

PEKING REVIEW

20

May 15, 1964

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報

China's Sovereignty Over Taiwan Brooks No Intervention

Renmin Ribao condemns the U.S. and its British followers for their "one China and one Taiwan" plot (p. 6).

Halt the Dangerous Turn in Laos

1. Prince Souphanouvong's letter and Vice-Premier Chen Yi's reply (p. 8).
2. Foreign Minister Chen Yi's reply to Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen (p. 10).
3. *Renmin Ribao* editorial (p. 11).

People of the Congo (Leopoldville), Fight On!

Significance of the rising armed struggle against U.S. neo-colonialists and their lackeys (p. 14).

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北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS	
China's Sovereignty Over Taiwan Brooks No Inter- vention	
— <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	6
Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Reply to Prince Souphanouvong	8
Prince Souphanouvong Writes to Geneva Confer- ence Participants	9
Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Reply to the Geneva Con- ference Co-Chairmen's Message	10
Halt the Dangerous Turn in Laos	
— <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	11
People of the Congo (Leo- poldville), Fight On!	
— <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	14
Historic Significance of the Dien Bien Phu Victory	
— <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	17
Thwart Manoeuvres to Split International Communist Movement	
— <i>Rodong Shinmoon</i> Edi- torial	20
Revisionist Line of Colom- bian C.P. Leadership De- nounced	24
To Become One With the Workers and Peasants	
— <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	24
ROUND THE WORLD	27
ACROSS THE LAND	28
CULTURE, ART	30

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May 15, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- *Renmin Ribao* in its May 12 editorial, commenting on recent statements by U.S. and British officials, declared: China's sovereignty over Taiwan brooks no intervention.

- Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi sent a letter of reply to Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Laotian National Union Government and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, and another letter of reply to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference.

In its May 13 editorial, *Renmin Ribao* called for prompt and effective measures to halt the dangerous turn in Laos.

- The officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army held a mass meeting in Peking to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the victory at Dien Bien Phu won by the People's Army of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

- An agreement on economic and technical co-operation was signed in Peking between China and Kenya.

- Chinese mass organizations protested against the Brazilian authorities' decision to try before a military tribunal the nine Chinese citizens who were unwarrantedly arrested.

- *Renmin Ribao* published anti-China statements made recently by the leadership of the C.P.S.U.

- The Chinese press published:

- an article in the March 1964 issue of *Australian Communist*, theoretical journal of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), stressing the need to wage an unremitting struggle against revisionism in order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

- a speech by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, at a Djakarta rally on April 21 commemorating the 94th anniversary of Lenin's birth. He pointed out that the anti-imperialist struggle must be closely linked with the struggle against revisionism.

- another speech by D.N. Aidit at a rally in Madiun, East Java, saying that the great debate in the international communist movement served as a university of Marxism-Leninism. He called on Indonesian Communists to learn from the debate with a view to hastening the victory of the Indonesian and world revolutions.

Chairman Mao Receives African Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on May 9 received and had a friendly talk with Thadde Siryuyumunsi, President of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Burundi, and members of the delegation he led. The Burundi guests left Peking for home on May 11.

On May 8, Chairman Mao Tse-tung had a cordial talk with members of the delegation of the Zanzibar

and Pemba Afro-Shirazi Youth League led by Mkuja Sleman Khamis.

Kenyan Guests' Fruitful Visit

The government delegation of Kenya led by Minister of Home Affairs A.O. Odinga, which arrived in Peking on May 3, left for home on May 11. Its eight-day visit to China has contributed much to strengthening Sino-Kenyan friendship and co-operation.

During their visit, the Kenyan guests were received on May 10 by

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and on May 7 by Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China. On both occasions there were cordial and friendly exchanges.

The successful talks Minister Odinga held in Peking with Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi led to the signing on May 10 of an agreement on economic and technical co-operation. Toasting the growing friendship between the Chinese and Kenyan peoples at a reception Kenyan Ambassador to China H.N. Mulli gave that same evening, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the visit of Minister Odinga had promoted friendly co-operation between the two countries. He also took the occasion to refute statements made recently by important officials of certain Western countries concerning Taiwan.

More than 1,500 people in the capital gathered at a rally on May 6 to welcome Minister Odinga and his colleagues. Greeting the guests, Vice-President of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association Ting Hsi-lin paid tribute to the Kenyan people who, he said, had carried on a protracted, indomitable struggle against colonial enslavement and finally won freedom and national independence. "Their victory," he said, "has given support and impetus to the people of Africa in their struggle for national independence. It has also given great support and inspiration to the Chinese people."

Minister Odinga described the bitter struggle his people had waged in achieving freedom. "Now that we are free," he told the meeting, "we must not shut our eyes to the intrigues of our enemies, the imperialists, who would like to regain control through the control of our economies. In other words we must safeguard ourselves against neo-colonialism."

Speaking of the situation in the Congo, he described the United States as a "neo-colonialist power of the worst type" which "is firmly and ruthlessly entrenched" in that country. "We must not fail to aid the Congo," he said. With the declaration "Imperialism is your enemy as well as ours; together we stand in

defence of freedom against imperialism and colonialism!" and the shout "Harambee!" (meaning "pull together") in Swahili, Minister Odinga concluded his speech amidst stormy applause.

Dien Bien Phu Victory Anniversary

The tenth anniversary of the Dien Bien Phu victory—a major landmark in the Vietnamese people's struggle for national liberation—was celebrated on May 5 in Peking at a meeting attended by 2,000 officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Sponsored by the General Political Department of the P.L.A., the meeting heard a report by Colonel Tran Ngoc Kien, military attache of the Vietnamese Embassy in China.

Lieutenant-General Liang Pi-yeh, Deputy Director of the P.L.A.'s General Political Department, in his opening speech stressed the great significance of the Dien Bien Phu victory as an example and inspiration to the oppressed peoples of the world. The General strongly condemned U.S. imperialism and its flunkies for obstructing the unification of Viet Nam and for carrying out armed aggression in the southern part of that country. He expressed firm opposition to U.S. imperialist plots to use the SEATO bloc to intensify and extend its war of aggression in south Viet Nam.

Colonel Tran Ngoc Kien took the floor amidst warm applause. He said that the Dien Bien Phu victory was not only an example showing that the Vietnamese people's just struggle was bound to win. It also proved that the weak and small nations now rising in arms against imperialist aggression and fighting for the right to live in independence and freedom would surely triumph. He gave a graphic description of the battle of Dien Bien Phu and cited it as powerful evidence that the people had boundless strength and that a war could be won only when the masses of the people took part. "Weapons," he stressed, "are important, but they are not the decisive factor in war. The decisive factor in a war is man."

Colonel Tran Ngoc Kien denounced U.S. imperialism for its aggression in south Viet Nam. "Encouraged by the Dien Bien Phu spirit and supported by the world's people," he said, "the people of south Viet Nam, led by the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, will surely overcome all difficulties and win final victory."

Welcome to Matsukawa Case Victims

Peking held a rally to welcome eight former defendants of the Matsukawa Case who are now visiting China. They were acquitted in September last year after 14 years of heroic struggle in prison.

The nefarious Matsukawa Case was a political frame-up by U.S.-Japanese reaction. Using as pretext a train derailment in Matsukawa which the reactionaries themselves engineered, the Japanese police arrested and threw into prison 20 innocent Japanese workers who were later sentenced either to death or to long-term or life imprisonment. The Matsukawa victims fought back dauntlessly against their persecutors, endured torture and other attempts to intimidate them and finally, with the support of the masses of the Japanese people, defeated the reactionaries. They won their freedom last September when the Japanese Supreme Court was forced to announce the verdict of not guilty.

Addressing the rally, Vice-President of the Chinese People's Relief Association Li Teh-chuan hailed the acquittal of all the Matsukawa Case defendants as a victory which dealt a heavy blow to U.S. policies of war and aggression and made a contribution to Asian and world peace. Noting that the Japanese people were still carrying on their struggle to expose the real culprits, she said that the sudden burning down on March 29 of the office of the Japanese organizations, which had worked together for the acquittal of the defendants, and the destruction of large quantities of data concerning the case made one suspect that this was another conspiracy by the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. She voiced support for the Japanese people's demand that a

thorough investigation be made into the case and expressed confidence that justice would triumph.

