korean Embassy

in China, spoke warmly of the relations between the two fraternal peoples which, he said, were based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and cemented in the struggle against the common enemy. "Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism," he declared, "the Korean and Chinese peoples today are waging a resolute struggle against the imperialists and modern revisionists." He exposed the modern revisionists for serving the needs of U.S. imperialists' plots for the rabid prosecution of their policies of aggression and war, for attempting to disintegrate the socialist camp, for engaging in all sorts of manoeuvres to harm Marxism-Leninism, emasculate its revolutionary spirit, corrupt the working class, draw it away from the revolutionary struggle, and split the socialist countries. Declaring that revisionism was the main danger to the international communist movement today, the Korean Charge d'Affaires said that the Korean Workers' Party was carrying on a resolute struggle to expose and smash the schemes of modern revisionism represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Anniversary Banquet

In celebration of the Sino-Korean treaty, the Korean Charge d'Affaires gave a banquet which was attended by Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders. Toasting the growing friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the Sino-Korean alliance had played and would continue to play an important role in strengthening the friendship and co-operation between the two countries, in opposing imperialist aggression and in defending peace in Asia and the rest of the world. Pointing out that this alliance had set a brilliant example of correct relationship between socialist countries, the Vice-Premier said: **"Facts show that only by truly upholding Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles and the spirit of proletarian internationalism will it be possible for treaties between countries in the socialist camp to play the role which they should play, as the Sino-Korean treaty has done. The relationship between the countries in the socialist camp, big or small and with large or small populations, is one of complete equality and mutual assistance. They have the common responsibility of**

defending the security of the socialist camp and world peace. Any chauvinist attitude, which violates the principles governing mutual relations among fraternal countries and imposes the will of one on another, can only damage the unity of the socialist camp. The Chinese people will always stand by the Korean people, continue to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and carry forward to the end the struggle to oppose modern revisionism, to safeguard the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to defend Marxism-Leninism, to preserve the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, to oppose imperialism and colonialism, to support the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggle for liberation and to defend world peace."

U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of South Viet Nam!

Peking held a mass rally on July 15 at the Great Hall of the People to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression in south Viet Nam and to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle for the peaceful unification of their motherland. This started off the round of rallies in various Chinese cities marking the "week of struggle against U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen — the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, in vigorous support of the south Vietnamese people's liberation struggle and for the peaceful unification of the country," in response to the call of the people of north Viet Nam.

More than 10,000 people in the capital joined the rally sponsored by the China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and seven other people's organizations. Among those present were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other leaders of the Chinese Government, and visiting guests from Viet Nam and other Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Addressing the rally, Chairman of the China Peace Committee Kuo Mo-jo pledged the 650 million Chinese people's firm support for the entire Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression in south Viet Nam and for the peaceful unification of their motherland. "Standing in the fore-

front of the struggle against U.S. imperialism," he said, "the people of south Viet Nam are not only safeguarding the national interests of the Vietnamese people, but also giving great support to the socialist countries. **It is the internationalist duty of all socialist countries to give all-round support and assistance to the people of south Viet Nam in their revolutionary struggle. A socialist country must not adopt a passive or negative attitude towards the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, much less should it bargain with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the interests of the national-liberation struggles. Otherwise, it will not only directly harm the liberation cause of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations and contravene the fundamental interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, but will also do harm to the defence of world peace. This is what the revolutionary people of the world absolutely will not tolerate.**"

Vietnamese Ambassador Tran Tu Binh next addressed the rally. He condemned U.S. imperialism for violating the 1954 Geneva agreements regarding Viet Nam. "As a result of U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression," he told the rally, "our fatherland is still being partitioned and the people in the southern part of Viet Nam are suffering from the brutal war launched by U.S. imperialism." Denouncing the Kennedy Administration for creating tension in south Viet Nam, Laos and other parts of the world, the Vietnamese Ambassador said: "All these facts are further proof that U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous enemy of the national-liberation movement and world peace."

The hall burst into thunderous applause when Nguyen Thi Binh, representative of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, took the floor. She sternly condemned U.S. imperialism for its undeclared war in south Viet Nam and its slaughter of the people there. In the nine years since the conclusion of the Geneva agreements, she told the rally, the U.S. imperialists had replaced the French imperialists and had plotted to turn south Viet Nam into their new-type colony and military base. "In the face of the U.S. imperialist invasion and its ruthless war schemes, our

people have no alternative but to rise and defend their right to live," Nguyen Thi Binh declared. When she described the victories the people of south Viet Nam had scored, particularly over the past year, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, she inspired all with her confidence that her people would surely drive the aggressor out of their country.

Amidst applause, the rally adopted a message of support to the Vietnamese people. It paid tribute to their heroic struggles against the aggressor and expressed confidence that their just cause will finally triumph.

Albanian Army Day Reception

The need to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and smash the U.S. imperialist schemes of paying lip service to peace while actually preparing for war was stressed by Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Senior General Lo Jui-ching in his speech at the reception Colonel Elami Hado, military attache of the Albanian Embassy in China, gave last week on the occasion of Albanian Army Day. Marshal Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien, Members of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premiers; Marshal Nieh Jung-chen, Member of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; and other leaders of the Party and Government as well as top-ranking officers of the P.L.A. attended the reception.

Senior General Lo paid tribute to the Albanian people and their army who, "though surrounded by imperialism and its lackey — the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia — have vigilantly safeguarded the southwestern outpost of the socialist camp." Referring to the dauntless revolutionary heroism of the Albanian people in carrying on their socialist revolution and socialist construction and in holding high the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism, he said that the Chinese people were extremely proud of having such heroic comrades-in-arms.

Senior General Lo also spoke of the current international situation.

"In order to break up and destroy the socialist camp and establish its world hegemony," he said, "U.S. imperialism has taken to more vicious and crafty methods than ever before. While working desperately to build up its armaments and prepare for war so as to achieve its aims by force of arms, U.S. imperialism, backed by its armed strength, is also vainly attempting to promote 'peaceful evolution' in the socialist countries so as to achieve victory without battle."

"Some people," he continued, "are fascinated by this 'strategy of peace' and have hastened to cheer and praise Kennedy's speech. Now more than ever, the people of the world must maintain their vigilance and must never harbour any illusions about U.S. imperialism. They must unite closely and carry on unflagging struggles to thoroughly expose and smash U.S. imperialism's war policy and its plot of making peaceful gestures while actually preparing for war, and to strive for the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism."

Anniversary of Mongolian People's Revolution

Unity of the socialist camp was the keynote of Vice-Premier Chen Yi's speech at the reception Mongolian Ambassador D. Tsevegmid gave on July 11 in honour of the 42nd anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution. Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China Tung Pi-wu was among those present.

Toasting the friendship between the Chinese and Mongolian peoples, Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that this friendship was further strengthened by the signing of the Sino-Mongolian boundary treaty last year. "The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people," he declared, "have always resolutely upheld the unity of the socialist camp and maintained that the safeguarding and strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement — based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement laid down jointly by the fraternal Parties — is in the interests of the socialist revolution and socialist construction of all the

countries in the socialist camp. It is also in the interests of the struggle of the people of the world against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and of the great cause of world peace, national independence, people's democracy and socialism."

Pointing out that the U.S. imperialists and their followers were eagerly hoping for a split among the socialist countries, the Vice-Premier said: **"The people of all the socialist countries and all progressive mankind want unity and oppose a split. Certain fraternal countries have taken an unfriendly attitude towards China and created a series of incidents, extending ideological differences between Parties to relations between states. We are resolutely opposed to these actions, which grieve those near and dear to us and only gladden the enemy. We have always treasured the unity and the interests of the entire international communist movement. Our Marxist-Leninist stand of adhering to principle, upholding unity, opposing a split and waging a common struggle against the enemy is firm and unshakable."**

Workers' Solidarity

In the past few weeks Chinese trade union organizations have issued three joint statements with the trade union organizations of, respectively, Ceylon, Burundi and Japan. These are documents inspired by anti-imperialist working-class solidarity and warm support for the proposal to convene an Asian-African trade union conference.

The joint statement of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the Ceylon Trade Union Federation was signed in Peking on May 29 by Liu Ning-I, President of the A.C.F.T.U., and N. Sanmugathan, General Secretary of the C.T.U.F.

The two trade union organizations share the view that the present international situation is favourable to the revolutionary struggles of all peoples and unfavourable to imperialism and reaction. They declare that to prevent imperialism from unleashing a new world war, "the people of all countries in the world must further unite and form the broadest possible united front against imperialism headed by the United States."

The unity of the Asian and African workers and trade unions is an im-

portant component of the unity of the international working class and the international trade union movement, says the statement. For this reason, both sides actively back the proposal to convene an Asian-African trade union conference, and support the relevant resolution adopted by the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference. The two organizations also approved a 3-point agreement to strengthen their mutual contacts.

The joint statement of the Chinese and Burundi trade union federations was signed in Peking on June 25 by Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the A.C.F.T.U., and Natamagara Augustin, General Secretary of the Federation of Workers of Burundi.

The statement stresses the importance of the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples in the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and colonialism and to safeguard national independence and world peace. It also expresses warm support for the proposal of six Indonesian trade unions for the convening of an Asian-African trade union conference. "This proposal conforms to the interests and need of solidarity of the workers of the world, and particularly reflects the common, current aspirations and demands of the workers in the vast areas of Asia and Africa," says the statement. The two trade union organizations denounce the activities of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the leading group of the Yugoslav trade unions to disrupt the solidarity of the Asian and African trade unions.

The joint statement signed by the building workers' trade union of China and the delegation of the Japanese building workers' and building material workers' union on July 13 likewise stresses that the struggle against U.S. imperialism is an important task of the peoples of China and Japan.

The two parties also unanimously support the proposal for the convocation of an Asian-African trade union conference and oppose the plots of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the leading group of the Yugoslav trade unions to sabotage the trade union movement in Asia and Africa.

New Successes in Steel

The industrial front sends encouraging news to the nation. Stepping into July, the steel industry's

scoreboard for the first six months of this year showed a general rise in both output and quality.

Since the beginning of the year, there has been a steady increase in the output of pig iron, steel, rolled steel, coke and refractory materials. The January-June production targets for these major products of the steel industry were all fulfilled ahead of schedule either in May or in June.

Quality standards in iron, steel and rolled steel for the period January-June also showed marked improvements. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, over 99 per cent of the pig iron turned out by the nation's major blast furnaces in the first five months was up to standard. The big steel plants also reported better quality open-hearth furnace steel, converter steel and electric-furnace steel as compared with last year. For the first three months of this year, around 94 per cent of the rolled steel produced was first class; the proportion rose to 95 per cent in April and May.

A wider range of products has been made available—another triumph for the steel industry. From January to June, more than 250 new varieties of high-grade and precision steel products were introduced. They included new rolled steel for tractors and motor vehicles, and for chemical fertilizer and synthetic fibre-making equipment. The Shihchingshan Iron and Steel Works on Peking's outskirts successfully trial-manufactured steel tubes for automobile Cardan shafts. These have been tested and proved up to standard by the Changchun Motor Works. Auto workers were particularly happy because it is the first time that these shafts have been produced in the country.

Concurrently with the improvement in quality, great economies have been effected in the consumption of raw materials, fuel, refractory materials and electric power. At all the big blast furnaces, the average coke consumption rate—a measure of the technical level of blast furnace operations—reached the lowest level since liberation. The nation's major iron-smelting plants reduced by more than 50 kilogrammes the average consumption of coke needed to make one ton of pig iron.

We Want Unity, Not a Split

Following is a translation of the full text of the July 13 editorial of "Renmin Ribao." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties are now taking place. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee, the Delegation of the Communist Party of China is striving for positive results in these talks, exercising the greatest patience and exerting the greatest efforts.

The unity of the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the unity of the two countries are of the utmost importance. Sino-Soviet unity affects the whole world situation. The safeguarding and strengthening of this great unity is the urgent demand of the people of our two countries and the common desire of all Communists and all the revolutionary people of the world.

The Communist Party of China is fully conscious of its historical duty. We shall do everything in our power to persevere in principle, eliminate the differences, strengthen unity and wage a common struggle against the enemy.

It is no secret that there are a number of important differences of principle between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and within the international communist movement. These differences are serious in nature. In essence they are: whether revolution is wanted or not, whether or not the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism are to be followed, and whether or not the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement are to be adhered to. To describe the differences as being between the Chinese Communist Party on the one hand and the Soviet Party and the whole international communist movement on the other is not in accord with the facts and not helpful to the elimination of the differences.

There is no doubt that the task of overcoming the differences is an extremely difficult one. We believe that they can be eliminated step by step and that unity can be preserved and strengthened, but only if the Chinese and Soviet Parties strictly follow the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, adhere to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, adopt the method of consultation on the basis of equality and discuss matters in a comradely fashion.

Need to Understand First What the Differences Are

Before the differences can be eliminated, it is necessary first to understand what they are. In its letter of March 30 to the Central Committee of the C.P.C., the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. raised the question of the general line of the international communist movement and systematically expounded its own views. The raising of this question was most important. Despite our disagreement with the views of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., we nevertheless believe that it was normal and

conducive to mutual understanding for the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to have done so. We have published the full text of its letter so that our Party members and the Chinese people can understand the views of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

Communists disdain to conceal their views. Since the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. was the first to raise the question of the general line of the international communist movement, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. in its letter of reply of June 14 in its turn systematically expounded its own views and put forward its own proposals on this question, and it clearly stated that it was for the comrades of the Soviet Party to agree or disagree. Moreover, according to the principle of independence, equality and reciprocity in relations among fraternal Parties, our action was normal and conducive to mutual understanding and the gradual elimination of the differences.

But to our regret, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has not only failed to publish our letter and to let the members of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people learn its actual contents; on the contrary, it made arbitrary attacks on the letter in one resolution and statement after another, thus raising serious obstacles for the Sino-Soviet talks before they started.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. says that our letter makes an "arbitrary interpretation" of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. We cannot agree. There are objective standards for truth and falsehood. Refusal to let people know how the letter of reply of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. interprets the Declaration and the Statement, coupled with obsessive attacks on the Central Committee of the C.P.C. as heretical and deviating from the true teachings, is rather like saying that it has no right whatever to make the requisite interpretation of the Declaration and the Statement on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. If such is the case, people are bound to ask: Does the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. believe that it has the right to monopolize the interpretation of the Declaration and the Statement?

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. says that our letter is a "groundless and slanderous attack" on the Soviet Party. We cannot accept this charge either. Normally, when the charge of slander is levelled against someone, it is first necessary to present supporting facts. Is there even a modicum of fairness in repeatedly condemning the Central Committee of the C.P.C. for slander without letting people know what its letter of reply actually says? Surely, what is really slanderous is to conceal the views of the other side while distorting and attacking them.

People Can Tell Right From Wrong

Our letter of June 14 is earnest in its attitude. We maintain that it is correct in its contents. However one

looks at our letter, it is certainly not a dreadful monster and is nothing for any revolutionary to be afraid of. Is there any reason to raise such an uproar over it? Eventually, what is false cannot stand up. People can tell right from wrong. Since the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. believes our letter to be totally wrong, we still do not understand why it has not published our letter for the members of the Soviet Party and the Soviet people to read, so as to prove that the C.P.C. is wrong and the C.P.S.U. is right.