Makoto Suzuki, one of the defendants who had been sentenced to death, thanked the Chinese people for their support. He told the meeting that the victory of the Matsukawa Case defendants proved that if the broad masses of the people, with the workers and peasants as the core, were united in unremitting struggle, then truth and justice would surely triumph. "By closing their ranks and working together with the people of the world," he declared, "the Japanese and Chinese peoples can smash any plot by the U.S. imperialists."

Rebuff to Imperialist Control Of Sports

"The era when imperialism could do as it pleased is gone for good. The GANEFO (Games of the New Emerging Forces) is a reality and a historical trend. No force on earth can eliminate it." These are the words contained in the joint communique signed in Peking on May 9 by R. Maladi, Indonesian Minister of Sports, and Jung Kao-tang, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Physical Culture and Sports.

The joint communique is hailed both as another demonstration of the determination of the Chinese and Indonesian peoples to promote the GANEFO and a strong rebuff to imperialist intrigues and sabotage in the world of sports.

Denouncing the International Olympic Committee and other international sports organizations for their political intrigues and discrimination against the newly emerging forces and for their attempts to undermine the GANEFO, the communique says: "These facts prove that they have become tools of imperialism." Expressing satisfaction at the achievements of the first GANEFO which "broke the monopoly and control of international sports by imperialism and new and old colonialism," both sides pledged all-out efforts to develop the GANEFO together with all the newly emerging forces. "The torch of the GANEFO

Demand to Free Chinese Held in Brazil

The China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, the All-China Journalists' Association and the Hsinhua News Agency on May 12 sent a joint cable to General Castelo Branco, Provisional President of Brazil, concerning the unwarranted arrest of nine Chinese citizens. It protested against the Brazilian authorities' continued imprisonment of the nine men and demanded their immediate release.

Completely disregarding all requests and appeals over the past month and more, the Brazilian authorities have sent the nine Chinese to a military prison and continued to subject them to vile treatment. The latest threat is that they will bring the Chinese before a military tribunal on the frame-up charge of "violation of the state security of Brazil."

But judging from reports published in Brazilian papers in the past month, the Brazilian authorities cannot substantiate their charges in any way. All they have is the arrested men's books, news material, vocabulary books for their study of Portuguese and an article dealing with "fire birds" and "fire dragons" in ancient China which was published in the press of West Germany, Japan, Finland, Italy, Israel and many

other countries. These they are trying to use as "criminal evidence" against the Chinese in a trial before a military tribunal. The cable says: "To hand over to a military tribunal Chinese personnel engaged in peaceful, non-governmental activities dedicated to international trade and news coverage is an action seriously violating the accepted norms and faith in international exchanges. It can only sully Brazil's international prestige and damage peaceful cooperation among nations." The cable calls on General Branco to take prompt measures to stop the interrogation and persecution of these innocent Chinese citizens and set them free to resume their normal professional pursuits.

The cable draws General Branco's attention to the fact that although the U.S. imperialists' conspiracy to abduct the Chinese personnel to Taiwan in collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique has been brought into the open, there is no let-up on the part of the agents of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who are still seeking to meddle in this affair for their own criminal purposes. "If," says the cable, "Your Excellency wish to keep international faith and preserve Brazil's prestige, the conspiratorial activities of the agents of the Chiang Kai-shek clique must be prohibited on explicit orders."

will shine for ever throughout the world," the communique declares.

Chinese Exhibition's Success In Tokyo

Over 800,000 people visited the Chinese Economic and Trade Exhibition in Tokyo which closed on April 30 after a 21-day run. Among the prominent personalities who viewed it were Tanzan Ishibashi, former Japanese Prime Minister; Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party; Kenzo Matsumura, adviser to the ruling Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, and Jotaro Kawakami, Chairman of the Japanese Socialist Party. Workers, peasants, intellectuals, engineers,

artists, students, businessmen and people from as far afield as Hokkaido took the liveliest interest in the various stands at the exhibition.

Ninety-seven showings of Chinese films given at the exhibition cinema were seen by 50,000 people eager to learn more about life in China. Made-in-China goods on sale proved very popular. Chinese handicrafts, in particular, attracted crowds of buyers who evidently rated an hour or so wait in a queue well spent.

Entries in the visitors' book lavishly praised the achievements of socialist construction in China in the past 15 years. Many messages hailed the friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples and expressed

(Continued on p. 26.)

China's Sovereignty Over Taiwan Brooks No Intervention

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial of May 12. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

WHEN U.S. imperialism launched its war of aggression against Korea on June 27, 1950, it also resorted to armed force to occupy China's territory, the province of Taiwan. Since then an important and component part of the U.S. imperialist policy of war and aggression in Asia has been to permanently occupy Taiwan, prevent the Chinese people from liberating it and use all possible means to sever it from China. This has been a basic factor in the China policy of different U.S. administrations. For more than 10 years Washington has been seeking to achieve its aim by stepping up its policy of hostility and threatening and encircling China; at the same time it has done its utmost to make "two Chinas" an international reality. Through different channels U.S. imperialism has made many "proposals" towards this end. To mention just a few, there have been: "one and a half Chinas," "the independent state of Taiwan," "the internationalization of Taiwan," and "United Nations trusteeship."

Contrary to Washington's desires the prestige of the Peoples' Republic of China has been growing steadily, its influence in international affairs has been increasing and more and more countries have established diplomatic relations with it. At the same time U.S. imperialism's China policy is in an ever worsening position; the fallacy of "two Chinas," which is being further denounced throughout the world, is becoming more difficult to carry out. In such circumstances American officials have had to talk repeatedly about adopting a "flexible" China policy and have advocated the idea of "one China and one Taiwan" as a means of getting out of their dilemma.

A Rehash of "Two Chinas" Scheme

The "one China and one Taiwan" scheme is simply a rehash of the "two Chinas" package; it has the sole aim of cutting off Taiwan from China, legalizing its permanent occupation by the United States and turning it into a U.S. colony. In two recent speeches Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was most outspoken on this matter. The exact condition he laid down for the United States and the Peoples' Republic of China "to enter into relatively normal

relations" is to allow Taiwan to become independent. He talked about "the abandonment by the Chinese Communists, tacitly, if not explicitly, their intention to conquer and incorporate Taiwan." Fulbright's meaning is so clear that any explanation is superfluous.

In order to legalize its permanent occupation of Taiwan, U.S. imperialism has done its best to create a "theoretical and legal basis." This is the fallacy of the "undetermined status of Taiwan." In 1950, while using armed force to occupy Taiwan, U.S. President Truman issued a statement alleging that "the determination of the future status of Formosa [Taiwan] must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations." The illegal "San Francisco Peace Treaty," arbitrarily drawn up by the United States and unilaterally concluded with Japan, deliberately stated that Japan renounced all its rights to Taiwan, but avoided mentioning the fact that it had been returned to China. Washington seems to have imagined that by this method the status of Taiwan could be described as "undetermined."

The British Government has done all it could to go along with this U.S. scheme. It is well known that since 1954 the British Government has followed the United States in advancing the fallacy of "Taiwan's undetermined status." In every instance when it cast its vote on the question of China's legal seat in the United Nations it consistently clung to the position of "one China and one Taiwan." Most recently, in line with the U.S. intensifying of its machinations for "one China and one Taiwan," the British authorities have become more active. British Foreign Secretary Butler, in Japan, even repeatedly prattled nonsense about the future of Taiwan being "essentially an international problem," and expressed British readiness to participate in an international conference for the solution of this question. This proves that the British Government not only beats the drums for the U.S. scheme of "one China and one Taiwan," but is seeking to participate directly as an advance party in carrying out this U.S. plot of aggression against China.

A Futile Effort

It is absolutely futile for U.S. imperialism and its camp follower, Britain, to continue cooking up its

fallacious "undetermined status of Taiwan" as a justification for tearing away part of Chinese territory.

Taiwan has belonged to China since ancient times. Towards the end of the 19th century Japanese militarism embarked on a war of aggression and occupied this Chinese province by forcing China to sign the unequal treaty of Shimonoseki. Because it is an unalterable fact that Taiwan is Chinese territory the world has never accepted as justifiable Japanese militarism's occupation in the 50 years from 1895 to 1945. The 1943 Cairo Declaration—issued by China, the United States and Britain—definitely stated that "all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as . . . Formosa [Taiwan]. . . should be restored" to China. The July 26, 1945, Potsdam Declaration—signed by China, the United States and Britain—emphasized that the Cairo Declaration must be immediately enforced. At the time of its surrender Japan also accepted the provisions of the Declaration.

Because of its victory over Japan, following World War II China exercised the rights due her under international law. And in October 1945 the then government of China accepted the surrender of Japan in Taiwan and formally recovered China's sovereignty over Taiwan, declaring it to be a province of China. This action was completely legal; it not only conformed to the provisions of many international documents—the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, and the stipulations of Japanese surrender, but was clearly assured by these documents. Since 1945, China has recovered its sovereignty over Taiwan which has once again become part of China's sacred territory, both in legality and in reality. The fact is so clear that Christopher Mayhew, British Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said on November 21, 1949, in the House of Commons that in conformity with the Cairo Declaration, the Chinese authorities controlled the island at the time of the Japanese surrender and continued to do so since that time. Before the United States occupied Taiwan former president Truman openly declared on January 5, 1950: "For the past four years the United States and the other allied powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island." On February 9, 1950, in its reply to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives the State Department also said: Taiwan "was incorporated into China as a province. The allied powers including the United States have for the past 4 years treated Formosa [Taiwan] as a part of China." Even as late as August 25, 1954, a British Foreign Office spokesman had to admit: "The Cairo Declaration said that Formosa [Taiwan] should be handed back to the Chinese Government, which was done."

It can be seen that any argument that "it is undetermined to whom Taiwan should belong" and "Taiwan's status is undetermined" is utterly preposterous and completely untenable. There is no question of to whom Taiwan belongs. Its armed occupation by the United States is an illegal action which infringes

on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty, and can never change the People's Republic of China's legitimate sovereignty over Taiwan.

Bandit Logic

U.S. imperialism and its followers now are asserting that in 1945 Japan only "renounced" its "claim" to Taiwan, but that "no government or regime has since been named as recipient of this territory." This not only is inconsistent with the Cairo and the Potsdam Declarations and the fact that the Chinese Government recovered its sovereignty over Taiwan; it is an absurdity fabricated by imperialism's bandit logic. Because it is Chinese territory the Chinese people have an absolute right to recover Taiwan whether Japanese militarism occupied it for 50 or 100 years. After the robber has been captured everything he has seized should be returned to the original owner. The Japanese militarists have been driven out and Taiwan therefore should be returned to China, just as Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France after World War I and the southern part of the island of Sakhalin was returned to the Soviet Union after World War II. The Cairo and Potsdam Declarations merely confirmed that the Chinese people have the inalienable right to recover their territory of Taiwan from Japanese militarism. With or without the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations the Chinese people want Taiwan restored to China. If Taiwan ceased to be China's territory because it was occupied by Japanese militarism for 50 years then should the territories of Asian, African and Latin American countries, which have been occupied for scores of years and centuries by imperialism—for instance the Suez Canal area of the United Arab Republic, India's Goa, Panama's Canal Zone and Cuba's Guantanamo—eternally be imperialist colonies and not be allowed to return to their motherland? If such imperialist logic is allowed to be enforced then "might makes right" will become the sole guiding principle in international law. Of course, imperialism welcomes such logic, but the Chinese people and the oppressed nations of the world firmly oppose it. Certainly it is not accidental that advocates of "Taiwan's undetermined status" are all imperialists who have committed or are committing colonialist aggression around the world.

As a legal basis for its spurious "undetermined status of Taiwan," U.S. imperialism and its partners use the allegation that the San Francisco treaty did not decide the future of Taiwan. But the Chinese people are the main force in the defeat of Japanese militarism, and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the only legal government which represents them, was excluded from the preparation, drawing up and conclusion of the peace treaty with Japan. As far back as December 4, 1950, the Chinese Government declared that this so-called peace treaty with Japan is illegal and null and void. Although U.S. imperialism can make demagogical use of the San Francisco peace treaty with Japan, it is completely impossible for it to impose its aggression on the great 650

million Chinese people by means of this so-called treaty which has no binding force whatsoever for the Chinese Government. The dark years when the imperialists could manufacture a treaty at will to decide the fate of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples have gone for ever. U.S. imperialism and its followers should clearly bear this in mind.

U.S. imperialism and its follower, Britain, are doing everything they can to propagandize the idea that Taiwan is an international question, and are advocating its solution by an international meeting. This is utter balderdash. For the Chinese people to liberate their own territory of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which nobody can interfere. True, there is an international aspect to the Taiwan question—the question of U.S. armed occupation of Chinese territory, the province of Taiwan. The only solution is the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan. Whoever tries to confuse the two entirely different aspects of the Taiwan question and to interfere with Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan in the guise of an "international problem" is doomed to failure.

The Only Way to Improve Sino-U.S. Relations

In order to sell its scheme of "one China and one Taiwan" U.S. imperialism asserts that the "realistic" path to improve Sino-U.S. relations is for China to give up its sovereignty over Taiwan. This is a barefaced fraud. The Chinese and American peoples have always been friendly. The present state of relations between the two countries is entirely the result of U.S. government policy of hostility to China and occupation of the Chinese territory of Taiwan. As Premier Chou En-lai repeatedly pointed out in his recent tour of Asian-African countries, the only way to improve Sino-U.S. relations is for the U.S. Government to show by deed its readiness to change its policy of hostility to China; there can be no other way. It is pure daydreaming to

expect the Chinese people to barter away principle and sovereignty.

British Government Acts as a Cat's-Paw

Some people, unfamiliar with the actual situation, may be confused for a time by the false arguments of U.S. imperialism on the question of Taiwan but in the end they will see the truth. However, this is entirely not so for the British Government. Willing to act as a cat's-paw, it is actively supporting the U.S. imperialist scheme for infringing on Chinese sovereignty. In return for its support the British Government hopes to obtain U.S. assistance in maintaining its colonial rule in Asia and other parts of the world. This is clear miscalculation. It can be said with certainty that no matter how actively the British Government supports U.S. imperialism's scheme it can expect no mercy from U.S. imperialism. An important and component part of U.S. imperialism's global strategy for world domination is discrimination against, breaking up and taking over Britain's large empire. This is a decided policy of the United States. No amount of flattery and service by the British Government can change it. Frankly speaking, the action of the British Government will not benefit it but can harm others. Britain has established partial diplomatic relations with China. To what point does the British Government want to push Sino-British relations now that it is giving support in such a flagrant way to the U.S. scheme to invade and occupy China's territory of Taiwan?

The province of Taiwan is an integral part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. China's sovereignty over Taiwan needs no approval by others, nor will any interference be permitted. The Chinese people's determination to liberate their own territory of Taiwan is unshakable. Taiwan will be returned to the embrace of the motherland. Anyone trying to play the trick of severing Taiwan from the People's Republic of China is doomed to utter bankruptcy.

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Reply to Prince Souphanouvong

Following is the full text of the reply sent by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi to Prince Souphanouvong dated May 13, 1964.—Ed.

**His Highness Prince Souphanouvong,
Vice-Premier of the Laotian Government of National
Union and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat,**

Khang Khay

Your Highness,

The Chinese Government has received and studied Your Highness' letter of April 24, 1964. We fully agree with your analysis of the present situation in Laos and the just stand you have taken.

Since the military coup d'etat in Vientiane, the U.S. imperialists and the Savannakhet clique have become more and more unbridled in their scheming activities to wreck the Geneva agreements and upset the Laotian Government of National Union. At the U.S. imperialists' active instigation, the Laotian reactionaries are accelerating the execution of their plan of reorganizing and enlarging the government in an attempt to annex the neutralists, ostracize the Laotian patriotic forces and form a government under the actual control of the United States so as to create division in Laos, rekindle the flames of civil war and prevent Laos from taking the path of peace and neutrality. The agreements concluded by the three groups in Laos, the

Government of National Union composed of the three political forces in Laos and the Geneva agreements on Laos are in the danger of being completely wrecked.