While the Central Committee of the C.P.C. disagrees with the views of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the general line of the international communist movement, we do not regard them simply as attacks on us and reject them on this ground. Discussion is essential just because views diverge. If one peremptorily dismisses the other's views before discussion takes place, what is there to discuss? It is unfortunate that on the eve of the Sino-Soviet talks the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. impetuously declared that it "categorically rejected" the views of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. on the general line of the international communist movement. Does not such an action mean closing the door on negotiations before they start? Though we would prefer to believe this not to be the case, we cannot help pointing out that this action by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. was an extremely serious one.

At the same time, when Chinese institutions and personnel in the Soviet Union distributed copies of the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. in the course of their normal activities, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. used this as a pretext for its unreasonable demand for the recall of the persons concerned, thus extending the ideological differences between the Chinese and Soviet Parties to the sphere of state relations.

Despite such distressing incidents on the eve of the Sino-Soviet talks, we still treasure Sino-Soviet unity and have refrained from taking measures corresponding to the Soviet Government's unreasonable action in demanding the recall of Chinese personnel, or from publicly replying to the unjustified charges which the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has levelled against the letter. We sent our delegation to Moscow for the talks at the appointed time. We hoped that all the differences between the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. would be discussed calmly and that Sino-Soviet relations would be eased as the talks began.

But we now have to point out with heavy hearts that events have gone contrary to our hopes. Since the start of the Sino-Soviet talks, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has not ceased its public attacks on the C.P.C. Still more disturbing is the fact that, although we on our part have published the successive statements and decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. censuring us, it has refused to publish the corresponding statements of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., thus preventing the members of the C.P.S.U. and the people of the Soviet Union from learning the facts. Also, taking advantage of this state of affairs, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. is conducting a campaign against the C.P.C. throughout the Soviet Union and inflaming feeling against China among the Soviet people through meetings and resolutions in Party organizations at various levels and through numerous articles in the press. Seeing this, peo-

ple are fully justified in worrying whether the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. wants to push Sino-Soviet relations to the brink of rupture.

It must be frankly pointed out that the present situation is very grave as a result of the steps taken by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to worsen Sino-Soviet relations. We sincerely hope that the comrades of the C.P.S.U. will treasure Sino-Soviet unity, will refrain from rash actions and will not push things to the extreme. One should realize that ideas cannot be blockaded and that it is impossible to resolve ideological differences by dictates or commands. To consider one's own words as final and refuse to let others speak will not work. There were many people who committed such follies in the past, and they all failed. Can anything good come of repeating such errors?

We are Marxist-Leninists. The differences between the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. will eventually be resolved if one truly follows the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement instead of going counter to them, and if one really treats the other as an equal instead of trying to impose on him. If the differences cannot be resolved today, they can wait until tomorrow. If they cannot be resolved this year, they can wait until next year.

The Chinese Communist Party takes the whole situation into consideration. In the interests of the proletarian world revolution, we are unsparing in our efforts. The Chinese Communist Party is patient. We have already stated in all seriousness that the questions needing to be discussed between the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. should all be covered in a comradely way, point by point, to the full and in detail. Whatever is agreed upon by both Parties can be settled at once and an agreement can be concluded. Differences that cannot be settled immediately may be laid aside, pending later settlement. If we cannot finish our discussions in one session, several can be held, and our Parties can hold further bilateral talks. As in the past, the Chinese Communist Party will never do anything detrimental to Sino-Soviet unity.

Why Not Be United Against the Arch Enemy?

The C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. and the people of China and the Soviet Union have forged a great fraternal friendship in prolonged revolutionary storms, in the course of socialist construction and in the struggle for the glorious ideal of communism. Today, imperialism headed by the United States is feverishly pursuing its policies of aggression and war, is attempting to strangle the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and to break up and destroy the socialist camp, and is seriously menacing world peace. In the face of the arch enemy, is there any reason why we should not be united?

All Communists and revolutionary people the world over are now eagerly hoping that the Sino-Soviet talks will yield positive results and that Sino-Soviet unity will be preserved and strengthened. Only the imperialists headed by the United States, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists represented by the Tito group are counting on the failure of the Sino-Soviet talks and on a split between the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. They are fanning the flames, adding fuel to the fire and doing

their utmost to incite one against the other. We must not disappoint the anxious hopes of our comrades and friends all over the world. We must not fall into the sinister traps of the U.S. imperialists and their followers. Ours is the duty to persevere in principle, eliminate the differences, strengthen unity and wage a common struggle against the enemy; ours is not the right to discard principle, widen the differences, create a split and treat the enemy as a friend.

No Meddling in Sino-Soviet Differences By U.S. Imperialism

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of the full text of Observer's commentary published in "Renmin Ribao" on July 14. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE imperialists headed by the United States have always done all they could to undermine the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. They are beside themselves with joy over the recent tension in Sino-Soviet relations. With a view to bringing about the failure of the Sino-Soviet bilateral Party talks and a split in the international communist movement, U.S. imperialism is fanning the flames and adding fuel to the fire, and doing all in its power to incite one against the other.

Kennedy Openly Encourages a Split

Take a look at John F. Kennedy, and one will see how intoxicated with joy this boss of U.S. imperialism is:

In an article in the *New York Herald Tribune* of July 10, Joseph Alsop wrote that "the Sino-Soviet quarrel has plainly reached the stage in which a final break is no longer avoidable"; that "the Kennedy policy-makers are proceeding cautiously but hopefully"; and that "excitement is rising in the Kennedy Administration over the possibility that Soviet-Western relations have reached a truly major turning-point." This is really a vivid description.

It must be pointed out that this is not the first time that the imperialists headed by the United States have tried to poison Sino-Soviet relations. Through its worldwide propaganda network, U.S. imperialism has for the past several years been deliberately misrepresenting the revolutionary viewpoints of the Chinese Communist Party, alleging that China "stands opposed to peaceful coexistence," is "warlike" and "advocates the export of revolution by means of war." The reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists represented by the Tito group sing in harmony with the imperialists as if these "charges" levelled against China had been established.

The U.S. imperialists may now think that they have done enough, that it is no longer necessary for them to act covertly and that they can come out and openly incite

Once again we sincerely appeal to the comrades of the C.P.S.U. to join in the effort to make the talks between the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. yield positive results, to improve Sino-Soviet relations and to strengthen the solidarity of the international communist movement in the interests of the mighty struggle of the people throughout the world against imperialism and for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

one against the other. In the words of some U.S. newspapers, Kennedy is pursuing a "bold policy" (*New York Times* of July 3), and a policy of "openly encouraging a break" (*Chicago Sun-Times* of June 10) between China and the Soviet Union.

This has indeed proved to be true. In his speech at American University in Washington on June 10, which is still fresh in everyone's mind, Kennedy claimed that the United States and the Soviet Union "have a mutual deep interest." Since then, Kennedy has been harping on the theme that the United States "must now find a way to a new peace" and that "we work toward the day when there may be real peace between us and the Communists." These statements are of course not arrows shooting at a non-existent target.

If the U.S. imperialists would really lay down their butcher's knives, abandon their policies of aggression and war throughout the world and dedicate themselves to peace, people would naturally welcome it. But such is not actually the case, so people are bound to ask: How is it possible for the U.S. imperialists, No. 1 enemy of world peace, to have "mutual deep interest" with the socialist countries overnight? How is it possible for the U.S. imperialists to talk about "real peace" with their sworn enemy, the Communists?

In point of fact, this is only a smokescreen. U.S. newspapers have pointed out openly that in making these statements, Kennedy wants to woo the Soviet Union and oppose China. Kennedy keeps on saying that in international relations "there are no permanent enemies" (speech in West Berlin on June 28). To put it bluntly, this too is prompted by the motive of wooing the Soviet Union, opposing China and poisoning Sino-Soviet relations.

Be on Guard Against U.S. Schemes

U.S. imperialism is indeed going to great pains to see to it that the talks between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union yield no positive results. Before the talks began, it counted on their abortion. Now that the talks have started, it again counts on their breakdown. It is using every medium of propaganda to play up any divergency that

crops up in the relations between China and the Soviet Union and gloats over every difficulty in this field.

Attention should be given to the remarks of Kennedy's special envoy, Averell Harriman, prior to his departure for the U.S.-U.S.S.R.-U.K. tripartite talks in Moscow. On the one hand, he said that the Sino-Soviet conflict is "becoming shriller than it was," and on the other, he declared that Kennedy "is very serious in his determination" to negotiate a nuclear test ban treaty, and that Kennedy had authorized him "to explore any issue that the Soviets may raise." The United States Information Service said (July 11) that the Harriman mission to Moscow "is potentially one of the most significant diplomatic moves of recent times."

Obviously, U.S. imperialism, when considering the U.S.-U.S.S.R.-U.K. talks, connects them with the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties. U.S. newspapers have said bluntly that the U.S. attitude towards the Soviet Union depends on the Soviet Union's attitude towards China. The United States has openly meddled in the differences between China and the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that what the U.S. imperialists are doing is most sinister and brazen, and should arouse the vigilance of the revolutionary people of the world. But it would be most ridiculous if the U.S. imperialists should believe that time has moved in their favour and that they may take advantage of the Sino-Soviet differences to bring about what they expect to be "a major turning-point" in history, inhibit the growth of the international communist movement and save imperialism from its doom.

Events will move contrary to the wishes of the U.S. imperialists. The more they come out in the open and reveal themselves for what they are, the better will people see the truth of the matter.

For example, the U.S. imperialists' distortions of and attacks on the Chinese Communist Party's revolutionary

viewpoints cannot injure the Chinese Communist Party in the least. They can only prove that these viewpoints accord with the interests of the people of the world and hit U.S. imperialism where it hurts. All those who parrot the U.S. imperialists' distortions and attacks should pause and think: in whose service are they working?

U.S. Imperialism, Don't Rejoice Too Soon

That the U.S. imperialists are overtly poisoning Sino-Soviet relations and undermining Sino-Soviet unity can only alert the Chinese and Soviet people and the revolutionary people throughout the world. A split between China and the Soviet Union is just what the U.S. imperialists are hoping for. We must not do things which would please them. Communists and revolutionary people throughout the world, first and foremost members of the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the people of China and the Soviet Union, must unite closely and resolutely expose and smash the schemes of U.S. imperialism.

Kennedy has claimed that "history itself runs against Marxist dogma" and that communism has lost its "forward momentum." Of course, it is impossible for men like Kennedy to see the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism has always developed in the course of struggle. The emergence of modern revisionism represented by the Tito group of renegades cannot save imperialism from its doom, nor can it block the advance of the international communist movement. On the contrary, the joining of hands openly between the imperialists and modern revisionists represented by the Tito group will only serve to help the revolutionary people all over the world to see clearly who are their friends and who are their enemies and to tread more firmly the revolutionary path charted by Marxism-Leninism. A handful of doughty warriors cannot decide the destiny of the world. History is made by the masses. The vitality of Marxism-Leninism knows no limits!

A Demarcation Line Must Be Drawn With the Renegade Tito Group

by **OBSERVER**

Following is a translation of the full text of a commentary by Observer published in "Renmin Ribao" on July 15, 1963. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE Tito group have recently become most cocky and loud mouthed in attacking the Communist Party of China which perseveres in Marxism-Leninism, and are trying hard to undermine the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties and to disrupt the unity of China and the Soviet Union and of the international communist movement. They appear to think that they have a chance of worming their way into the ranks of the international communist movement where they expect

to fish in troubled waters and keep on peddling their revisionism.

Tito Group Arrogantly Demand Change of China's Policy

We have to begin the story from last May.

On May 18, after the Chinese and Soviet Parties had agreed to a date for talks, and after the U.S. Secretary of State Rusk had personally briefed Tito in Belgrade, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held its fifth plenary session. The Tito group devoted this session mainly to unbridled attacks on China and undertook, as their urgent task, to undermine the Sino-Soviet talks. Passing themselves off as a member of the international communist movement, they embarked on a fresh course of disruptive activities.

Tito declared that "it is necessary" for them "to be active, to participate, in a principled way, in clearing up the disagreements among the Communist Parties."

He swore that they were on the side of those Communist Parties that were opposing "dogmatism and Stalinist methods," and would struggle to the end against the Communist Party of China "as the rallying point for dogmatic forces."

Tito warned that no one was allowed to reach "unprincipled agreements at the expense of others."

Look, what a clear-cut position the Tito group have taken, and how truculent is their attitude!

On the eve of and during the Sino-Soviet talks, the press of the Tito group has published innumerable dispatches and commentaries, accusing the Communist Party of China of "poisoning the atmosphere," "conducting a mud-slinging and defamatory campaign," "exacerbating sharply the relations between the Soviet and Chinese Parties" and "even daring to provoke an open split." The Tитоites sound high and mighty indeed.

The Tito group are definitely not standing outside the Sino-Soviet talks but are interposing themselves in the talks. They have been raising a great hullabaloo, saying that only when the Communist Party of China changes its policy can the Sino-Soviet talks yield results.

The Yugoslav newspaper *Vjesnik* said unblushingly on July 6 that the outcome of the Sino-Soviet talks "first depends on the Chinese negotiators, in other words, on whether or not the leadership of China will change its general policy."

In the eyes of the Tito group, the prerequisite for the Sino-Soviet talks to produce results is that the Communist Party of China abandon the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary stand it has always upheld.

Tito Group Attempt to Keep on Peddling Revisionism

The whole world knows that the Tito group have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, are opposed to the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and have long cut themselves off from the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Now, the Tito group have the effrontery to present themselves as a member of the socialist community and part of the international communist movement, energetically interpose themselves in the Sino-Soviet talks and even arrogantly demand that the Communist Party of China change its Marxist-Leninist policy — all with the sole purpose of pushing a line which runs counter to Marxism-Leninism.

Is there such a line? Yes, indeed.

It is the line of building "socialism" by relying on several thousand million dollars of "aid" from U.S. imperialism.

It is, as the 1960 Statement has pointed out, a line of betraying Marxism-Leninism and terming it obsolete.

It is, as the Statement has pointed out, a line of carrying on subversive work against the socialist camp and the international communist movement and of engaging in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries.

It is, as the Statement has pointed out, a line of the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form,

which has been unanimously condemned by the Communist Parties.

This is precisely the line the Tito group want to peddle while they try their utmost to worm their way into the international communist movement.

The Tito group are ambitious. We all remember that as early as November 1956 Tito, in his notorious speech at Pula, said: "Yugoslavia must not concentrate on herself, she must work in all directions" and "it is a question now whether this [Yugoslav] course will be victorious or whether the Stalinist course will prevail again." What the renegade Tito calls Stalinism is Marxism-Leninism.

The Tito group know that Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism are diametrically opposed to each other. To misrepresent and attack the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints upheld by the Communist Party of China, the Tito group have concocted a host of charges against the Communist Party of China, saying that the Communist Party of China is pseudo-revolutionary, Trotskyist, sectarian, nationalistic, adventurist and that it undermines the policy of peaceful coexistence, opposes all negotiations, opposes the relaxation of world tension, takes the same position as the most reactionary warlike elements of the West to endanger peace, and so on and so forth. The Tito group would of course be most happy if they could topple the Communist Party of China by such charges and compel it to forsake its Marxist-Leninist stand. To their disappointment, the Communist Party of China is not to be toppled by abuse. The more fervently they curse, the more they expose themselves as renegades.