As Your Highness rightly pointed out in your letter, the scheming activities of U.S. imperialism in Laos are inseparably connected with its plan for aggression and war in Indo-China. U.S. imperialism is bogging down deeper and deeper in its war of aggression in southern Viet Nam and is meeting with one defeat after another there. In Cambodia, U.S. imperialist interference and subversive intrigues have also met with the resolute rebuff of the Cambodian Government and people. In order further to push ahead with its aggressive plan and extricate itself from the present quandary, U.S. imperialism is unscrupulously conspiring to extend its armed intervention in southern Viet Nam, attempting to drag troops of the SEATO and NATO members, of Japan and of the Chiang Kai-shek clique into southern Viet Nam for new military adventures. The military coup d'etat engineered by U.S. imperialism in Vientiane and its series of acts to wreck the Laotian Government of National Union are its steps in carrying out the above-mentioned plan in Indo-China. In view of this situation, all the participants of the Geneva conference are duty-bound to take measures resolutely to stop the criminal activities of U.S. imperialism violating the Geneva agreements and aggravating the tension in Laos and Indo-China.

China is a close neighbour of Laos and a participant of the two Geneva conferences. The Chinese Government and people firmly oppose the acts of U.S. imperialism wantonly trampling upon the Geneva agree-

ments and violating the peace and neutrality of Laos. The Laotian Government of National Union is a fruit of the long and heroic struggle of the people of Laos. Any one-sided change in the status quo and composition of the Government of National Union is a violation of the Laotian tripartite agreements and the Geneva agreements, it also runs counter to the desire of the Laotian people and will inevitably be resolutely opposed by the Laotian people and strongly condemned by world opinion. The Chinese Government resolutely supports the just demands and reasonable propositions advanced by Your Highness in your statements and holds that these propositions represent the only correct way to eliminate the present tension in Laos. The struggle waged by the Laotian people to uphold the Government of National Union and the Geneva agreements is entirely just; the Chinese Government and people stand firm by the Laotian people and fully support their just and patriotic struggle. We are sure that the patriotic forces of Laos, by their united struggle, will be able to smash all the scheming activities of U.S. imperialism and the Laotian reactionaries. The Laotian people will surely win victory for their just cause of upholding the Government of National Union, safeguarding the Geneva agreements and winning national independence, peace and neutrality.

Please accept, Your Highness, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) CHEN YI

Vice-Premier of the State Council
and Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the People's Republic of China

Prince Souphanouvong Writes to Geneva Conference Participants

Following are excerpts from the April 24 letter of Prince Souphanouvong to the Governments participating in the 1961-62 Geneva Conference. — Ed.

PRINCE Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Laotian National Union Government and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, on April 24 wrote to the Governments of the 1961-62 Geneva Conference participants, calling their attention to the present grave situation in Laos and asking them to take emergency and effective measures to bind the U.S. interventionists and aggressors hand and foot, stabilize the Laotian situation and contribute to the safeguarding of peace in Indo-China and the rest of Southeast Asia.

Prince Souphanouvong pointed out that the United States and the pro-U.S. party in Laos should be held fully responsible for all consequences arising from the April 19 Vientiane coup d'etat.

He said that this shameless rebellion was staged after General Phoumi Nosavan sabotaged the talks among the leaders of the three parties and after the SEATO aggressive military bloc held its meeting recently in Manila. This SEATO meeting was to step up the intervention and aggression of the United States and its agents in Laos, south Viet Nam and Cambodia.

The letter said: "The rebellion aroused great indignation among the entire Laotian people and the world public and met open opposition from many foreign governments and political circles in Vientiane. Under such circumstances, the coup group is trying to force Prince Souvanna Phouma to accept the participation of its leaders in the National Union Government or form a new government. The U.S. State Department declared that it is 'against' the coup d'etat, but meanwhile, it is spreading all kinds of reports in an attempt to water

down the serious character of the coup. At the same time, the Kouprasit-Siho group have continued to control the various government departments and the capital, Vientiane, and U.S. Ambassador Leonard Unger has meddled shamelessly in the internal affairs of the Laotian people. It is clear that the United States is playing the trick of 'thief crying catch thief.' However, it only served to unmask itself.

"The Laotian people had clearly known long ago that Kouprasit and Siho are the loyal agents of the U.S. imperialists and the right-hand men of General Phoumi Nosavan. Their doings have no other aim but to serve the U.S. imperialist policy of intervention and aggression in Laos."

The letter said: "In the past few years, the U.S. imperialists have stepped up their intervention in the internal affairs of the Laotian people, sabotaged peace and neutrality in Laos and tried to turn the country into a new-type colony and military base of the United States in Southeast Asia."

It declared: "No matter how cunning the United States might be in its manoeuvres, it certainly cannot cover up the truth that it is the real author of the tension in Laos and the coup d'etat of April 19, 1964."

The United States, the letter said, was attempting to introduce the ringleaders of the coup d'etat into the Laotian National Union Government so as to gradually liquidate this government or form a new one. It said: "This is an extremely dangerous step taken by the United States in its attempt to sabotage the tripartite Laotian National Union Government, the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos and other agreements reached by the three Laotian parties and the peace and neutrality of Laos."

It said: "At a time when the United States is working to intensify the activities of the SEATO aggressive military bloc and extend the war of aggression in south Viet Nam, when the Savannakhet clique is realizing a military alliance with the Nguyen Khanh Administration and the Khmer Sam Sary-Son Ngoc Thanh rebel

clique of Cambodia, the above-mentioned plan of the U.S. imperialists and their agents in Laos has confronted Laos with the danger of rekindling a nationwide civil war and at the same time seriously menaced peace and security of the people in the Indo-China peninsula and Southeast Asia."

It said: "The unchangeable policy of the Neo Lao Haksat consists of the correct implementation of the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos, the Zurich and Plain of Jars agreements and other tripartite agreements, the safeguarding of the tripartite National Union Government; the Neo Lao Haksat has decided not to recognize any change in this government. It will struggle unrelentingly for a peaceful, neutral, independent, unified and prosperous Laos."

"As Vice-Premier of the Laotian National Union Government and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, I once again condemn severely the U.S. policy of intervention and aggression and oppose the coup d'etat staged by the Kouprasit-Siho rebel group on April 19; I declare that the United States and the pro-U.S. party in Laos should be held fully responsible for all the consequences of this coup d'etat."

"I solemnly declare that the Laotian National Union Government is, at present, the only legitimate representative of the Kingdom of Laos. Because, it is formed with the unanimous agreement of the three political parties of Laos and officially empowered by His Majesty the King of Laos, and, this is the Government which signed the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos. No party and no force can wilfully change the character, structure, composition and the political programme of this Government. I demand that the normal functioning of the tripartite National Union Government presided over by Prince Souvanna Phouma be resumed with the unanimity of views of the three parties and that it should have full guarantees for its efforts to realize its political programme. I demand that the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos be correctly implemented by all signatories so that Laos can proceed along the path of genuine peace and neutrality."

Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Reply To the Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen's Message

Following is the full text of Foreign Minister Chen Yi's reply of May 13, 1964, to the message of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. — Ed.

THE Chinese Government has received the Co-Chairmen's message of May 1, 1964, addressed to the leaders of the three political groups in Laos and the

Governments of the participants of the Geneva conference. In that message, the Co-Chairmen decisively condemned the act of staging a military coup d'etat in Vientiane for the purpose of overthrowing the Laotian Government of National Union, which was designed to undermine the Geneva agreements, expressed the hope for an immediate end to the illegal activities against

the Geneva agreements and the Laotian Government of National Union, and advocated the resumption of the tripartite negotiations begun in the Plain of Jars and elimination of all obstacles to the normal fulfilment of its functions by the Government of National Union. The Chinese Government approves of and supports the above stand taken by the Co-Chairmen.

More and more facts show that the coup d'etat in Vientiane and the subsequent series of scheming activities carried out by the Savannakhet clique to reorganize the Laotian Government of National Union have both been engineered with the careful planning of the United States. Even in its official statements, the United States did not conceal its sympathy for and appreciation of the rebels in Laos. Encouraged and supported by the United States, the Savannakhet clique in Laos has now become even more unbridled in its arrogance. It continues to hold Prince Souvanna Phouma under duress and put Vientiane under its armed control, and is accelerating its plan to reorganize and enlarge the Government in an attempt to annex the neutralists and ostracize the patriotic forces of Laos. The Savannakhet clique has even clamoured for a government of two groups, from which the Neo Lao Haksat would be excluded. Obviously, the United States is directing the Savannakhet clique to endeavour to completely undermine the Laotian Government of National Union, rekindle the flames of civil war in Laos and create the division of Laos.

The Laotian Government of National Union is a result of long consultations among the three political forces in Laos. In the agreements reached by the three groups in Laos, the nature and structure of the Government of National Union, and the proportion of its members as divided among the three groups, have been explicitly defined. The Government not only has been formally invested by the King of Laos but has been solemnly guaranteed by the participants of the Geneva conference. The Laotian Government of National Union and its political programme demonstrate the unity and co-operation of the three political forces in Laos, they constitute the sure guarantee of the peace and neutrality of Laos and also the basis of the agreements reached at the 1962 Geneva Conference. Therefore, to uphold the Laotian Government of National Union which is composed of the three political forces

is the common responsibility of the three Laotian groups and the participants of the Geneva conference. Any one-sided change in the status quo and composition of the Government of National Union is a direct violation of the tripartite agreements and the Geneva agreements and is absolutely intolerable.

The Chinese Government deems it necessary to point out here the gravity of the present situation in Laos and the whole of Indo-China. The United States is doing its utmost to extend its aggressive war in southern Viet Nam with the attempt of dragging armed forces of the SEATO and NATO members, of Japan and of the Chiang Kai-shek clique into southern Viet Nam for new adventures. The aim of the United States in engineering the military coup d'etat in Vientiane and accelerating activities undermining the Government of National Union is to tighten its control on Laos, change the neutral status of Laos and instigate a civil war in Laos in support of its plan of extending its aggressive war in southern Viet Nam. Should the United States succeed in its schemes in Laos, the peace of the whole of Indo-China and Southeast Asia would be seriously jeopardized. In the face of such a situation, the Chinese Government cannot but give consideration to its obligation in upholding the Geneva agreements and preserving the peace of Indo-China.

The Chinese Government reiterates that the only way to resolve the present tension in Laos is immediately to stop the criminal activities of the United States and the Savannakhet clique violating the Geneva agreements and upsetting the Laotian Government of National Union, dissolve the coup d'etat clique which is even now in control of Vientiane, punish the chief rebels, eliminate all the evil effects and influence of the coup d'etat, resume the talks of the leaders of the three groups in the Plain of Jars, neutralize Luang Prabang and Vientiane so as to create conditions for the normal functioning of the Government of National Union. If all this should be rendered impossible by U.S. obstruction, thus leading to the continued deterioration of the Laotian situation, the Chinese Government would ask the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference seriously to consider the proposal put forward by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, to reconvene the Geneva conference so that the countries concerned could jointly discuss the ways and methods to eliminate the tension in Laos and Indo-China.

Halt the Dangerous Turn in Laos

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of May 13 entitled "Check the Dangerous Development of the Laotian Situation." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

MORE than 20 days have passed since the United States engineered the military coup in Vientiane. The situation is growing more and more serious and

the truth clearer. From behind the scenes Phoumi Nosavan has emerged, openly clamouring for a "re-organization and enlargement" of the government and the "unconditional dissolution of the Neo Lao Haksat." Many Thai troops have crossed into Laos and are grouped near Vientiane. The situation in Laos has become most dangerous.

It is also known that even while masterminding the coup in Laos, the United States has been stepping up its efforts to extend its "special war" in south Viet Nam. Rusk and McNamara are running all over the place trying hard to get SEATO and NATO countries, Japan, and even the Chiang Kai-shek clique into their dirty game and take part in U.S. aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam.

New U.S. Adventure in Indo-China

It is all too clear that U.S. imperialism is playing a criminal game in Laos designed to overthrow the Laotian National Union Government and totally scrap the agreements reached unanimously by the three sides in Laos and the 1962 Geneva agreements. By thus creating confusion in Laos while extending its aggressive war against south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism hopes to push forward its new adventurous scheme in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

This development in Laos cannot but cause serious concern to all peace-loving countries and peoples. One and all they condemn the criminal activities of U.S. imperialism and its stooges, and indicate a firm resolve to uphold the 1962 Geneva agreements and the National Union Government and to safeguard peace in Laos and Indo-China. In their letter of May 1, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference also indicated their grave concern over the current situation and denounced "the Vientiane coup "to overthrow the Laotian coalition government" as "an act in contravention of the Geneva agreements."

In the last 20 days and more, U.S. imperialism and the Right-wing military clique in Laos have used all sorts of tricks on Prince Souvanna Phouma, putting him under duress and then turning him loose, to carry through their plot to overthrow the Laotian National Union Government. At first they put him under house arrest and declared that he had been removed from the premiership. When this met with strong opposition from Laotian patriotic forces and from all over the world, they "reinstated" Prince Souvanna Phouma, and declared that they had turned all their armed forces over to him and that the Laotian Right-wing clique had been "dissolved" and had "disappeared."

Turning Power Over to Phouma: A Fraud

How can such a weird thing happen? A reactionary political clique stages a military coup and uses force to coerce others to take over its own troops and make itself "disappear!"

How can such a weird thing happen? A bunch of warlords, who having made good by force of arms, who raised and expanded its armed forces for many years and furthermore introduced foreign troops into the country, now suddenly wants to hand over its forces!

This could well be a page from *The Arabian Nights*, a tale that can only make one snigger.

The story spread by the Laotian Right-wing to the effect that it has turned power over to Prince Sou-

vanna Phouma and has joined the neutralists is a cheap fraud.

Has the Laotian Right-wing really turned over its power to Prince Souvanna Phouma? Everyone knows that the rebel clique which staged the military coup still controls Vientiane and is becoming increasingly arrogant. This clique publicly declared that "the Revolutionary Committee has empowered Prince Souvanna Phouma to reorganize the Laotian National Government" and that it "will continue to supervise the policies pursued by the Government." Has the military clique usurped power, or has it handed over power? The answer is crystal clear.

Is it true that the Laotian Right-wing has placed its troops under Prince Souvanna Phouma? Everyone knows that Prince Phouma's bodyguards were disarmed and driven out of Vientiane. General Kong Le, commander of Phouma's troops, has been relieved of his post and down-graded to so-called "commander of the Plain of Jars sector." He and his troops have been put under the command of the Right-wing officer Ouane Ratkone. Is Prince Phouma in command of the Right-wing troops or has the Laotian Right-wing annexed the neutralists' armed forces? The answer, too, is crystal clear.

Attempt to Create a Puppet Regime

The plain fact is: Far from "disappearing," the Laotian Right-wing, in the name of "reorganizing and enlarging the Government," is trying to adulterate the composition of the National Union Government, formed according to the Zurich and the Plain of Jars agreements, make it "disappear" and put in its place a pro-U.S. puppet regime entirely under its thumb. Phoumi Nosavan has publicly declared that a new foreign minister shall be appointed and that people shall be chosen to take over the posts left vacant by the neutralist ministers and secretaries of state who were compelled to get away and leave Vientiane with the approval of Prime Minister Phouma. It was also indicated that others shall be appointed to usurp the powers of the Neo Lao Haksat cabinet ministers. Moreover, the Right-wing also intends to install four extra secretaries of state — for national defence, internal affairs, foreign affairs and finance — all to be held by Right-wing militarists and politicians with the lion's share going to the coupists so that the real power of this Government will be theirs. Besides they also have set up an "army reform committee" headed by Kouprasit Aphay, rebel ringleader, and in the name of "troop unification," are trying to merge with and eliminate the armed forces of the neutralists and the Neo Lao Haksat and turn all the Laotian forces into mercenaries of U.S. imperialism.