It is not surprising that the Tito group curse the Communist Party of China. But they have by their antagonistic stand posed an important question before the Communists of all countries: What line, after all, should we take, and on what basis should we be united?

Essential Problem of the Sino-Soviet Talks

The unity of the international communist movement is for the winning of victory for the proletarian world revolution. The basis of unity can only be the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, and nothing else. If these fundamental principles and revolutionary principles are betrayed and the modern revisionist line is taken, the result could only be the forfeiture of the revolutionary cause of the world's people; then there would not be any unity at all.

The renegade Tito group will never understand that the essential problem of the Sino-Soviet talks lies not in one making concessions to the other, but in that both must adhere to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement.

At a time when the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties are taking place, the Tito group are deliriously fanning the flames, spoiling Sino-Soviet relations, disrupting the unity between China and the Soviet Union and that of the international communist movement and peddling their notorious revisionist line of goods. This will only rouse all Communists of the world to higher vigilance, to draw a line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, to persevere in Marxism-Leninism and to oppose modern revisionism!

Indian Reactionaries in The Anti-China Chorus

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of the full text of a commentary by Observer published in "Renmin Ribao" on July 16. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE Indian reactionaries are following the talks between the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with unusually keen interest. Throughout the past few years, they have been seeking to benefit by taking advantage of the Sino-Soviet differences and poisoning Sino-Soviet relations. In the words of one newsman, no country in Asia is more interested in the C.P.C.-C.P.S.U. talks than India, and in view of the situation over the Sino-Indian border, India would benefit from widened differences between China and the Soviet Union.

Nehru's Provocative Tactics

In the eyes of the Indian reactionaries, Sino-Soviet differences are greatly to their advantage. The Nehru government has made it an important aspect of its foreign policy to exploit and widen these differences. An article in the Indian journal *Mainstream* of July 6 says: "The Moscow-Peking rift has very dramatically vindicated the Nehru line in foreign affairs. One of the cardinal tenets of the Prime Minister's strategy with regard to external affairs has consistently been the stress on the possibility of a widening differentiation between the Soviet Union and China."

Indeed, Nehru has been pursuing this line not without success. He said that "Indo-Soviet friendship is worth 20 divisions" and that "Soviet neutrality in the India-China conflict is of greater help to India than all the military aid which India received from the West in those days (of the conflict)." And so Nehru has again and again expressed his infinite gratitude to the Soviet Union for its military and economic assistance.

Like the imperialists and the Tito group, Nehru's tactics in exploiting Sino-Soviet differences and poisoning Sino-Soviet relations are to laud the Soviet Union and vilify China, to woo the Soviet Union and attack China.

The Indian reactionaries headed by Nehru use the most venomous language in their unending slanders against China and attacks on her, alleging that the Chinese "are a military-minded nation" and are "aggressive in nature" and accusing China of being guilty of "expansionism" and "big-nation chauvinism." They even declared that the United States, the Soviet Union and all other countries in the world cherish peace and China alone is warlike. Nehru said that "what the Soviet Union desires is world peace," but China "is only interested in sharply dividing the world into two camps," and that "the

Soviet Union does not want war, while China does not mind it," that "China does not care if millions of people die in an atomic holocaust," and so on and so forth.

With regard to Sino-Soviet relations, Nehru has not missed a single opportunity to publicize his view that "it is rather an immature way of thinking that because both [China and the Soviet Union] are communist, they will therefore necessarily support each other."

These brazenly provocative statements were carefully formulated by Nehru. An article in the *Hindustan Standard* of March 23 said: "The Government of India should be extremely wary of doing anything which may give Mr. Mao Tse-tung a handle against Mr. Khrushchov. It should be in our self-interest to strengthen the hands of the Soviet leader, not to weaken them. In other words, during this crucial stage in Moscow-Peking relations, our diplomacy and our governmental actions should be so well planned and directed that the Chinese leaders find it difficult to persuade Mr. Khrushchov to accept their line, and the Soviet leader finds it relatively easy to defend his own interpretation of the Indian scene."

Reactionaries' Wishful Thinking

The Nehru government thinks that with India receiving assistance not only from the United States, but also from the Soviet Union, China is completely isolated in Sino-Indian relations and on the Sino-Indian border issue. The Nehru government tries to take advantage of this state of affairs to wring one concession after another from China on the border issue, thereby fulfilling its expansionist designs against Chinese territory.

The Nehru government thinks that on the Sino-Indian border question India has the support of the Soviet Union which is China's ally and that this situation is very favourable to their efforts to deceive the Indian people. They are attempting to take advantage of this situation to pull the wool over the eyes of the Indian people so as to conceal the truth about Indian aggression on China, vilify China as having committed aggression on India, stir up national chauvinism among the masses of the Indian people, suppress the progressive Indian forces and maintain their reactionary rule.

The Nehru government thinks that with the support of the Soviet Union, India will be able to continue wearing the cloak of "non-alignment," to bluff and play tricks on the international arena, to win advantages from both sides, to ask for money both from the United States and the Soviet Union and to use Soviet aid to cover up the fact that India is a protege of the United States. Nehru is everywhere asking the question: If India, as alleged,

has abandoned its policy of "non-alignment," why is the Soviet Union helping India?

The Nehru government thinks that with Soviet support, it will be possible to disrupt the friendly relations between China and the nationalist countries, make wanton, slanderous attacks on China as being everywhere engaged in "communist subversive activities" and being "the most dangerous enemy of Asia," thus to damage the revolutionary image of China in the eyes of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and curtail and weaken the revolutionary influence of China.

"Non-Aligned" Tool of U.S.

This policy of the Indian reactionaries is just what the U.S. imperialists want. The United States has never failed to give vigorous support to anyone, in whatever part of the world, who devotes himself to poisoning Sino-Soviet relations and disrupting the unity between China and the Soviet Union and that of the socialist camp. By serving as a tool of the United States and at the same time retaining its "non-aligned" garb, India is meeting the dearest wish of the United States. The imperialists are displeased with the non-aligned countries because they oppose imperialism. What harm is there in allowing a country to retain its label of "non-alignment" as long as it does not oppose imperialism, but helps poison Sino-Soviet relations and helps serve imperialism more effectively? The U.S. policy towards India is not for India to abandon its "non-aligned" cloak but to retain it at all costs. This is an open secret known to all. Kennedy's special envoy Harriman said: "It is very much to our interests, I think, as well as India's interests, for them to maintain as friendly relations as they can with Moscow." (December 9, 1962)

As for Soviet aid to India, since the United States is asking its allies to share the military spending of its worldwide anti-communist, anti-popular operations, Washington would be only too glad if someone would help India oppose communism and oppose the people and lighten the U.S. burden. There is no reason for thinking that aid rendered by a socialist country to India will change its political orientation. In the case of a joint stock company, for example, he who makes the biggest investment always has the last word. Can the investment of one dollar outweigh that of ten dollars? Quite the opposite. The one dollar investment only increases the prosperity of the big boss. Such is the law of capitalism which can't be disputed. Harriman said: "The U.S. desires to see the Soviet Union assist in bolstering India's defence setup." (December 18, 1962) He further said: "It is in the U.S. interest that the Soviet Union continue to give economic assistance to India." (April 18, 1963)

The Truth Can't Be Hidden

The Indian reactionaries have made their calculations satisfactorily but the same cannot be said for the end-result. After all, what has the Nehru government gained by provoking the Sino-Indian border conflict? Apart from showing themselves up in a disgraceful light as people who overreach themselves, the Indian reactionaries have gained nothing. However much the Indian reactionaries slander China as aggressive, warlike, expansionist and having used force of arms to settle the bound-

ary question, they cannot answer this question asked by the Asian people and people the world over: If China really is what India alleges, why did the Chinese frontier guards withdraw from the large tracts of territory south of the so-called McMahon Line?

China has made the utmost efforts in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary issue; these efforts have won praise from the Colombo conference countries and all other Asian and African countries. Friendly relations between China and Asian and African countries have not been weakened but strengthened.

India's false image of "non-alignment," of course, can still hoodwink some people. But after the Indian reactionaries have collaborated with U.S. imperialism so unscrupulously, all serious-minded people must pause and think: How in the world could there be such a "non-aligned" country? That country and U.S. imperialism have jointly declared that "their two countries share a mutual defensive concern to thwart the designs of Chinese aggression against the sub-continent." What a strange sort of "non-aligned" country!

True Colours of Reactionary Nationalism

The revolutionary image of China as a country faithfully abiding by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and resolutely supporting the anti-imperialist struggles of Asian and African nations and peoples can never be impaired. The Indian reactionaries think that they can besmirch China by flaunting a "non-aligned" signboard. Facts prove quite the contrary. Through the Sino-Indian conflict the awakened Asian and African peoples have realized still more clearly that there are two kinds of nationalism: one progressive and the other reactionary. Reactionary nationalism is detestable. The Indian reactionaries precisely belong to this category.

All nationalist forces that oppose imperialism staunchly hope that the Sino-Soviet talks will yield positive results. The Indonesian paper *Merdeka* said on July 9: "As a non-communist country, Indonesia is paying great attention to the talks between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China. Like other countries belonging to the new emerging forces of the world, we eagerly hope that the disputes in the family of nations in the socialist camp can be resolved quickly. Countries of the new emerging forces in all parts of the world face a common enemy, that is imperialism. The disputes in the socialist camp also mean a division of the camp of the new emerging forces. This is favourable only to the imperialist camp and weakens our own ranks." Such statements give expression to the common desire of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. But India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords represented by Nehru have tried by every possible means to poison Sino-Soviet relations, eagerly counting on the failure of the Sino-Soviet talks and a split between the two countries. This reveals the true colours of reactionary nationalism.

No Force Can Stop Revolutionary Current

All things of one species come together; different kinds of people form different groups. Counter-revolutionary forces invariably gang up together in opposition

to the revolutionary forces. Now imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism represented by the Tito group, reactionary nationalism and all sorts of monsters and freaks in the world have joined forces to form a worldwide anti-China chorus, railing in one voice at the Communist Party of China. They think that if they keep on shouting in abusive language, the Communist Party of China will perish and Marxism-Leninism will be uprooted. Let them curse as they wish. As an ancient Chinese poem says:

*Even if both your bodies and names should perish,
The flowing of the rivers will not thereby stop.*

The vitality of Marxism-Leninism is infinite. The international communist movement has always advanced in the course of struggle. No matter what heavy, dark clouds may overcast the sky for the time being, no force on earth can prevent the mighty revolutionary current of the international proletariat and the people of the world from rolling irresistibly onward.

The World Congress of Women

It Sets a Disgraceful Precedent for an International Conference

by WANG HSI*

THE main point on the agenda of the World Congress of Women held in Moscow from June 24 to 29 was discussion and formulation of the policy and tasks of the international democratic women's movement. All the women and people of the world who cherish peace had expected that the congress would make positive contributions to the great cause of women in opposing imperialism and colonialism, old and new, safeguarding world peace, promoting human progress and upholding the rights of women and children. But, contrary to the urgent desire of women throughout the world, certain persons were determined to discard the revolutionary traditions of the Women's International Democratic Federation (W.I.D.F.); they forced the congress to toe the line of the foreign policy of a certain country and insisted on leading the women's movement towards an impasse. The congress witnessed a series of sharp, tit-for-tat struggles between two lines on a number of important questions concerning the international democratic women's movement.

Strange Arguments

Strange and absurd arguments were voiced in the forums of the congress hall at the Kremlin. Some persons did their best to paint a scaring picture of nuclear war, and opposed all wars by appealing to the sentiments of mothers through exploiting the sorrows of orphans and widows. They kept their mouths shut, however, on the question of who is launching aggressive wars and who is the enemy of peace.

The Italian delegate was dead against any condemnation of imperialism, and particularly U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, alleging that this was not the "language of women" and would bring "cold war themes into the congress hall." Some persons spoke of "general and complete disarmament" and "peaceful coexistence" in the most extravagant terms. The Yugoslav delegate said that "positive coexistence" was the "overriding question" facing the current women's move-

ment. The Soviet delegate declared: "General and complete disarmament is an extremely important precondition for enduring peace." The French delegate said: "General and complete disarmament is the only effective thing because it controls all others." The Bulgarian delegate said that to avoid the calamities of nuclear war "the only way is to go in for general and complete disarmament and use the money so saved for improving the life of women and children."

Some persons openly spread absurd arguments in opposing the liberation struggles being waged by the oppressed peoples and nations. They alleged: Only in conditions of peace and when peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems becomes a reality, can the struggle for women's rights in the capitalist countries and the women's struggle for emancipation in the colonies and in countries newly freed from colonial oppression proceed smoothly. They even claimed that disarmament will safeguard the independence of nations. The Czechoslovak delegate said: "The essential questions in the economically backward countries are the questions of food, clothing and housing. These questions can be solved only in conditions of peace."

Some persons sang the praises of Kennedy's big conspiracy — the "strategy of peace." Madame Eugenie Cotton said that the Kennedy speech at the American University expressed the desire of the American people and that the problem of peace had become a problem about which the heads of government of major nuclear powers are concerned. Dolores Ibarruri said: We intend to reach agreement on the question of the struggle for peace with Mrs. Kennedy.

These people do not oppose imperialism, nor do they allow others to oppose it. They are not for revolutions that would truly emancipate women, nor do they want others to make revolutions. Carrying their arguments to their logical conclusion, the international democratic women's movement should do nothing but wait on imperialism headed by the United States to turn benevolent, voluntarily pull out its ferocious teeth, bestow the right to exist and subsist on the women and children and

*The author is a member of the Chinese Women's Delegation to the World Congress of Women.

grant independence and freedom to the oppressed peoples and nations. These strange and preposterous arguments represent an erroneous and extremely dangerous line.

Voices of Justice

But these preposterous arguments could not monopolize the forums, nor could this erroneous line be imposed on the delegates of all the countries participating in the congress. Delegates from many countries, particularly those from the Asian, African and Latin American countries, in their speeches, reflected the urgent desires of the democratic women who love peace and who see clear-eyed how to struggle for it. The Chinese, Albanian and Japanese delegates pointed out that the source of war in our times is the policy of aggression and war pursued by imperialism headed by the United States and that the correct way to defend peace and prevent aggressive war is to rely on the concerted struggles of the peoples of the various countries. They also pointed out that the causes of the sufferings of the women and children in the oppressed nations are brutal suppression and plunder by imperialism and old and new colonialism. The Zanzibar delegate said: "We must unite to wage a resolute struggle against imperialism and its lackeys. . . . We would rather die while standing than live fawning like a dog." The Indonesian delegate said: "Peace and complete disarmament can be realized only when imperialism is dead and buried." The Korean delegate said: "To preach the idea that if we ensure peaceful coexistence and realize disarmament this will naturally bring national independence with it, can have no other result but to harm the struggle for national independence." The Venezuelan delegate said: "Women's emancipation is closely linked with the struggle for national liberation. No matter how much blood we shall have to shed, we shall fight on until victory is won."