Wiping out the Laotian patriotic forces and making Laos a U.S. colony has been a long-standing sinister scheme of U.S. imperialism. To this end, it has directed the Laotian Right-wing to overthrow the Government headed by Prince Phouma three times and again and

again provoked civil war. It was only when it had been defeated on the battlefield that the United States was forced to agree to hold the Geneva conference in 1961. Then, at that conference Washington put forward the proposal of "supervising" Laotian neutrality and reorganizing the troops in a vain attempt to get at the conference table what it failed to get in the field.

Staging a Coup to Save Itself

Ever since the agreements were reached at Geneva the United States and the Savannakhet clique have been sparing no efforts in obstructing the implementation of the political programme of the Laotian National Union Government and the carrying through of the agreements reached by the three princes and the Geneva accords. They refused to put into practice the provision of the Geneva agreements on the withdrawal of foreign troops and continued to introduce them into Laos. With Vientiane, capital of the kingdom, completely controlled by Right-wing troops and the personal safety of the neutralist and Neo Lao Haksat ministers seriously threatened, the United States and its flunkies have also made it impossible for the National Union Government to function normally. They assassinated Foreign Minister Quinim Pholsena and compelled the neutralist and Neo Lao Haksat ministers to leave Vientiane, thus paralysing the National Union Government. Because the United States and the Savannakhet clique have never stopped waging attacks on the liberated areas controlled by the Pathet Lao Fighting Units and the armed forces of genuine neutralists, the Laotian situation has been kept in a state of prolonged tension.

All these moves, however, have developed exactly opposite to what U.S. imperialism and the Laotian Right-wing clique wished. The Neo Lao Haksat forces have grown in strength. The Laotian patriotic forces have become more closely united and the determination of the Laotian people to oppose U.S. intervention and realize peace, neutrality, independence, democracy and unification has become greater than ever.

At the same time U.S. imperialism finds its position greatly deteriorated in all of Indo-China. It has suffered serious defeats in its "special war" in south Viet Nam. A vigorous campaign against U.S. imperialist subversion and aggression has unfolded in the Kingdom of Cambodia. Beset by great difficulties and nearing the end of its tether, the Johnson Administration, while scheming to extend its aggressive war in south Viet Nam with still greater intensity, lost no time in staging a coup in Vientiane, fruitlessly attempting to isolate and wipe out the Laotian patriotic forces and extricate itself from its predicament in Laos and Indo-China.

Different Tactics This Time

This time U.S. imperialism and the Laotian Right-wing have used different tactics from before. They have kept Prince Souvanna Phouma under duress in order to push through their plans and create the false

impression that they are not attempting to topple the National Union Government but are strengthening it. This so-called merger of neutralist and Right-wing is nothing but a trick to pit the former against the Neo Lao Haksat, designed to disrupt the unity of patriotic Laotian forces. These clumsy tactics, however, can fool nobody. Such treachery will not succeed.

The Laotian National Union Government was formed by the three forces in Laos in accordance with the Zurich and Plain of Jars agreements. This Government also received international guarantees from all Geneva conference participants. U.S. imperialism and the Right-wing clique in Laos think that as long as they keep Prince Souvanna Phouma as premier in name, they can arbitrarily appoint or recall ministers and set up offices at will, and grab complete power. This is only wishful thinking. According to the Zurich and Plain of Jars agreements, any reshuffling or addition of ministers or secretaries of state without the agreement of the three sides is a breach of the political and organizational principles of the National Union Government, and is entirely illegal. How can a government in Vientiane "reorganized and enlarged" by the Right-wing be considered a National Union Government formed by the three Laotian forces after joint consultation? What judicial status can such a government have? After the Vientiane coup, the Neo Lao Haksat repeatedly declared that it resolutely opposed the "reorganization and enlargement" of the National Union Government. The neutralist Minister of Health Khamsouk Keola, Secretary of State for Veterans Huon Mongkhunvilay, supreme commander of the genuine neutralists Colonel Deuane, and representative of neutral forces in the northern region General Kham Ouane Boupha have all condemned the Right-wing clique's illegal overthrow of the National Union Government. Every move to usurp this Government by the Laotian Right-wing under the direction of the U.S. imperialists has not only met with firm opposition from the patriotic Laotian forces but is also absolutely not permitted by countries which steadfastly uphold the Geneva agreements.

U.S. Uses Neutralists as Cover

The hoax perpetrated by the Laotian Right-wing that it has merged its forces with those of the neutralists is a dastardly scheme. By a sleight of hand, the Right-wing has suddenly declared itself non-existent. It imagines that by voluntarily declaring itself "dissolved," it is no longer duty-bound to adhere to the various agreements reached by the three sides or the political programme of the National Union Government. Neither is it deemed necessary any more for important Laotian issues to be unanimously agreed upon by consultation between all sides. To put it more plainly, it can then tear up at will the various agreements reached by the three sides, including the Zurich and Plain of Jars agreements, and thereby completely throw out the political programme of the National Union Government. In this way, the Right-wing can use the neutralists to sabotage the independence, peace

and neutrality of Laos, and isolate and liquidate the Neo Lao Haksat.

Having announced the merger of neutralist and Right-wing forces, Phoumi Nosavan frenziedly called for the "unconditional dissolution of the Neo Lao Haksat." This has laid bare his base motives. As Prince Souphanouvong pointed out in his May 5 statement, "The so-called handing over of all Savannakhet forces to Prince Souvanna Phouma as announced by General Phoumi Nosavan and Prince Boun Oum was in fact an attempt to put the neutralist forces under the Savannakhet forces. This is an extremely evil scheme aimed at using the neutralists as a cover for rekindling war and undermining both the Neo Lao Haksat and the genuine neutralist forces. It is a highly dangerous scheme, extremely harmful to the neutralist forces."

The Laotian National Union Government was the fruit of struggle waged by the Neo Lao Haksat, the neutralists and all patriotic forces in Laos against U.S. imperialism and its henchmen. Its existence is an important guarantee for the preservation of Laotian national interests. Only by upholding the National Union Government and the tripartite agreements can the neutralists develop and play their rightful role in the political life of Laos. The history of Laos in the past decade has many times testified to this truth. This is being increasingly realized by the patriots among the Laotian neutralists who are striving to strengthen solidarity with the Neo Lao Haksat and are firmly opposed to the intrigues of the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian Right-wing to split the patriotic forces. Whoever falls into the U.S. imperialist trap and does not value or uphold the unity of the Laotian patriotic forces and the tripartite agreements and National Union Government will inevitably lose his place in Laotian political life.

Laos is faced with the threat of an all-out civil war as a result of the provocations by the U.S. imperialists and the Right-wing clique which are harmful

to Laotian national interests and seriously threaten peace in Indo-China and throughout Southeast Asia. All countries which participated in the Geneva conference of 1961-62 are duty-bound to curb the criminal activities of the U.S. imperialists and uphold the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos. In their May 1 letter, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference requested that the three sides in Laos and all conference participants "strictly adhere to the Geneva agreements," and hoped that "all obstacles would be removed in Laos to the normal discharge of its functions by the coalition government, that the tripartite talks in the Plain of Jars would be resumed."

China's Stand

The Chinese Government and people give full support to this appeal of the Co-Chairmen. We hold that to implement it immediate effective measures are necessary. First of all, the criminal activities of the United States and the Laotian Right-wing to sabotage the Geneva agreements and overthrow the National Union Government under the pretext of "reorganizing and enlarging" it must be curbed, the principal rebels must be punished, the coup junta in Laos must be disbanded, and the neutralization of Vientiane and Luang Prabang must be realized. The root cause of the reactionary coup and all its consequences and effects must be removed and conditions must be created for the normal functioning of the National Union Government. If, despite the opposition of the Laotian people and the peace-loving countries, and in disregard of the condemnation of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and fair-minded public opinion throughout the world, the U.S. imperialists and their followers continue their criminal activities, then it will be necessary to convene a meeting of the Geneva conference participants, as suggested by Cambodian Head of State Prince Sihanouk, to solve the question of Laos and all Indo-China.