At the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F. held prior to the opening of the congress, as well as in the programme committee, the general resolution committee and the other four committees, delegates from China, Albania, Indonesia, Korea and other countries consistently upheld the principles serving the true interests of the women of the world, and refuted the various absurd arguments put forward. At the meeting of the Executive Bureau held to discuss the four reports submitted to the congress, many countries upheld the truth, and opposed the efforts made to force revisions in the reports and insert an erroneous line and viewpoints in these reports. As a result, the meeting which was scheduled to have lasted two days, was prolonged to five with night sessions because of the heated debates which took place on the lines of policy to be adopted. The Chinese delegate voted against and abstained respectively when the Japanese and Cuban reports which had been tampered with were put to the vote. The Chinese delegation also voted against the Italian report which was full of erroneous viewpoints. Only the report put forward by Mali on the struggle for national independence was unanimously adopted at the meeting of the Executive Bureau.

As a result of manipulations by certain persons and in disregard of the correct proposals put forward by many delegates and their weighty refutations of the fal-

lacious and absurd arguments presented, the congress adopted a number of documents which in effect serve imperialism. The Chinese delegation voted against the new W.I.D.F. Programme, and the congress "Appeal to the Women of the World" and issued statements setting forth the Chinese stand. From first to last, the Chinese delegation held high the banner of opposition to imperialism and colonialism, old and new, of defence of world peace and safeguarding the rights of women and children. Seven other countries including Albania and Korea voted against or abstained from voting on these documents.

Carefully Planned Anti-China Campaign

The Chinese delegation, together with delegations from many other countries, persevered in the truth and in the correct line and waged an unremitting struggle against the fallacious arguments and wrong line put forward at the congress. It refused to barter away principles and bow to pressures. Precisely because of this, it was regarded as a thorn in their flesh by those who wanted to suppress the truth and impose their views on others and as an obstacle to their plans to force through their wrong line. It was not an accident that a carefully planned anti-China campaign erupted at the congress, a campaign that opened an unprecedentedly ugly page in the history of international conferences of international democratic mass organizations.

At the plenary session of the congress on the morning of June 26, an Indian delegate attacked China by raising the Sino-Indian boundary question, something which had absolutely nothing to do with the agenda of the congress. She talked unctuously about how the Indian Government loved peace, how it was willing to reach a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute, and so on and so forth. Then she came out into the open with Nehru's arguments, demanding that China accept the Colombo proposals *in toto* as India interprets them, so that India might be "glad to meet the Chinese side across the table." Taking great pains to make her hypocritical words sound as plausible as possible, the Indian delegate, while distorting the truth of the Sino-Indian border dispute, attempted to pass off the Indian interpretations of the Colombo proposals as "clarifications" made by the participating countries of the Colombo conference and demanded China's acceptance of these interpretations as a prerequisite for negotiations. The aim, in fact, was to block the road to negotiations and to attack China. There was nothing very novel in the Indian delegate trying to peddle the shop-worn arguments of the Indian Government's expansionist and anti-China policy, but what was strange was that the Indian delegate could, with the connivance of certain members of the leadership of the W.I.D.F., use the platform of the World Congress of Women to engage openly in activities designed to create confusion and divisions in the congress.

This did not exhaust the anti-China campaign. Delegates from the German Democratic Republic, France, Bulgaria, Mexico and other countries also attacked the Chinese delegation by name. China was the target of a hotchpotch of slanders and attacks which it is impossible to describe in detail. But when the Chinese delegation addressed the congress, boos and whistles, in-

termingled with cries of "Shameful! Shameful!" uttered in Russian, came many times from the more than 3,000 Soviet listeners in the two galleries of the congress hall and upstairs and from the seats downstairs occupied by certain delegations. It was a case of "allowing the magistrate to burn down the house, while forbidding the common people even to light lamps," as the Chinese saying goes. Unable to answer because justice was not on their side, the behind-the-scenes directors did not hesitate to resort to the base means of creating disturbances at the congress sessions in order to smother the voice of truth.

Outside the walls of the Kremlin, the Chinese delegation was also kept under close watch, and isolated as if it were a contagious disease. Arrangements were made for the Chinese delegation to live in a separate hotel, not in the Ukraine Hotel where delegations from most of the other countries lived together. When some Chinese delegates visited their foreign friends at the Ukraine Hotel, the enquiry office there even refused to tell them the numbers of the rooms where their friends lived. An African friend told me in person that certain persons in Moscow even warned her frankly against making contact with the Chinese delegation. She complained indignantly: "Because I turned a deaf ear to their warnings, they spoke badly of me and treated me coldly everywhere." Two days after the congress closed, a British friend paid a special visit to the Chinese Embassy and told the Chinese delegation of her personal experience. Certain persons were making trouble for her simply because she had attended the party given the previous day by the Chinese Ambassador and his wife in honour of delegates to the congress from many countries. She had no alternative but to raise a serious protest against this treatment.

The Congress Monopolized, Democratic Principles Flouted

It was truly shocking how a section of the W.I.D.F. leadership monopolized the congress and ignored the most elementary democratic principles in their conduct of congress proceedings.

On the morning of June 26, after the Indian delegate's attack on China by bringing up the Sino-Indian boundary question in the congress, Kuo Chien, deputy leader of the Chinese delegation, asked for the floor to make the truth of the matter known. But the presiding chairman crudely violated the normal rules observed at such international conferences and arbitrarily deprived the Chinese delegate of her right to speak. A tumult ensued in front of the rostrum. The executive chairman then disconnected the loudspeaker, putting the whole conference hall into a state of disorder, whereupon the executive chairman hastily announced the meeting adjourned and had the lights turned off. Delegates from various countries tried to find out what was going on and for a long time refused to leave the hall. Many delegates walked up to the front of the rostrum or to the seats of the Chinese delegation to show their support for the Chinese delegate. One grey-haired old lady told Kuo Chien in Russian: "Everybody knows who is right and who is wrong. All of us are at your side. You must be allowed to speak this afternoon!" The delegates from Southern Rhodesia, Southwest Africa and Mozambique said to the Chinese delegates: Africa and China hold the same views. Attacking China means

attacking Africa. The delegate of Sierra Leone indignantly told the Chinese delegates: "If I had known that the congress would attack China in such a manner I certainly wouldn't have come to participate in it." Some British and U.S. friends assured the Chinese delegates in the hall that they knew the truth about the Sino-Indian boundary question, that China had their full sympathy and support and that it was unreasonable not to let the Chinese delegate speak. So, on the very same morning, the executive chairman was finally forced to promise that the Chinese delegate would speak in the afternoon session. However, that afternoon passed away with the Chinese delegate still deprived of the right to speak. It was not until the last day of the congress, that is, June 29, that the persons manipulating the congress gave the Chinese delegation the floor—for only three minutes. The Chinese delegate was forced to stop in the middle of her speech. Then, immediately after the Chinese delegate spoke, the presiding chairman again made arrangements for the Indian delegate to speak on the same question for a second time, giving her an opportunity to renew her attacks on China. At the same time, the protests sent in by the Korean and Indonesian delegates objecting to the unreasonable attitude adopted towards the Chinese delegate were not even read to the plenary session. On June 29, the Korean delegation was deprived of its right to speak by withholding an advanced notification. Albania's request for the floor was turned down by use of the voting machine. These are facts showing how the congress was monopolized and how democratic principles were scandalously violated. The anti-China campaign exposed these facts most vividly but this was no mere special case. These facts, it can be said, characterized the overall picture of the congress.

The general report on the question of the line of the international democratic women's movement made to the congress by Madame Cotton, President of the W.I.D.F., was not even discussed by its Executive Bureau beforehand. As a matter of fact, she did not even make an appearance before the public before the congress opened. When delegates from many countries asked to discuss Madame Cotton's report at the Executive Bureau, there were people who objected to this on the ground that one must not distrust the president! The U.A.R. delegate went so far as to say: "How can daughters discuss their mamma's report?!" So it turned out that in the leading body of the W.I.D.F. there exists the family relation of mother and daughters! Small wonder then that there were people manipulating and conducting the congress as if they were really heads of the family!

Neither the presidium of the congress nor the presidiums of the various committees ever held a meeting. Everything was decided and carried out arbitrarily by a few chairmen alone. All the presidiums of the various committees and members of the drafting committees were designated. It had been announced that a Japanese delegate would be a member of the presidium of the peace and disarmament committee. But those who manipulated the committees went on to declare that because of language and translation difficulties, the Japanese delegate could not take up the executive chairmanship of the committee meeting and so the Chilean delegate was appointed executive chairman in her place. Although the Japanese delegate protested that there were no transla-

tion difficulties, this could not shake the determination of those manipulating the congress to elbow out a chairman not to their liking. This Japanese delegate thus never had taken her seat in the presidium at committee meetings. The way the Japanese chairman on the presidium of the the programme committee was treated was no better, so that she too protested: "I'm a member of the presidium, but from first to last I have not been consulted on a single question!"

* * *

The World Congress of Women established the most disgraceful precedents of any international conference to be convoked by an international democratic organization.

A Meeting of Solidarity

Peking Acclaims Women Delegates From Asia, Africa and Latin America

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

WOMEN'S delegations and delegates from Brazil, Comoro, Indonesia, Mozambique, Nepal, Venezuela, south Viet Nam and Zanzibar visited China after having attended the World Congress of Women in Moscow.

On July 13, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi received and had a friendly conversation with them.

On Sunday afternoon, 7,000 people gathered at the Great Hall of the People to give them a rousing welcome. At the meeting, a leader of the National Women's Federation of China declared with emphasis that in the common struggle against imperialism, the Chinese people and women would remain for ever a reliable friend of the oppressed people and women in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The women delegates, addressing the meeting, warmly praised the achievements of the Chinese people and womanhood, their contributions to the fight against imperialism, the defence of world peace and their support for the national-independence movement. Many of them also strongly criticized the recent World Congress of Women in Moscow for its having cast aside the anti-imperialist banner and organizing an anti-China farce by resorting to all kinds of undemocratic means.

The band struck up the tune *The Hearts of the Peoples of the World Beat As One* when the guests entered the Great Hall and they were given a standing ovation when they mounted the platform in the company of Teng Ying-chao and other leaders of the National Women's Federation of China, Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and Shahidi Burhan, Vice-President of the China Peace Committee.

Oppose Imperialism Headed by the U.S.

Teng Ying-chao, Vice-President of the National Women's Federation of China, presided at the meeting.

Yet, the voice of justice and truth broke through all manner of obstacles and resounded in both the plenary sessions and in committee meetings of the congress; and it will continue to inspire all those delegates who want to defend world peace. On the other hand, the texts of the "W.I.D.F. Programme" and the "Appeal to the Women of the World" which were imposed on the congress are unacceptable to the women of the world who oppose imperialism and colonialism, both old and new. We are confident that the international democratic women's movement will forge ahead along a correct path. No force on earth can ever hold in check the revolutionary struggle of the women and the people of the world.

Shih Liang, another vice-president of the federation, who delivered the speech of welcome, made the following points:

- U.S. imperialism is trying by its "strategy of peace" to damp the fighting spirit of the people of the world and split their unity in the anti-imperialist struggle.
- The Chinese people and women learnt from their own experience that imperialism is the root cause of aggression, oppression and war, the root cause of women's and children's sufferings.
- To prevent world war and defend world peace, one must fight against imperialism headed by the United States.

Shih Liang said: "There are people who prettify imperialism, saying that Kennedy is 'wise' and has a 'sincere desire for peace.' They insist on making general and complete disarmament a task transcending all others and forcing it on the peoples of the world, attempting thereby to make the oppressed nations and peoples practise peaceful coexistence with imperialism and to leave women and children to the tender mercies of the imperialists. Not combating imperialism themselves, they even try to forbid others to combat imperialism. This fully reveals their ugly features in serving imperialism."

In their revolutionary struggles and in building socialism, Shih Liang said, the Chinese people and women had always received the sympathy and support of the peoples and women of other countries. They held dear the development of friendship and unity among women of various countries, especially the friendship among women of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Chinese people and women were deeply concerned with the struggle of women in Asia, Africa and Latin America. "We know that your struggle and victory are also ours," she said.

The meeting then listened attentively to the speeches of the women delegates from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

What the Women Delegates Say

Brazil: Anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are mounting with irresistible strength. Senhorita Maria Aparecida de Faria Pacheco of Brazil said: "The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are mounting with irresistible strength, whether the founders of imperialism and colonialism like it or not." "We are confident," she continued, "that peace will come and is bound to come, we must fight to the last moment against imperialism which rules over and enslaves the people."

Comoro: This year's World Congress of Women served the interests of imperialism. Madame Zahara Ibrahim, Secretary of the National-Liberation Movement of Comoro in the Mozambique Channel, told the meeting that at the recent World Congress of Women, there were fierce struggles. In discussing policies and tasks, there appeared differences between two lines, because people adopted a document which many delegates did not accept, namely, a programme which renounced opposition to imperialism. "The programme adopted by the congress regarded universal and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence as the most important tasks. A number of delegates could not express their opinions at the plenary session or the committee meetings of the congress. In my opinion, this year's congress served the imperialists."

She then went on to question those who did not oppose imperialism at the congress, asking: "When have you seen imperialists give up their policy of war of their own accord?" In her speech, she emphasized the need to continue to unmask all imperialist plots and machinations so as to mobilize the broad masses to fight the imperialist policies of war and aggression. Once again she repeated what she had said at the Moscow congress: "Without national independence, without a resolute struggle against imperialism and colonialism, it is not possible to have peace in the world, nor is it possible to have rights for women and children."

Indonesia: We express regret at the programme of the W.I.D.F. which is devoid of revolutionary essence. Madame Parjani Pradono, Member of the Central Committee of the Women's Movement of Indonesia and leader of the Indonesian Women's Delegation to China, told the meeting that Indonesian women "are convinced that imperialism and all systems of oppression and exploitation are the primary cause of the sufferings of people and of women and children. We also expressed these views of ours at the World Congress of Women. We suggested to the congress that the struggle for women's rights, children's happiness, world peace and disarmament cannot be separated from the struggle for national independence and against imperialism and old and new colonialism. For the personal experience of the Indonesian people has proved that world peace cannot be realized without the complete eradication of the root of war—imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism.

"The same view was shared by the Chinese Women's Delegation and other delegations representing people who

oppose imperialism and ardently love peace. Our delegation, therefore, expresses regret at the programme of the W.I.D.F. which is devoid of revolutionary essence. That is why we do not agree with this programme."

Mozambique: Only people who are free can build up a free society. Madame Priscilla Gumane, Secretary of the Women's Affairs Department of the Mozambique National Democratic Union, stressed in her speech the similarity in the sufferings of the Chinese people and the African people.

She condemned the Portuguese colonialists for the crimes they had committed in Mozambique. Free people, she said, is the base of a free society; only people who are free can build up a free society.

Nepal: Unite to eliminate imperialism and colonialism. The Nepalese writer Madame Shashi Kala Sharma appealed to the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America to unite to eliminate imperialism and colonialism, old and new. She pointed out that there had been great friendship between Nepal and China since ancient times and that the two countries had settled their boundary question in a friendly way. She said that to her the Chinese people seemed just like brothers and sisters and she hoped that the friendship would continue in the future between the peoples of the two countries.

South Viet Nam: The line of the world women's movement must be that of uniting the women of all countries to fight against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and for peace, independence and the rights of women and children. Nguyen Thi Binh, Member of the Central Executive Committee of the South Viet Nam Liberation Women's Union, said: "As far as women in our country are concerned, we have never imagined that the rights of women and children could be won without fighting imperialism." She told the meeting that her delegation attended the World Congress of Women in the same anti-imperialist spirit as displayed by the people and women in southern Viet Nam. This was because, she said, what happened in southern Viet Nam and some other countries had made them see still more clearly that it was imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, that gave rise to all sorts of oppression and war and the sufferings of women and children.

Venezuela: Our primary task as lovers of peace is to fight against imperialism. A delegate from Venezuela said that in her country people were engaged in all forms of struggles with armed struggle as the main form. The forces of the people were rising to defend national sovereignty and oppose U.S. imperialist oppression and plunder.

The Venezuelan delegate then cited facts to tell the meeting of the sufferings of her people and of imperialist intervention in her country. She said: "We are fighting for peace with a machine-gun in our right hand to defend our sovereignty and a book in our left hand to defend our future. It is clear that we are not warlike, we love peace, but the actual conditions in our country have compelled us to fight in defence of our sovereignty and the very life of our people."

Zanzibar: The scheming and procedures at the recent Moscow World Congress of Women could hardly be described as democratic.

Madame Aysha Ali Sultan, General Secretary of the National Federation of Democratic Women of Zanzibar, told the meeting that she was most dissatisfied and dismayed by the congress. "What should have been a wonderful opportunity to discuss common problems with progressive women from all over the world, turned out to be in my opinion a conspiracy to stifle any real discussion and non-conformist views."

"Never in my life," she said, "have I attended such an undemocratic conference as this W.I.D.F. conference in Moscow! I never thought the so-called progressives could be so mean. They used all sorts of tricks in order to have their way. One of the proofs I have, is that on the 23rd in the evening the heads of delegations were asked to meet in order to discuss the voting procedure. First they told us that 119 countries were participating at the meeting, not informing us that some had not arrived. When we opposed having a vote for each delegate, they closed the meeting saying that the voting procedure could not be discussed as some of the delegates had not arrived. They knew that from the beginning, so why ask us to meet when we couldn't discuss the whole thing in full?"

She went on, "I handed in my speech on the 23rd. It was looked at and somehow not found suitable, so they tried to put me off by telling me that I couldn't speak as I was sitting on the presidium and that another delegate from Zanzibar could make a speech. They were expecting another delegate from our opposition party . . .

". . . When I heard of her arrival I went to talk to her and after discussion she agreed that we should give a joint speech. She didn't have a speech ready and she approved of mine with the exception of a short paragraph which we cut out. The conference organizers made this the excuse for holding up my speech and putting me

off . . . on the 28th at night, when the hall was half empty, they allowed me to speak."

Aysha Ali Sultan said, "On the 27th we started work in the commissions. Our commission on drafting the general document was to start at 9 a.m. but we had to wait for Madame Cotton who did not appear until some minutes past 10 a.m. She came there, and named the countries that could take the chair — without seeing whether we agreed or not she left quickly, giving the excuse that she was not well. . . . She was well enough to dictate to us, but not well enough to stay even for a minute to hear what we had to say. They tried to use lame excuses like respect for age — meaning Madame Cotton — and not wasting time, in order to dictate to us. When they found that things were tough for them, they found a means of getting most of us out of the way." She said that apart from a few delegates "the rest of us, who were supposed to discuss and approve the draft before it was handed in to the secretariat, did not see the document, and we did not discuss it and had not agreed with it, and the only thing we knew about it, was when we heard it read during the closing session. Surely their word 'democracy' has a completely different meaning to the one we know!"

Aysha Ali Sultan said, "It is a very dangerous thing for some people to deceive others and themselves. All the world knows that imperialism headed by the U.S.A. is our common enemy."

Concluding her speech, she said, "we know that imperialism headed by the U.S.A. will not disarm voluntarily. We must be brave and always encourage and assist those who fight against colonialism, feudalism and imperialism. We must unite our forces to give a telling blow to all those parasites and only then will we have real and lasting peace."

International Communist Movement

Refutation of Revisionists' Calumnies Against National-Liberation Wars

Following are excerpts from an article carried by the monthly "Malayan Monitor" (published in London) on June 30 under the title "A Just and Patriotic War — In Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of the Malayan People's Armed Struggle for National Liberation." Sub-heads are ours.—Ed.

IN the 15 years that have passed, many of the finest sons and daughters of Malaya have laid down their lives in the just and noble struggle to free our beloved country from the scourge of colonialism. We join in paying homage to their everlasting memory; and we warmly salute the fighters of today who are selflessly and heroically carrying on this glorious tradition of struggle, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Malaya.

The struggle has been hard and protracted, and will continue to be so, until the final phase when the cumula-

tive effects of the punishing blows inflicted upon the colonialist enslavers in Malaya and in the other spheres of struggle bring final victory.

Those who take a short-sighted view of history try to minimize the achievements of the national-liberation struggle in Malaya. They point to the calendar and say: "Look, 15 years have passed, and still no victory."

Such people fail to take an all-round view of history. They also fail to draw correct conclusions from the many-sided and increasingly complex crises of colonialism both in Malaya and on a world scale. As one of the pioneers of the national-liberation struggle during the crucial period of history immediately after World War II, the national-liberation movement of Malaya, led by the Communist Party of Malaya, broke the back of colonialism in Malaya, as well as contributed to the worldwide upsurge against imperialism in general. This is the first

and most important fruit gained for the Malayan people and for the anti-colonialist struggle in general.

Indeed, since the day in June 1948, when British imperialism launched its brutal war of suppression against the Malayan people, thereby compelling the Malayan people to take up arms, Malaya has never been the same — nor will ever be. Step by step, British imperialism has been compelled to yield to the Malayan people's pressing demands for freedom. British imperialism is exhausting, at an increasing rate, its manpower and resources on a series of military alliances and commitments in Asia, in the final bid to stave off the inevitable doom of colonialism in this region. It is common knowledge that neither by its reliance on ANZUS, nor ANZAM, nor SEATO, nor on "Malaysia" has British imperialism succeeded in stemming the tide of national liberation in Malaya or any other part of Asia. Its latest venture "Malaysia," in fact, merely served to ignite yet another armed revolt — that of the people of Kalimantan Utara — and impelled the patriotic, freedom-loving peoples of Asia towards a higher plane of unity and solidarity against imperialism.

Duty of All True Anti-Colonialists

All true anti-colonialists must launch and extend a continuous struggle by every appropriate means against imperialism and colonialism. This is a basic duty to their own peoples and countries and to the cause of peace and freedom of the world as a whole. This basic duty also carries with it the right to extend and receive solidarity support from fellow anti-colonialists.

This dual aspect of basic duty and right brooks no tampering, no "revising," no scaling down. In the course of implementation this basic duty and right are subject to variations on particular tactical considerations; but this does not mean that the fundamentals on which such duty and right rest can be legitimately varied. To regard this fundamental as alterable, or worse, as capable of being shelved is to betray the cause of true patriotism, peace and freedom.

Does the monopoly-capitalist ruling class, whether in the role of "domestic" or overseas exploiters, regard its fundamentals as alterable, or capable of being shelved? Not for a minute. Why do some people who call themselves "patriots," "anti-colonialists," "peace-lovers," "freedom-lovers," even "socialists" and "communists," etc., come out in an epidemic of "new" and "revised" thinking, by which the duty to struggle against colonialism and the right to receive and extend solidarity action is deplored and derided as "dogmatic," "old-fashioned," "uncreative," and even "dangerous"?

People with this "new" and "revised" thinking habitually misread and misinterpret the nature of imperialism, the nature and role of revolutionary struggle, and the relation of forces both in their own countries and on an international scale. Such people bemoan the revolutionary struggle of today as "dogmatic," "dangerous," etc., when the combined forces, resources and all-round capabilities of anti-imperialism are vastly superior to those of the imperialists. Clearly, the "new" and "revised" thinking of such people is irrational in the extreme.

The revisionists varnish their "new" and "revised" thinking with sophistry. For example, they say that

precisely because the combined forces of socialism, anti-imperialism, peace, etc., are vastly superior to those of imperialism, there is no longer any need for the "old-fashioned" revolutionary struggle against imperialism; and, as for armed struggle, this has become a heinous crime!

Revisionists' Prescription

What then do these revisionists prescribe? They prescribe a "blanket" programme of "peaceful coexistence" and even "peaceful co-operation" between countries, social systems, peoples, etc., without differentiating peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems — which is necessary and correct — on the one hand, and "peaceful coexistence" between oppressor and oppressed — which is incorrect — on the other.

The sum total of their prescription adds up in practice to the following:

1) In the sphere of struggle against imperialism and colonialism, to join in with the imperialists in vilifying the militant, national-liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples — including, by name, the movement and struggle in Malaya.

2) In the sphere of the movement for peace, to divorce the struggle for peace from the struggle against imperialism, thereby aiding and abetting the imperialist aggressors' and warmongers' cherished plan of preventing the unified offensive against war and oppression at the source.

3) In the sphere of international relations, to confuse right with wrong, thereby leading to a situation in which they find themselves in the same position as the U.S. and British imperialists in giving aid to a government, namely the Nehru government of India which commits aggression against China.

4) In what should, by all accounts, be the highest and most impregnable sphere of unity and solidarity, namely, the socialist camp, to violate the very heart of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, by unilaterally installing to grace and favour the Yugoslav modern revisionists whose subservience to imperialism and betrayal of the world working-class movement have been so thoroughly and deservedly condemned by the signatories of these documents.

On all counts, therefore, the denial of the basic duty to struggle unrelentingly against imperialism and colonialism, leads inevitably to substantive collaboration with imperialism against the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

To undertake the struggle for the total defeat of imperialism and liquidation of colonialism and pursue it to its victorious conclusion is the very touchstone of all hopes, all aspirations and all endeavours for the elimination of war, for peace, for freedom, for the ending of exploitation of man by man, for the creation of brotherhood of man on a universal scale.

On such understanding should the concept and practice of true unity between the people of all strata in one country, and between the peoples of all countries be built and developed. To advocate this is not being "sectarian" and "dogmatic," but being clear now and for the

future on the question: with whom do we seek unity and for what purpose?

If this minimal stand is not adopted at the basic level, whether as a party or on wider fields of united front work, the result will be unprincipled liaison and the substitution of expediency for principled unity in struggle.

The insemination of modern revisionist "ideology" within the innermost threshold of the socialist, anti-imperialist family, has engendered new problems and imported new complexities into a situation which would otherwise have been even more overwhelmingly favourable to the peace, freedom and socialism. Inasmuch as the imperialists and their apologists themselves created this new complexity as their trump card, it is logical to suppose that they will try to exploit any and every manifestation of defeatism, compromise or laissez faire. The struggle against overt and covert imperialism and against revisionism must, at all times, permeate every aspect of the struggle for national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism. There is no other effective way to deal with this new complexity.

Cesspool of "De-Stalinization"

All manifestations of dogmatism need also to be dialectically explained and uprooted. The word "dog-

matism" has been much distorted by the imperialists and the modern revisionists. They use the term merely to vilify, giving no factual argumentation to prove their charge. Like the intellectual sloths that they are, they dip their brush in a ready-made cesspool of so-called "de-Stalinization," and smear all and sundry who question their "new" and "revised" thinking. They prefer imposition (especially on "smaller" countries, parties and individuals) to mutual exploration and advice on an equal footing.

The many and complex tricks to which the imperialists resort in their effort to stem the worldwide upsurge against them are symptomatic of the weakness, not the strength of imperialism. They are compelled to show their hand earlier than they would have wished; and even their trump card — the reliance on internal sabotage by modern revisionists — has been overtrumped before schedule.

Inside their own camp, the imperialists are confronted with increasing and widening rifts, as shown by the continuing cracks in their number one bulwark — NATO.

Armed with the knowledge of worsening situation confronting imperialism and the increasingly favourable situation for the forces of peace and anti-imperialism, the Malayan people will take heart, redouble their efforts in their fight on all fronts and bring final victory nearer.

Safeguarding the Unity of the International Communist Movement

by NJOTO

Njoto, Second Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, recently made a speech in South Sumatra, stressing the need for the unity of the international communist movement in the interests of the struggle against the common enemy. The following are excerpts from his speech. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

NJOTO pointed out that "today, conditions are getting better and better, both domestically and internationally, for the people in their struggle to achieve new successes."

"The imperialists are being dealt blows everywhere, and the contradictions among them are becoming increasingly acute. In these circumstances, the unity of the people of each country, the unity of the people of the whole world and the unity of the international communist movement, which is the core of the unity of the world's people, are most essential."

Dealing with the superior advantages of socialism, he said: "There is indeed the practical prospect of the defeat of imperialism, the offspring of capitalism."

The propaganda machines of the imperialists and other reactionaries have always tried to describe socialism as being "inferior" to capitalism. They want to create an

"inferiority complex" in the minds of the people so as to browbeat and then to attack them."

Hit at Imperialism Whenever Possible

"But the situation is bad for them and good for us! We must strike blows at imperialism whenever and wherever possible. We shall be committing a gross mistake if we give up the struggle against imperialism. We must carry on this struggle with great vigour."

He pointed out that U.S. imperialism is "the No. 1 enemy of the people," and asked: "In what corner of the world today can imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, live untroubled?"

Citing many examples to stress this point, he said that all people, from revolutionaries to pacifists, must oppose U.S. imperialism if they really want to defend peace, democracy and independence.

He drew attention to the fact that India, one of the initiators of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, has become so reactionary that it has thrown itself into the fold of the United States while Pakistan, a member of SEATO, is awakening and resisting U.S. domination. "The road of struggle," he said, "has never been smooth and straight; it is always a tortuous one. Setbacks alternate

with successes, and defeats, with victories. But the main stream, and the main direction, is the certainty of victory for the people, independence, democracy and peace."

"Revolutionaries," he said, "must build their policy, as the programme of the Indonesian Communist Party has pointed out, on the basis of Marxist analysis by grasping the concrete conditions and the balance of forces."

Concerning the question of the "Malaysia" plan, he pointed out, "indications at present show that the situation is becoming more and more favourable to the people who oppose "Malaysia": the intermediate social strata of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei are becoming ever more courageous in waging the struggle while the rulers of Singapore, Malaya and other places are at loggerheads with each other. Imperialist contradictions are sharpening on the question of "Malaysia." The situation is favourable to strengthening rather than weakening the struggle against the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" plan.

"Yugoslavia," he said, "plays a truly special role in the present political situation of the world." Referring to the speech made by Tito on May 18 at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, he pointed out: "In this 32-page speech, there were no less than 49 places where he attacked the Communist Party of China, but not once did he criticize the United States! He did, however, mention the United States in one instance and that is in the sentence: 'Our policy is to establish good relations with the Western countries including the United States. . . .'"

Njoto added: "In the field of art, it is only with a long lapse of time and as a result of pressure from the masses that Tito seems to have admitted at long last that abstract art predominates in Yugoslavia. But whom does he blame? He blames those who issued the art prizes! It is not difficult to blame the officials in charge of the work; nor is it difficult to blame the artists and writers. But is it not the environment which makes them act as they did? And who should be held responsible for the environment if not the leadership?"