People of the Congo (Leopoldville), Fight On!

Following is a translation of the May 6 "Renmin Ribao" editorial. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

**Not even a fire can destroy it all.
Grass shoots up again
When the spring breeze blows.**

—Pai Chu-yi (772-846)

THE struggle for national liberation flares anew in the Congo (Leopoldville) which has been overrun by U.S. imperialism.

The Congolese people started an armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in the latter part of January in the Kwilu area, east of Leopoldville and the uprising has evoked a widespread response. The patriotic people's armed forces have grown rapidly and have already brought large areas under their control. The struggle is gaining momentum and has spread in recent weeks to Kivu Province in the east and Kwango in the south.

The panic-stricken U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are calling in the military in an attempt to quench these flames with bloody repression. But they

are only adding fuel to the flames, for their brutal slaughter will arouse still stronger resistance among the Congolese people.

U.S. Imperialism Overruns the Congo

Only recall how the U.S. imperialists swaggered and blustered in 1960-61 over the success of their aggressive manoeuvres in the Congo. Kennedy, Rusk and company congratulated one another, asserting that "the Congo crisis is over," and that "the foundations have been laid for political stability." True, the Congolese revolution was for a while at a low ebb: the legitimate government was toppled, the Congo's independence strangled, and everything seemed to be petering out after the flare-up.

Nevertheless, the contradictions precipitating and igniting revolutionary struggles were neither resolved nor eased. Instead, they became more acute. Armed suppression and military occupation by the "United Nations force," armed clashes among the old and new colonialists for control of Katanga Province, exploitation of the Congolese people and the plunder of Congolese natural resources by the United States after it had got its teeth into the Congo, and the political sell-out by Congolese traitors . . . all these have worsened the national disaster in the Congo. Under such circumstances, it is inconceivable that the Congolese people should submit themselves docilely to U.S. imperialist enslavement. The flare-up of the armed struggle of the Congolese people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys signifies the advent of a new upsurge in the Congolese national-liberation movement.

The Congolese people's struggle for national liberation has progressed along a tortuous path. When they were fighting under the leadership of their great national leader Patrice Lumumba, against sanguinary suppression by the old Belgian colonialists and victory was in sight, the U.S. neo-colonialists, usurping the flag of the United Nations and in the name of "maintaining order," forced their way into the Congo and carried out armed intervention in this young independent country. Thus the Congo became the scene of a tragedy of "resisting the wolf at the front gate while the tiger entered by the back door." After murdering Lumumba, Premier of the legal Congolese Government, the U.S. imperialists imprisoned his successor, Antoine Gizenga, and left no stone unturned to stamp out the Congolese people's revolutionary struggle. The truculent intervention of U.S. imperialism caused serious setbacks to the national-independence movement in the Congo.

Modern Revisionists' Shameful Role

The modern revisionists played the role of accomplices in the U.S. imperialist crime of repressing the national-independence movement in the Congo. They

did their utmost to cover up the ferocious features of U.S. imperialism and stifle the Congolese people's will to fight. In the United Nations they voted for the resolution to send troops to intervene in the Congo and supplied planes to airlift the U.N. force to the Congo, which served the U.S. imperialist scheme of using the United Nations to invade that country. After Lumumba was murdered, they spread the illusion that victory could be won through the parliamentary road, pushing Gizenga into the snare set by U.S. imperialism. The modern revisionists can in no way shrug off their responsibility and must bear the blame for the setbacks suffered by the Congolese people in their fight for national independence.

Distinguishing Between Friends and Enemies

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that the question of primary importance in the revolution is to know who are your enemies and who are your friends. This is true on a national as well as international scale. The oppressed nations stand in danger of being deceived and foiled in the revolutionary struggle for national independence, if they fail to distinguish between friends and enemies. But enemies and friends cannot be distinguished at a glance. In the early years of his revolutionary career, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, forerunner of China's democratic revolution, tried to get an alliance with one imperialist country to oppose another. The net result was that the imperialist powers collaborated with each other to oppose the Chinese people and the revolution he led. After 40 years' experience, he arrived at the conclusion that to bring victory to the revolutionary struggle, it is necessary to "rally ourselves with those peoples of the world who treat us on a basis of equality," that is, to ally with those who are the reliable friends of the oppressed nations instead of pinning hopes on imperialism, their enemy. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people distinguished friends from enemies and united with their true friends to fight their real enemies. This was a most important factor contributing to the victory of the Chinese revolution.

The greatest gain of the Congolese people after more than three years of struggle is that they have at long last come to know who are their enemies, who are their friends, who are their true friends and who are false ones. U.S. imperialism is a hundred times more cunning than the old colonialists. To push ahead its neo-colonialist policy it has always dressed itself up as the protector of the oppressed nations. The modern revisionists have also tried by every deceptive means to win the confidence of the oppressed nations and peddle such prescriptions as "peaceful coexistence" to them so as to disintegrate and undermine the national-liberation struggle. The Congolese people have rich experience in struggling against the old Belgian colonialists, but they have had very few dealings with U.S. imperialism. It is only natural that they lack experience in struggling with the U.S. neo-colonialists.

As for distinguishing between true Marxist-Leninists and false ones, it is even more difficult. For this reason, it was unavoidable that the people of the Congo should be duped and taken in during the early period of their struggle. But reality has taught the advanced revolutionaries of the Congo how to distinguish between enemies and friends, and between true friends and false friends.

Armed Struggle: Way to National Independence

The Congolese people have not only realized that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the oppressed nations but have also dared to struggle against it. This is another gain of theirs in the struggle of the past three years and more.

U.S. imperialism is the No. 1 imperialist country. But the modern revisionists cry: "Would you provoke the Almighty?" This is the way they warn and try to scare others. However, the oppressed nations have gradually realized through struggle that U.S. imperialism is outwardly strong but actually feeble, that it is not so formidable as it appears and that it can certainly be defeated. The revolutionary cause of the oppressed nations will be promising if they can shake off their superstitious fear of U.S. imperialism, and dare to struggle against it. In Asia, the struggle of the people of south Viet Nam is a case in point; in Latin America, the struggle of the Cuban people is another. Now the Congolese people's struggle will furnish yet another proof in Africa.

The Congo was the first African region where U.S. imperialism launched armed aggression. Now it has become the first battlefield in Africa where armed struggle is being waged directly against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Revolutionary violence is the Congolese people's answer to the U.S. aggressors' counter-revolutionary violence. It is the U.S. imperialists that have compelled and, it may be said, taught the Congolese people to take up arms. Usurping the name of the United Nations, the United States has placed the Congo under military occupation and fostered and propped up a handful of national traitors such as Aoula and Mobutu to serve as its agents in ruling the Congo. In these circumstances, it is impossible for the Congo to achieve national liberation through so-called parliamentary struggle, but only through armed struggle. It will be recalled that in June 1963, the Congolese parliament, on the initiative of the nationalists, adopted a resolution urging the release of Gizenga. But the Aoula government completely ignored this resolution and in September of the same year, Kasavubu issued an order dissolving parliament. This is how realities have repeatedly taught the Congolese revolutionaries and the masses and made them understand that only by taking up arms and waging a resolute struggle can they throw out the U.S. aggressors, overthrow the puppet regime of the U.S. underlings and realize the desire of the Congo for national independence.

The Congolese people have displayed magnificent revolutionary courage in fighting with the most primitive weapons against U.S. imperialism armed with nuclear teeth and puppet troops equipped with modern weapons. The revolutionaries in the Congo are fighting against heavy odds, but this situation is bound to change and has, in fact, already begun to change. By despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically, by relying closely on the people, uniting all patriotic forces and following correct policies, the Congolese revolutionary armed forces will definitely grow in size and strength, change the balance of forces between the enemy and the revolutionaries and win final victory. Experience in the history of revolutions shows that the course of struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations is one of the "small" defeating the "big" and the "weak" defeating the "strong."

The Congolese people who failed to see clearly the nature of U.S. imperialism and who opposed it only in a general way have now seen through U.S. imperialism and taken up arms against it. This represents a leap forward in the national-independence movement in the Congo. After more than three years of struggle, the Congolese people's revolutionary experience has been greatly enriched.