The Tito Group Has No Say

Njoto said: "Tito, in his report on May 18, also said that it is necessary for his league 'to be active, to participate . . . in clearing up the disagreements among the Communist Parties.' What can I say on this point? The Javanese would say: 'He only does what it pleases him to do.'"

"When the Moscow Declaration was drafted, the Yugoslav delegate was present, but did not agree to this Marxist-Leninist document. Of course, when the Moscow Statement was drawn up, Yugoslavia was not invited. They expressed their reaction to this by issuing a booklet in which they asserted that this Marxist-Leninist document was a 'retrogression.' But now suddenly they will take an active part. What right have they? What right have they politically and morally?"

Speaking on the question of the international communist movement, Njoto said: "The Indonesian Communist Party gladly welcomes the talks between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Com-

munist Party of China, scheduled to begin in Moscow on July 5 and hopes that all sides will sincerely seek a correct solution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

"As far as the Indonesian Communist Party is concerned, it will do all it can—first of all, through the Aidit delegation which will go to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China shortly—to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement so that we can continue our great common struggle against our common enemy."

"Constructive criticism, differences and so on," he said, "are allowed by the working class and the labouring people, but a split will not be tolerated; responsibility will of course have to be shouldered by those who first create a split."

On the question of racism, Njoto said that it was quite right to regard the United States and South Africa as centres of racism. "Therefore," he said, "it is a shame that Indonesia has followed their example."

"Of course," he said, "the two cases are different. In the United States and South Africa, racism is pushed ahead by the government; but in Indonesia racism is pushed ahead by those elements who are against the Republic.

"The evil of racism can only be compared with fascism. It is the most outrageous thing in the world. Despite the effort to disguise itself in the cloak of 'economic emancipation,' 'assimilation' or other labels, racism is still racism, and its essence is still counter-revolutionary."

Njoto said that the losses and sufferings caused by racist counter-revolutionaries in one month alone was greater than those caused by DI-TII [Darul Islam Movement and Indonesian Islam Army] in more than ten years.

It was equally vicious to connive at DI-TII or PRRI [Revolutionary Government of the Indonesian Republic]-Permesta, he said.

Njoto stressed: "Lack of firmness towards racism will bring serious consequences to the existence of the Republic."

In conclusion he said: "Lately, voices demanding the formation of a co-operative cabinet with NASAKOM [nationalist, religious and communist forces] as its core are becoming louder and louder, and are supported by ever broader sections of the people. This is a demonstration of the heightening of patriotism, and this is necessary."

"The unity among the various political parties, the unity of the people throughout the country, including unity with the state apparatus, are being strengthened. All these are good conditions for strengthening the offensive based on the Political Manifesto and dealing blows to the counter-revolution."

CORRECTION: The 11th line of the 2nd paragraph in Statement of Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman on page 8 in No. 27 should read: "Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30. . ."

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S.A.

Armaments, Not Disarmament

The arms drive of the Kennedy Administration continues apace. This is an important fact to bear in mind at a time when U.S. propaganda machines laud to the sky Kennedy's "strategy of peace" and Kennedy himself talks hypocritically of "checking the spiralling arms race" and "eliminating war and arms."

Direct U.S. military expenditure during fiscal 1964 (covering the period between July 1, 1963 and June 30, 1964) has again set a peacetime record. It totals \$56,000 million, or \$2,400 million more than in the last fiscal year.

Referring to this policy of increased armaments, U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara stressed that he did not expect any "substantial progress towards disarmament" and "far from engaging in unilateral disarmament, this government had been urgently engaged in building up . . . our military strength." McNamara's memorandum to Kennedy on July 11 noted that the United States had doubled the number of nuclear warheads in its "strategic alert forces" during the last two years.

Kennedy's announcement of the temporary suspension of atmospheric nuclear tests and his proposal for the conclusion of a test ban treaty do not, as some U.S. papers have observed, hinder at all the current U.S. nuclear arms drive. For one thing, Washington has already stockpiled many weapons of massive destructive power in its "atomic arsenal." Further, "the U.S. underground nuclear weapons test series in Nevada has not been halted and apparently will continue." Johnston Island in the Pacific, site of U.S. atmospheric tests, "is being kept in a state of readiness"; and Washington has "in no way slowed down or abandoned" its development of new atomic weapons and weapons concepts (*Washington Post*). As Kennedy himself recently admitted, his administration will spend "more than 15 billion dollars this year on nuclear weapons systems alone, a sum which is about equal to the combined defence budgets of our European allies."

Another facet to this frenzied arms drive is the speedy development of guided missiles. According to a Pentagon announcement on July 1, the U.S. now has 309 intercontinental ballistic missiles in "operational status." It has also 12 Polaris submarines in commission, 8 more already completed, 15 under construction and 6 authorized in the building programme.

To the Kennedy Administration, which has made the suppression of the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America a major policy aim, nuclear arms are the "shield" and conventional arms the "sword." That is why Washington is also taking great pains to develop conventional arms. In fiscal 1964, appropriations for conventional arms amount to \$19,100 million, or \$1,000 million more than in fiscal 1963. And this is in addition to the vast programme for research and development of "special warfare" weapons on which more than 35,000 U.S. scientists and technicians are at present engaged at a cost of \$1,300 million.

Africa-U.S.

Cat Out of the Bag

Carrying out the decisions of the Addis Ababa summit conference, African nations have taken a number of joint actions against Portuguese colonialism and the racists in South Africa. Several countries have boycotted or broken off relations with Portugal and South Africa. Early this month, delegates of the African nations expelled Portugal from the U.N. International Educational Conference in Geneva despite the strong opposition of the Western countries. They would have succeeded in doing the same thing to South Africa at the June International Labour Organization Conference in Geneva had there not been Western obstruction, led by the United States. All the same, the African delegates walked out en masse from the conference to show their opposition to South Africa's apartheid policies.

This is as it should be. But Menen Williams, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs,

cast aspersions on these actions. During his recent tour in Africa he repeatedly declared that the expulsion measures were "ineffective" and his government did not support them as a method of achieving African political ends. So spake the politician, known as "Soapy" to his cronies. But the *New York Times*, mouthpiece of the U.S. ruling class, openly attacked the boycott measures as opposing "white racism with black racism" and "contrary to the U.N. principles espousing fundamental human rights."

The Williams line, not to mention the *New York Times* outburst, is revealing. The meaning of it is clear enough considered in the context of U.S. relations with the racist Verwoerd government. Williams told the House Foreign Affairs Committee before going to Africa that the U.S. still supplies arms and weapons to South Africa; the U.S. monopolies are currently investing \$600 million in South Africa; and racial discrimination and persecution are almost as rabid in the U.S.A. as in South Africa. No wonder the Ghanaian paper *Evening News* declared on July 9 that Williams has "let the cat out of the bag."

Yankee Imperialism

New Moves Against Cuba

While not for a moment relaxing its efforts to subvert revolutionary Cuba, U.S. imperialism has stepped up its activities to isolate her.

A special report against "communist subversion" was rammed through the U.S.-controlled Organization of American States on July 3. It requires member governments to restrict normal travel between their countries and Cuba. On July 8, the U.S. State Department ordered the freezing of all Cuban assets in the United States (even the funds of the Cuban government delegation to the United Nations were no exception) and banned all financial transactions with Havana. Then, on July 11, Phillips, the State Department spokesman, revealed that his government had requested Britain, Canada, Spain and Mexico to curtail aerial traffic to and from Cuba. Earlier, Washington blacklisted 84 British and other foreign ships because they had engaged in trade with the island republic.

These aggressive moves have evoked widespread condemnation among the Latin American peoples. Despite

overt and covert U.S. pressure, Chile opposed and Brazil, Mexico and two other countries abstained when the "restriction against travel" resolution was put to the vote in the O.A.S. And even Britain was reluctant to go along with the U.S. plans to impose a peacetime blockade against people's Cuba. According to Phillips, London had not replied to repeated U.S. embassy representations that she close her colonies in the Caribbean to Cuban civilian planes.

Deeds speak louder than words. Kennedy's calculated aggressions against Cuba make nonsense of his American University speech on "building a world of peace" and his readiness to compete peacefully with any country. U.S. imperialism is unreconciled to the existence of the socialist world, and not least to the existence of Cuba, the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere.

S.E. Asia

Malaysia Scheme Under Fire

The agreement on Malaysia which Whitehall secured on July 9 raises more problems than it has solved. Brunei, originally groomed as a member, did not sign because its Sultan refused to turn over his oil revenues as demanded by Malaya. Singapore is extremely dissatisfied with the financial arrangements over the military bases. Most important of all, the people's opposition to this neo-colonialist scheme has increased.

The British colonialists blueprinted Malaysia to perpetuate their control over Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and British North Borneo, territories together totalling 330,000 square kilometres with a population of about 10 million. Now, under the July 9 agreement, the 1957 British-Malayan military pact which gave Britain and other Commonwealth countries the right to station troops in Malaya has been extended to cover all future Malaysian states and Britain will retain her military bases in Singapore. This has simply laid bare British imperialist ambition and strengthened the people's determination to fight Malaysia.

The Malayan People's Socialist Front has declared that the Malaysian deal is incompatible with Malaya's independence and that Britain's continued use of the Singapore base will drag Malaya into the whirlpool of British

military adventures. The Singapore Socialist Front has declared that the incorporation of Singapore into Malaysia will reduce its inhabitants to the status of second class citizens (Singapore with 17 per cent of the total population will have only 9 per cent of the seats in the central parliament and will have to hand over 40 per cent of its tax revenues) and that the concession made on the question of military bases will make it even more difficult for the Singapore people to recover them from the British imperialists in the future. Thirty-six Singapore trade unions have issued a joint statement declaring their non-recognition of the Malaysian agreement and demanding that London abandon the project.

Abroad, the neo-colonialists in Washington promptly welcomed the agreement, seeing in it an opportunity to extend their own political and economic influence in Southeast Asia. Indonesia, on the other hand, reaffirmed its opposition. President Sukarno has stated that the moves by Malayan Prime Minister Abdul Rahman and Britain constituted a confrontation of the Indonesian revolution. He noted that Rahman had not kept the promises made at their Tokyo meeting and at the Manila foreign ministers conference that he would not set up Malaysia before the will of the people in North Kalimantan territories had been ascertained. "We do not agree to Malaysia, we do not recognize

Malaysia and we even oppose Malaysia," declared Sukarno.

India

Big Station for Big Lies

The Voice of America will have another relay station to spread its lies and slanders in Southeast Asia. A U.S. transmitter to be installed in Calcutta, India, will do the job.

Under an agreement signed on July 9, Washington will supply New Delhi with a 1,000-kilowatt medium-wave transmitter; All-India Radio will operate it; "payment" to the U.S. will be made in the form of daily relays of the V.O.A. broadcasts to Southeast Asia for the next five years.

"A break in New Delhi's policy of neutrality in the cold war" was the London *Daily Telegraph's* comment on the move. *Dawn*, a Pakistan paper, pointed out that the deal had not only impinged on India's sovereignty but also enabled the United States to penetrate into a vital Indian nerve centre. It stressed that during the past six years, similar offers by Washington to other Southeast Asian countries had been spurned right away. Another Pakistan paper *Morning News* remarked that Pakistan and other Southeast Asian countries had every reason to resent this latest U.S.-Indian agreement since the transmitter could well be used by Washington as a "listening post" for its secret service.

THE PASSING SHOW

Beware of the Yanks Bearing Gifts. . . .



Cyprus too is learning from bitter experience what U.S. "aid" costs.

U.S. "experts" in the country now number 2,000, notes the newspaper *Alithia* (Truth), and they make full use of the privileges they enjoy under the U.S. "aid" agreement. They have imported 1,000 automobiles duty free "for their work" and are selling them privately with a loss to the Cyprus public treasury of £300,000. They also get their home supplies, clothes, etc., tax free through their own U.S.-run canteens and stores. *Alithia* calculates that Cyprus is losing £1,000,000 annually to the Americans in this and other ways, so that the U.S. is actually getting more from Cyprus than it "gives" in "aid."



Chemical Industry Serves Agriculture

by KAO KUANG-CHIEN

China's chemical industry has made rapid, all-round progress since liberation. It is delivering chemical fertilizers, insecticides, rubber products and all kinds of pharmaceuticals to the farms in increasing quantities in the current drive to speed up the technical transformation of agriculture.

FARM modernization, now on the immediate agenda of China's socialist construction, calls for a four-fold transformation in agriculture, namely: mechanization, electrification, extensive irrigation and widespread use of farm chemicals.* China's chemical industry is going all out to help bring about this last-mentioned aspect of the transformation of agriculture.

The rapid growth of agriculture in China demands more chemical fertilizers and other farm chemicals. As a Chinese peasant saying goes: "Whether there will be a harvest or not depends on irrigation; the size of the harvest depends on the amount of fertilizer used." The "Eight-Point Charter"*** for raising crop yields calls for the use of more fertilizer.

The soil in most parts of China is not overly fertile. Although Chinese peasants have a long tradition in fertilizing the soil, they used, and still use, chiefly farmstead manures and, on the whole, in inadequate quantities. In China's main grain belts—south of the Huai River and the Yangtse and Pearl River valleys—the population is dense and land scarce; there are fairly good irrigation and drainage facilities, but the soil is inadequately fertilized. The use of more chemical fertilizers will greatly increase yields.

Since plant diseases and pests still cause considerable damage in China, the "Eight-Point Charter" calls for the use of more chemical insecticides.

A Good Start

To answer these heavy demands New China's chemical industry is having to battle its way forward from a very weak pre-liberation foundation. Before liberation, it had just a few small chemical plants in Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin and Talien and these depended entirely on imported raw materials. It manufactured very few items for the farms, and these, in extremely limited quantities. Few peasants had ever even heard of chemical fertilizers or insecticides and fewer still bought or used them.

* For farm modernization in general and mechanization in particular, see relevant articles in *Peking Review*, 1963, Nos. 9 and 26.

** This embraces, in addition to increased use of fertilizers, soil amelioration, extension of irrigation, use of good strains of seed, rational close planting, better plant protection, better field management and tools reform.

The chemical industry, fostered energetically by the Communist Party and People's Government, has grown rapidly since liberation. As early as 1952, the last year of the period of national economic rehabilitation when China was getting back on her economic feet, output of most chemical products already surpassed pre-liberation peak levels. The First-Year Plan (1953-57) saw further rapid growth of the chemical industry. But it was during the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) that the industry, inspired by the three red banners—the general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's commune—made its greatest advance. Many new enterprises were built; output soared; a wide range of new products was manufactured; the skilled work force was expanded and its technical level further improved.

China's chemical industry still has a long way to go to meet all agricultural needs, but a good beginning has been made. It is delivering the goods to the farms—in increasing quantities and variety. Its products fall into the following four categories: chemical fertilizers; insecticides, bactericides, phytocides and cotton defoliants; rubber tyres, hoses and belts for tractors, other farm vehicles and irrigation machines; and human and veterinarian drugs.

Chemical Fertilizers

Simultaneous Development of Organic and Inorganic Fertilizers. In solving the fertilizer question, China's policy is to develop and use both organic and inorganic fertilizers. This is because it will take time to increase the output of inorganic (chemical) fertilizers to the necessary level. Furthermore, the peasants in most parts of China are accustomed to raising pigs; and in the south, green manure growing is an established practice while in the north it is also possible to grow green manure, especially leguminous crops, on a considerable scale. Both pig dung and green manure are excellent organic fertilizers which not only supply the crops with the necessary nutriment but effectively ameliorate the soil as well. These farmstead manures will remain an important source of fertilizer in China for a fairly long time to come.

Nevertheless, chemical fertilizers have obvious advantages. They are easy to transport and apply and quick-acting and highly effective. China is therefore energetically developing the production of chemical fertilizers and regards it as an important task in modernizing agriculture.

Before liberation, there were only two fertilizer plants (in Talien and Nanking respectively) producing only one kind of fertilizer (ammonium sulphate). Peak pre-liberation output (in 1941) was 220,000 tons, but production dropped to a mere 27,000 tons in 1949, the year of liberation.

Rapid Post-Liberation Growth. The growth of the chemical fertilizer industry since liberation has been swift and sustained. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan (1957), aggregate output had reached 700,000 tons, far exceeding the pre-liberation peak level. During the Second Five-Year Plan, several big modern plants were built—including the Lanchow Chemical Fertilizer Plant, the Taiyuan Chemical Fertilizer Plant and the Szechuan Chemical Fertilizer Plant—and many medium-sized and small ones as well. Output in 1962 was 50 per cent bigger than in 1961 and several times the 1957 figure; it was scores of times the 1949 figure.

Thanks to this rapid increase in output, China's farms are getting chemical fertilizers in increasing quantities. In the first 11 months of 1962, the farms received 38 per cent more chemical fertilizers than in the whole of 1961. The increase in the supply of nitrogenous fertilizers alone amounted to more than 600,000 tons, or three times the pre-liberation peak output.

A bigger range of fertilizers is also being produced. Ammonium sulphate, ammonium nitrate and calcium superphosphate were produced in the First Five-Year Plan, now ammonium bicarbonate, ammonium chloride, nitrogen lime, urea, phosphate fertilizers containing calcium and magnesium and several other fertilizers are also available.

Production and capital construction continue to go ahead this year. Output in the first six months of 1963 was 42 per cent larger than in the same period of last year, and the rising trend continues. In order to expand chemical fertilizer capacity further, China is building seven big new nitrogenous fertilizer plants in Shanghai, Kwangtung, Anhwei, Honan and Hopei. The first stage projects of the plants in Shanghai and Kwangtung have already been completed in the main. Both plants have been designed by Chinese engineers and equipped with Chinese-made machinery—for the first time in the history of China's chemical industry. They will soon go into regular production.

Emphasis on Big Plants. The fact that seven big plants are simultaneously under construction serves to show that China has fully mastered the necessary techniques for building and equipping big modern fertilizer plants. In terms of equipment, building materials and manpower, it is more economical to build one big plant than several small and medium-sized ones with the same aggregate capacity, so China will concentrate on building big modern plants.

But small and medium-sized factories have their own advantages: they take less time to build and they are in a position to make use of materials locally available to serve local needs. A number of small and medium-sized fertilizer factories were built during the Second Five-Year Plan. These have been consolidated and technically improved. They are working well and some are already producing in excess of their designed capacity.

Stress on Nitrogenous Fertilizers. In view of the specific needs of China's agriculture and her available resources, she is concentrating chiefly on the production of nitrogenous fertilizers while paying proper attention to the development of phosphate and potash fertilizers.

In the production of nitrogenous fertilizers, the proportion of ammonium sulphate is steadily diminishing while that of ammonium nitrate is steadily increasing. This is because the former contains a sulphate radical which tends to harden the soil, and large quantities of sulphuric acid (much needed by other industries too) is required in its production.

Urea has a high nitrogen content and is therefore a highly effective fertilizer. At the same time it is an important raw material in the manufacture of plastics and synthetic fibres, and a culture medium for the strain used in making high-grade feedstuffs; furthermore, plant buildings for urea production require relatively little stainless steel. In view of its great economic significance, China is paying special attention to the development of urea production.

Since ammonium chloride as well as pure soda can be produced economically by a combined process and the production of ammonium bicarbonate requires relatively little capital outlay or materials in relatively short supply, China is also developing the production of these nitrogenous fertilizers.

China's fertilizer output has increased rapidly, but the industry has a big effort yet ahead of it before it can satisfy actual needs.

Chemical Insecticides

Pre-liberation China produced practically no chemical insecticides. Copper sulphate was the only one then made, and in 1949 only 64 tons of it were produced. In those days the peasants had only the most primitive remedies against crop diseases or pests, and suffered heavy losses from these scourges. Plagues of locust, for example, occurred regionally every two or three years with large-scale outbreaks every 5-7 years. In 1929, huge swarms of locusts destroyed crops on 45 million *mu* of land in seven provinces. It is estimated that on average about 10 per cent of the rice crop—China's major staple crop—was lost each year due to rice borers alone.

After liberation, China began a vigorous campaign against crop diseases and pests. In addition to biological, physico-mechanical and cultivation methods (i.e. methods of cultivation designed to alter physical conditions so as to make them inimical to viruses and pests and salutary to the crops), she resorts especially to the widespread use of farm chemicals as the chief means of controlling crop diseases and pests. By 1957, the end of the First Five-Year Plan, the output of farm chemicals (exclusive of fertilizers) reached 64,700 tons, or more than 1,000 times the 1949 figure. Production continued to rise sharply throughout the Second Five-Year Plan.

As climatic and other conditions for crop growth vary widely over China's vast expanse, many different kinds of plant diseases and pests are found. So while energetically increasing output of existing chemicals China's chemical industry is paying special attention to developing new types of potent farm chemicals. Today it is producing more than 60 kinds of farm chemicals (as against 20 during the First Five-Year Plan), including hexachlorocyclohexane, DDT, *dibaichong*, E059, zined, and sodium pentachlorophenolate.

The farm chemicals now in production fall roughly under the following four heads: insecticides and bactericides; rodenticides and fumigants (used chiefly in storing food grains); plant growth-regulating substances and inhibitors (the latter is used, for example, in storing potatoes); weed killers and cotton defoliant.

Large quantities of chemicals in the first two categories are produced but at the present time only a limited number of products in the other two categories are in production and these, with the exception of a few items, are made only in modest quantities.

Special attention is being paid to developing the production of organic phosphorous compounds because these are highly effective, widely applicable and can be used in a variety of ways against many kinds of pests.

With this rapid growth in farm chemicals production, good results have been achieved in controlling crop diseases and pests. By co-ordinated aerial and ground spraying of insecticides, the locusts which wrought havoc in the past have now been brought under control. In many rice areas, extensive use of hexachlorocyclohexane has cut down losses due to borers to below one per cent.

Rubber Products

China's rubber industry, like the chemical industry in general, was poorly developed before liberation. Few rubber products were made and over 80 per cent of those made were consumer goods. In its pre-liberation peak year China produced only 75,000 auto tyres. Quality was poor. They wore out after only 10,000 kilometres of service.

But rubber tyres, hoses and belts for tractors, lorries, other farm vehicles and irrigation machines are indispensable to farm mechanization and electrification, and New China early initiated a drive to make good her lack of these.

Soon after liberation, the cultivation of rubber trees began in suitable areas and research was started in synthetic rubber production. As a result, China is today making no less than 4,500 major rubber products (five times the pre-liberation number) from natural or synthetic rubber produced within the country. These include tractor tyres, hoses and other rubber accessories for irrigation machines, rubber spray hoses, V-belts and conveyer belts.

The output and quality of rubber products has steadily risen. In 1957 the industry produced 879,000 auto tyres. This was more than ten times the 1949 output. A further increase was achieved during the Second Five-Year Plan. Chinese-made auto tyres can give over 50,000 kilometres of use and some makes have stood test-runs of over 100,000 kilometres.

Drugs for the Farms

China's chemical industry also aids the farms by producing drugs to safeguard the health of the peasants and their livestock and poultry.

Great changes have taken place in China's pharmaceutical industry since liberation. The few pharmaceutical plants there were in China before liberation merely worked

up imported raw materials. They could not even produce such ordinary drugs as aspirin, sulfa drugs or penicillin. Eighty per cent of the drugs used in China had to be imported. New China began producing drugs on her own as early as in the rehabilitation period. The output of drugs, however, rose particularly sharply during the First Five-Year Plan. Compared with 1952, the output of antibiotics rose hundreds of times in 1957 and sulfa drugs scores of times. Antibiotics, sulfa drugs, antipyretics and anti-tuberculosis drugs registered further substantial increases during the Second Five-Year Plan. The vitamins industry, a brand new industry in China, was set up in those years.

China's pharmaceutical industry is manufacturing 500 types of drugs, or twice as many types as in 1957. In addition to penicillin, it is producing streptomycin, syntomycin, chloromycetin, aureomycin, oxytetracycline, tetracycline and other antibiotics.

In order to meet the specific needs of the countryside, the pharmaceutical industry, in addition to ensuring the supply of sulfa drugs, antipyretics and palliatives, pays special attention to potent drugs for treating parasitic and local diseases. In the past, parasitic diseases were rampant in China's rural areas. The elimination of the five major parasitic diseases (schistosomiasis, filariasis, malaria, kala-azar and ancylostomiasis) has been laid down in the National Programme for Agricultural Development as an important measure for protecting the health of the rural population and promoting agricultural production. The pharmaceutical industry is today producing tartar-emetic (for treating schistosomiasis), hetrazan (for treating filariasis) chloroquine (for treating malaria) and potent drugs for treating kala-azar and ancylostomiasis. These drugs are playing a big role in combating the parasitic diseases. Kala-azar which had been prevalent in Shantung Province for nearly a century has now been eliminated in the main.

In the past the peasants relied on indigenous medicaments for treating their livestock and poultry. While those medicaments that have been proved to be effective are still in use, increasing amounts of Chinese-made antibiotics and sulfa drugs are being used with good results.

Prospects

To give more effective aid to the farms and help accelerate the technical transformation of agriculture, China's chemical industry will be developed on a still larger scale during the current Third Five-Year Plan (1963-67). More new fertilizer plants will be built; the range of farm chemicals for controlling crop diseases and pests will be extended, their quality improved and the techniques for their application popularized; a bigger range of tyres for tractors, lorries and other vehicles used in the



rural areas will be produced; more drugs for treating local and parasitic diseases as well as veterinarian drugs will be manufactured. To meet the growing needs of the fertilizer, insecticides, rubber, pharmaceutical and other industries, the production of chemical raw materials will be pushed energetically.

These are arduous tasks, but there are many favourable conditions for their fulfilment. The overall situation of the national economy is steadily improving. In implementing the general policy for developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry

the leading factor, the chemical industry will receive still greater attention and its needs for raw materials and equipment will be more fully met from home sources.

A foundation has already been laid for further growth of the chemical industry. The ranks of its skilled work force have been greatly expanded and their technical level considerably enhanced. They take pride in working hard to aid agriculture. There is every reason to expect that in the Third Five-Year Plan period China's chemical industry will make still greater contributions to the country's farm modernization.

NEWS IN BRIEF

The instruments of ratification of the agreement on cultural co-operation between the Governments of China and Tanganyika were exchanged in Dar es Salaam on June 14 between Chinese Ambassador to Tanganyika Ho Ying and Tanganyika Minister for National Culture and Youth L. Nangwanda Sijaona. The agreement was signed in Dar es Salaam on December 13, 1962.

An Indian military plane intruded over the Yatung area of China's Tibet region at 13:45 hours on June 14. It flew off southward after flying and reconnoitring over Asang, Hsiasima and Upper Yatung.

A cultural agreement between China and Norway was signed in Oslo on June 18.

The 1963 executive plan for implementation of the scientific co-operation agreement between the Chinese and Bulgarian Academies of Sciences was signed in Peking on June 19.

The Sino-Soviet Committee for Scientific and Technical Co-operation held its 13th meeting in Peking, June 10-18. The meeting adopted a Sino-Soviet scientific and technical co-operation plan for the second half of 1963 and the first half of 1964.

Li Yi-mang, Chinese Ambassador to Burma, informed the Burmese Government that, in view of Sino-Burmese friendship, the Chinese Government has decided to waive its right to take back to China the original capital and assets of its two banks in Rangoon nationalized by the Burmese Government last February. The Burmese Government has

accepted the offer of the Chinese Government in the same spirit of friendship and goodwill.

The All-China Journalists' Association on June 21 sent a message to Argentine President Guido protesting against the unjustifiable arrest of Hsinhua correspondent Juan Gelman by the Argentine authorities and demanding his immediate release.

The Sino-Korean Committee for Scientific and Technical Co-operation held its sixth meeting in Pyongyang from June 5 to 21. During the meeting, the two sides discussed a number of questions concerning scientific and technical co-operation and signed a protocol on June 21.

An agreement on the exchange of goods and payments for 1963 was signed on June 22 between the Governments of China and the German Democratic Republic. Under the agreement, China will supply the G.D.R. with mineral products, foodstuffs, textiles, chemical products and light industrial products, etc., while the G.D.R. will provide China with machinery, equipment, accessories and spare parts and motion picture film stock, etc.

On June 28, between 11:30 hours and 11:40 hours, two U.S. military planes intruded into China's territorial air space over the sea area east of Nanjih Island in Fukien Province.

On July 5, between 14:32 hours and 14:42 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air over the Yunghsing, Pei and Shu Islands of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

On July 14, between 07:40 hours and 11:51 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters in the area of Tung and Yunghsing Islands of the

Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province. Between 13:00 hours and 13:20 hours on the same day, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air over the Yunghsing, Shih and Tung Islands of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 248th, 249th and 250th serious warnings against such provocations.

The economic group of the Mongolian Government led by Moto, Vice-Chairman of the State Construction Commission of Mongolia, which came to China for talks on economic and technical assistance between China and Mongolia, left Peking for home on June 30.

Yao Chung-ming, Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia, on behalf of the working staffs of the Chinese Embassy, the Chinese Consulate-General in Djakarta and consulates in other places in Indonesia, donated 400,000 rupiahs for the relief of Indonesian citizens and Chinese nationals who had suffered in counter-revolutionary disturbances.

The delegation of the Korean Academy of Sciences led by Kang Yung Chang, its president, is now visiting China.

The Korean scientists came to Peking on June 23 at the invitation of Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. They were received by Premier Chou En-lai, and Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Nieh Jung-chen on separate occasions and were entertained by Kuo Mo-jo on June 23.

Li Yung-ting, director of the Chinese pavilion at the first Algerian International Fair in Affreville-Miliana, gave a "Chinese Pavilion Day" reception on July 2 at the fair. Hsien Yi, Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, and Mokrani, director of the fair, both spoke at the reception, toasting the further growth of Sino-Algerian friendship.

THEATRE

Comedies From Fukien and Shanghai

Peking's summer theatre season has been spiced with wit and humour by two visiting theatres from the east coast: the Gaojia Opera Troupe from Chuanchow, Fukien Province, and the Shanghai Comedy Troupe.

GAOJIA OPERA

Tien Han, doyen of Chinese playwrights, has described *Up the Ladder*, one *gaojia* offering, as a "pearl from the South China Sea." It caustically satirizes the old feudal ruling class on a theme that is familiar in the West today—Up the Lift to the Executive Suite or the Room at the Top. It has a far-fetched plot: a rich man's illiterate son, a fool, not only passes the imperial examination to become "first scholar in the land" but earns rapid promotion on to the cabinet. The playwright Wang Tung-ching concocted this fantasy some years ago on the basis of an old traditional Fukien puppet play and gave us a rollicking satire on old feudal China in which the improbable becomes probable.

Chia Fu-ku, the ne'er-do-well son of a rich meat merchant, begs the hand of the beautiful and learned daughter of a scholar. Rejected by her father because of his ignorance, he goes off to the capital to try to buy a pass in the imperial exams. In the capital, he is taken under the wing of a powerful mandarin, on the lookout for a scoundrel to use in his struggle for the throne. Chia is introduced to the two examination judges. The judges, who have always sold the title of "first scholar" to the highest bidder, hand it to Chia on the strength of the mandarin's recommendation. At the imperial banquet given in his honour, Chia's smug ignorance threatens to give him away but for the hasty covering tactics of the two judges, fearing their own exposure. The political fight for power subsequently lands Chia, unwittingly, high in the emperor's favour and into a key cabinet post. The whole house of cards finally tumbles when the scholar's daughter, forced to come to marry Chia, makes fun of him and exposes him in front of a stupefied court, which to save its face, hastens to cover the whole thing up. The

action is fast-moving, non-stop comedy. Except for the scholar's daughter, almost all the main characters are caricatured.

Gaojia opera is one of the most popular styles of local opera in Fukien. It originated some 200 years ago out of the costumed carnival parades with which the coastal villages of southern Fukien are wont to celebrate traditional festivals. Fishermen and peasants dressed as heroes of the well-known novel *Water Margin*—based on the story of a Sung Dynasty peasant uprising—began to act short skits to enliven the parades. These gave rise to organized amateur and then professional troupes so prolific that today the *gaojia* opera repertoire includes 600 operas in which 400 traditional melodies are used. In its later stages of development it absorbed much from the famous Fukien puppet theatre, Peking opera and other local types of opera. Its performances are spirited affairs with a pronounced local colour. Using dance and puppet movements to make its characterizations more vivid, and with a great variety of traditional clown roles, such as the rich-man's-son-clown, the official-clown, the scholar-clown, the lackey-clown, and so on, it is particularly strong on satire.

In *Up the Ladder* the Chuanchow troupe not only makes full use of these many traditional clown roles but by the force of artistic generalization projects each type in bold individual relief. Chia's man-servant Chia Jen, for instance, is a jackal who is not only his master's bully boy but also chief adviser. He shambles around in a characteristically obsequious gait with knees at the half-bend and shoulders permanently hunched up; he wears an ingratiating smile as he thinks up new mischiefs to amuse his master with, and jumps agilely to action at his master's command. The two judges set each other off well: the one tall and bony, clever and smooth; the other short and rotund, blustering and clumsy. They complement each other to perfection in their single-minded unity of purpose: to look after their own interests and profit.

Tsai Yu-hui acts the climber Chia particularly well. The traditional clown role of the rich man's son is a take off on the man who masks his ignorance by an intelligent front and light-headed chatter, ogling every pretty girl in sight. In this part it would be easy to be just slick, foolish and vulgar, no more. As Tsai portrays it the role takes on satirical depth. He gets laughs aplenty but not by resorting to trivial, superficial slapstick. By artistic exaggeration—the art of caricature—he etches out this character in bold comic lines. In the banquet scene, for instance, Chia, blithely unconscious of the two judges' fear lest he talk too much before the court and make a fool of himself, swaggers around the hall importantly and often goes into a little jig of supreme self-satisfaction. In the midst of this, he suddenly remembers that he ought to show off his talents a little, and starts to recite the essay he is supposed to have written and that won him top honours in the exam. Inevitably he flounders in mid-sentence and ends up scratching his head like the dunce he is.

Playwright and actors have joined to embody this theme in vivid characterizations. Laughter at the antics of Chia Fu-ku becomes censure of the society that made such people and events possible.

SHANGHAI COMEDY

The Shanghai Comedy Troupe is nothing if not contemporary. It takes its jokes and laughter straight off the streets of our modern towns. It is a young theatre practising a young art.

In its early days around 1927, when it was still in the form of a single comedian telling jokes, Shanghai comedy was, as it is today, very contemporary, with a fresh wit and humour, always earthy, often pungent. Its sustenance was the comedy of manners. Among the masters of the genre were such artists as Wang Wu-neng, who could imitate dozens of different local



Clown characters in "Up the Ladder"

Sketch by Li Pin-sheng



"Saying Farewell to Yesterday." Start of the fight in scene I in old Shanghai.

The sales banner says: U.S.-made "Pisilin" (it's a pun that means "Kill-All")

Sketch by Jack Chen

dialects in his impersonations of waiters in the old-type restaurants, gossips in the Shanghai lanes and the calls of pedlars and hawkers; Liu Chun-shan, another ace performer, used to pick up the day's papers at random and extemporize with witty stories which he sang to local opera airs. Later these monologues evolved into comic dialogues of quick repartee between two persons speaking in the Shanghai dialect and inimitable argot. Called "One-Man Comedies" these early forms of Shanghai comedy resembled the *xiang sheng* (comic dialogue) of Peking. They had a memorable history in the early struggles of the Shanghai people against Japanese aggression. In 1931, many patriotic anti-Japanese "One-Man Comedies" were popular on the Shanghai stage. The day the traitor Wang Ching-wei set up his puppet government in Nanking in 1937, Liu Chun-shan put on a new satirical act called *Funeral in the Wang Family* that had everybody ridiculing the quisling. When the Japanese occupied all Shanghai in 1941, its comedians were hard put to it to make a living. To compete with the cinemas and "legitimate" theatre, they combined or expanded their "One-Man Comedies" into full-length comedies telling a complete story with settings and numerous characters costumed and made up. Enemy occupation and Kuomintang rule and censorship after VJ-day stifled and perverted the new art, and by the time of liberation, it seemed to have reached the end of a brief life. Just before lib-

eration Shanghai comedy had a more than doubtful reputation. Its broad farce, "blue" and other vulgar jokes catered mainly to the taste of petty-bourgeois philistines and city riffraff.

Liberation gave it a new lease of life. As with other local styles of drama and opera, the dross has been cleared away. The people's art shines fresh and clear.

Spring Is Everywhere, a full-length comedy in a socialist

setting which the Shanghai Comedy Troupe has brought to Peking, fully demonstrates this new vigour and vitality. Its three main characters are serving in a present-day Shanghai restaurant: grouchy, impatient waiter No. 8; overwhelmingly helpful No. 4, and quiet, efficient No. 2. How they cope with the sometimes baffling humours and needs of a variety of customers, and how Nos. 8 and 4 finally overcome their failings with the help of No. 2, makes for plenty of laughs, some targeted at the remains of backward ideas, most in delighted admiration of the new in our socialist society.

Writing collectively, members of the troupe, its authors, have taken the real life around half a dozen tables, with waiters taking down customers' orders and bringing them food, and out of it distilled the comedy that arises when the actions of an individual form an incongruous contrast with his environment.

The restaurant staff has put up a new motto: Let the customer be fully satisfied! Everybody sincerely wants to give the best he can. Notwithstanding, No. 8, secretly harbouring an inferiority complex about his job, has a hard time keeping his temper. When sorely tried by customers and a fussy young lady asks not for a big bowl or a small bowl of rice but for an inexplicable "fifth of a small bowl," he can't help blowing up.

No. 4, eager to make customers feel at home, so overdoes it that by the

time he finishes his opening spiel his customers have escaped to a less talkative table. . . . When these two realize their failings and try to change, No. 8, to warn himself against his temper, keeps a mirror which he takes out to look at every time he feels the corners of his mouth starting to droop in the old familiar way; No. 4 keeps a mouth guard in his pocket, just in case. . . . Finally two furtive characters, caps pulled low over their eyes, slouch into the restaurant. As time ticks by, they ponder, discuss and argue over the items on the menu, ordering matches and this, that and the other in endless indeterminations, while an imperturbable No. 2, friendly and helpful, never bats an eyelash. Finally the two reveal that they are waiters from another restaurant, come to try out No. 2, and to learn from him.

The overwhelming proportion of the Shanghai comedies, like *Spring Is Everywhere*, are minted out of contemporary life and laughter. There is *Saying Farewell to Yesterday*, which shows new Shanghai through the eyes of an old doctor, a Chinese Rip van Winkle who wakes up from a coma into the new society. There is *The Busybody*, about an old worker-enthusiast who just cannot bring himself to take a rest. There is *Lao Ma on His Day-Off*, about a policeman's adventures while on his way to a date with his girl friend. But the troupe has also successfully tried its hand at its own retelling of traditional drama subjects such as *Getting Husbands in a Hurry*, where a whole village is thrown into a panic at the news that the emperor's officials are coming to seek an imperial concubine.

In the old days little was written down, the actor relied heavily on improvisation. Today the freshness of original improvisation is recorded in written scripts; settings remain simple so that speech and action hold the centre of the stage, but more attention is now paid to the production and staging. These are not plays that can be acted by any actor. The Shanghai comedy actor has half a dozen dialects at his tongue's tip and the mannerisms and gestures of a whole gallery of comedy types. As this current tour has shown the capital, Shanghai comedy has won itself a sparkling niche in the theatrical life of New China.

SPORTS

Indonesian Badminton Team in China

Chinese and Indonesian badminton players thrilled 6,000 sports fans on July 14 with some of the most spectacular games Peking has ever seen. The Chinese team won four of five matches from the visiting Indonesians. This opened a series of friendly matches which the Indonesian team is scheduled to play in Peking and other cities.

In the exciting first match of the evening, China's 1963 women's singles champion Liang Hsiao-mu defeated Minarni, the reigning Indonesian and Fourth Asian Games singles champion with the score 11-1, 11-2. Quick footwork and versatility of tactics gave Liang Hsiao-mu that extra edge over the Indonesian champion. This victory seemed to inspire the rest of the Chinese players that evening. In the men's singles which followed, Hou Chia-chang, China's 1963 singles champion, defeated the Indonesian singles champion Ang Tjin Siang 15-5, 10-15, 15-2; and in the men's doubles, which was another highlight of the evening, Lin Chien-cheng and Wu Chun-sheng defeated after an hour-long battle the world champion Indonesian Thomas Cup team members Njoo Kiem Bie and Tan King Gwan 5-15, 15-10, 15-10. In this match the seasoned Indonesian players drew repeated applause with their fine placings and split-second anticipation. The young Chinese players, however, showed better stamina and speed to take the visitors by surprise.

The Indonesian women's doubles champions Minarni and Retno Kustijah won Indonesia's only victory that evening when they overwhelmed China's Liang Hsiao-mu and Chen Chia-yen 15-10, 15-10. In the mixed doubles Fang Kai-hsiang and Chen Yu-niang collected another victory for China when they defeated Unang and Corry Kawilarang of Indonesia 15-8, 17-15.

After the matches, Premier Chou En-lai who was present walked to the court and shook hands with all the players. He also received the Indonesian sports delegation leaders Soengkono, First Assistant Sports

Minister of Indonesia, and Aris Moenandar, President of the East Java Badminton Association.

In an opening ceremony before the matches, the visitors were presented with flowers and Huang Chung, Vice-Chairman of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission, made a speech of welcome to which Soengkono spoke in reply. They both emphasized the promotion of friendship through sports exchanges and the preparations for the forthcoming Games of the New Emerging Forces. At the reception he gave in honour of the Indonesian sports delegation the day before, Huang Chung told the visitors how pleased the Chinese people and sportsmen were for having the opportunity of seeing and learning from the Indonesian badminton players who ranked among the world's best, and to know that the Indonesian Government and people were making active preparations for the holding of the First Games of the New Emerging Forces in November this year. He also assured them that the Chinese people, their sports officials and sportsmen were determined to do all they could to contribute to the success of the Games.

In their second match against the China Youth Team on July 16, the Indonesian players won two out of the five matches played. The men's singles between Johnny Tjoa, runner-up at the 1963 Indonesian badminton championships, and Fang Kai-hsiang, who came third in China's 1963 competitions, was one of the main attractions that evening. With better all-round techniques, the Indonesian player won 2:1 after a gruelling battle last more than an hour (9-15, 18-17, 15-5).

The Indonesian women's doubles champions Minarni and Retno Kustijah again impressed the fans with their powerful smashes and good teamwork. They defeated China's 1963 champions Liang Hsiao-mu and Tseng Hsiu-ying in two straight games 15-9, 15-6. In the men's doubles, China's Lin Chien-cheng and Wu Chun-sheng repeated their fine performance of two evenings before with another victory over Indonesia's Njoo Kiem Bie and Tan King Gwan. This time they won by 2:0, the scores being 15-10, 15-5.

As we go to press, the Indonesian guests are playing their third and last match in Peking, after which they will tour Tientsin, Shanghai, Hangchow and Canton to play a series of matches against Chinese teams there.

SHORT NOTES

Japanese Painting Exhibition. An exhibition of contemporary Japanese oil paintings opened in Peking on July 5 for 12 days. This is the first showing of Japanese oils ever held in China.

Jointly sponsored by the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Union of Chinese Artists, its opening ceremony was attended by Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and many other distinguished representatives of cultural and artistic circles.

The 89 pieces on show at the Peking Exhibition Centre represented various trends in Japanese oil painting, the majority depicting the contemporary life of the Japanese people and Japanese landscapes.

GUOZI SHUDIAN ANNOUNCEMENT

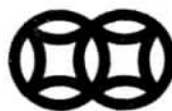
Certain persons, forging the imprint of the GUOZI SHUDIAN bookstore of China, have been distributing what they call "Publication News From China" in which they announce the publication of a book, "Stalin on World Revolution" purportedly written by Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the tenth anniversary of the death of J. V. Stalin.

GUOZI SHUDIAN hereby states that neither it nor any publishing house in China has ever issued such a publication as "Publication News From China" nor published such a book as that mentioned.

GUOZI SHUDIAN P.O. Box 399, Peking China

DOUBLE COIN

tyres



*High quality tyres from China
For all makes of motor vehicles*

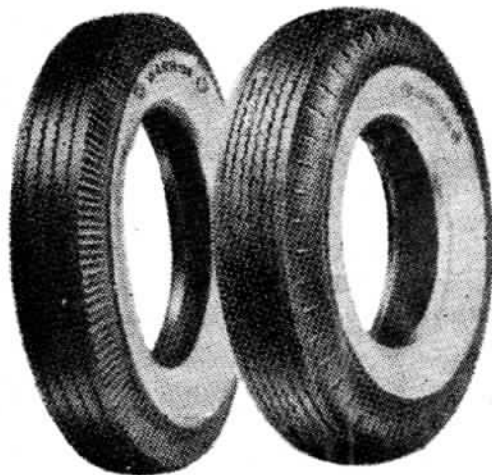
Toughly made of high-grade natural rubber
with rayon or cotton cord body

Wide range of tread patterns

Suitable for any road, any climate

WARRIOR

tyres with white
sidewalls



For particulars please write to:

CHINA NATIONAL CHEMICALS IMPORT AND EXPORT CORPORATION

Shanghai Branch

Address: 27 Chungshan Road E.1, Shanghai, China

Cable Address: "SINOCHEMIS" Shanghai