Revolutionary Experiences: Positive and Negative

There are two kinds of revolutionary experiences. One is positive or successful experience; the other is negative or unsuccessful experience. To win victory in the revolution, positive experience alone is by no means enough. This is because positive experience often has to grow out of negative experience. In this sense, the factors of "success" are embodied in "failures." That is why people say: "Failure is the mother of success." The long path of the Chinese revolution is fraught with retrocessions and advances, successes and failures. In the history of the Chinese Communist Party, the error of the Right opportunist line occurred once and the error of the "Left" opportunist line three times. Both Rightist and "Leftist" errors brought heavy losses to the revolution in their time. But after overcoming these errors, we have gained both positive and negative experience. This acquisition of relatively comprehensive experience made it possible for us to wage successfully eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan and three years of the War of Liberation and victoriously push forward the revolution. While conditions in the Congo are different from those in China, one experience is common to both and that is, victory in the revolution requires both positive and negative experience.

Today, the revolutionaries of the Congo have found the correct path to victory for the revolution. Can we then draw the conclusion that henceforth all will be plain sailing for the cause of the Congolese revolution and no more setbacks will be encountered? No.

This is not the way things go. In a bitter revolutionary struggle, because of the unfavourable balance of forces, setbacks are sometimes not completely avoidable even with correct leadership and a correct line. Secondly, the revolution is a popular cause and the masses of people must liberate themselves. Therefore, the experience of a small number of advanced elements must be turned into the experience of the whole people. This takes time and even requires a payment of "tuition fees" in the form of big or small setbacks. Only when the revolutionary people have fully grasped this law and are mentally prepared will they be able to avoid becoming disappointed and pessimistic and losing their bearings in the face of setbacks and defeats. Instead, with full confidence, they will sum up their experiences and lessons, accumulate and build up strength and carry forward the struggle to a new upsurge until final victory is won.

The Congolese people's experience has immensely enriched the African people's revolutionary experience. The African people have already gained experience in struggle against old colonialism. Now they have the benefit of the Congolese people's experience of fighting against U.S. neo-colonialism. This will have a tremendous effect on the African people's fight against imperialism and for national independence and liberation.

The Congolese people's armed struggle arose under the inspiration and influence of the excellent situation in which the revolutionary struggles of the entire African people were surging forward day by day. The victorious advance of the struggle waged by the Congolese people in turn will give a mighty impetus to the revolutionary situation in the whole of Africa. This revolutionary situation, like a series of waves rising in

succession each one higher than the other, will push the African people's revolution to new heights.

Lumumba's Prophecy Will Come True

The great Congolese people are opening up a bright future for themselves by the fierce and relentless struggle they are waging, a struggle in which they are shedding their blood. In the letter written before his murder three years ago, the immortal Congolese national hero Lumumba declared with full confidence: "I have never doubted for a moment that the cause for which my colleagues and I have dedicated our lives will be crowned with victory. . . . The people of the Congo will not give up the fight until the colonialists and their mercenaries have disappeared from our country." Lumumba's prophecy is sure to come true. An independent new Congo, strong and prosperous, is sure to emerge on African soil.

The Chinese people have always staunchly supported the Congolese people's just struggle against imperialism and for national independence. The 650 million Chinese people are following with great elation the development of the Congolese people's armed struggle and are listening attentively to the battle cries coming from the jungles of the Congo. It is our firm belief that so long as the Congolese people unite as one, persevere in struggle, heighten their vigilance, constantly improve their skill in struggle and combat technique, and become adept in summing up their experience and lessons, they will succeed in driving U.S. imperialism out of the Congo and become the real masters of their beautiful and fertile land.

Fight on, Congolese people! Victory belongs to the people who dare to struggle and know how to fight!

Historic Significance of the Dien Bien Phu Victory

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of May 7. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

TODAY is the tenth anniversary of the great and significant victory which the people of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese People's Army (V.P.A.) gained at Dien Bien Phu. This was an important milestone in the national-liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people; it was also an epoch-making event in the history of the struggle for national liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world.

The victory at Dien Bien Phu, marking the final triumph of the Vietnamese people in their protracted war of resistance against the French, brought inde-

pendence and liberation to the northern part of Viet Nam. It smashed the U.S. imperialists' plot to extend the war in Indo-China. It led to the signing of the Geneva agreements in 1954 and restored peace to Viet Nam and to Indo-China as a whole. For imperialism it was an ignominious defeat in Asia after World War II. But it was a great victory not alone of the Vietnamese people but of all the oppressed peoples the world over.

As President Ho Chi Minh pointed out at the First Special Political Conference held in March this year: "The victory at Dien Bien Phu brought the protracted, heroic and arduous war of resistance waged by our people against French colonialist aggression and U.S. imperialist intervention to a glorious conclusion. This was a great victory of our people and also a victory

for all the oppressed nations in the world. The Dien Bien Phu victory made this truth of Marxism-Leninism in our time shine with even greater brilliance: imperialist wars of aggression are doomed to defeat; the people's revolutions for liberation are bound to triumph."

Inspiring Armed Struggle

The magnificent military achievement of the Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese People's Army, and the victorious experience gained, have become a tremendous inspiration to all the peoples of the world who are fighting imperialism and for national independence. Ten years have elapsed, but the very mention of the name of Dien Bien Phu still strikes terror into the hearts of the imperialist forces, while it gives boundless courage and confidence in victory to those who are dauntlessly fighting imperialism.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu has this far-reaching influence because it is a brilliant example of a revolutionary people triumphing over imperialism by taking the path of armed struggle.

By their stirring example the people of Viet Nam have proved the following: In face of armed aggression and armed repression by the imperialists, the way ahead for all oppressed nations striving for independence and liberation can only be, as the saying goes, to "do unto him (the imperialist) as he does unto others"; they can oppose armed counter-revolution only by armed revolution. History teaches that imperialism never gives up its positions of its own accord. Even when driven out of a country, it will try to make a comeback at the first opportunity. And when it does force its way back into a country again, no amount of kowtowing and supplication will drive it out again. For an oppressed nation there is only one way — take up arms and wage a determined struggle against the aggressor.

The people of Viet Nam have also proved by their experience that imperialism can be defeated. True, in the beginning when the Vietnamese people took up arms to fight the French aggressive forces backed by U.S. imperialism there was a gaping difference in the relative strength of the two opponents. But such a situation could be changed. As the struggle unfolded, the Vietnamese people waxed stronger day by day while the strength of imperialism waned until in the end a turning-point was reached at which the strong became the weak and the weak, the strong. The nature of the war determined the inevitability of this change.

Revisionists Cringe

Modern revisionists aver that with the appearance of rockets and nuclear weapons the concept of armed might must be examined anew. There are, they say, no longer any just wars as distinct from unjust wars. This is utter nonsense. A war waged by an oppressed nation against aggression and enslavement and for independence and liberation is always a just war, and

as such will win support and draw infinite strength from the masses. When the masses of the people make a common stand against the alien invader, imperialism becomes like a lone ship on an ocean. No matter how many hundreds of thousands or even millions of troops it hurls into the battle, in the end it will be swallowed up by the tempestuous seas. By attempting to obliterate the just nature of national-liberation wars the modern revisionists have tried to cover up their ugly characteristic of not wanting to support the revolutionary struggles waged by oppressed nations.

The victory at Dien Bien Phu furthermore gave vivid expression to the great revolutionary spirit of the Vietnamese people, who stood undaunted by the prospect of direct intervention by U.S. imperialism. It may be recalled that the Geneva conference was convened to discuss a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and the Indo-China question. While it was in session, the French troops in Viet Nam were already besieged by the Vietnamese People's Army at Dien Bien Phu and faced annihilation. At this juncture, the U.S. imperialists threatened, time and again, to take "joint action" to extend the war in Indo-China in an attempt to undermine the Geneva conference and rob the people of Viet Nam and Indo-China of their victory. What was the reaction of the Vietnamese people when confronted with such threats and blackmail? Far from being scared by this rabid hostility, they carried through their revolutionary war to the end with great heroism. They smashed the intrigues of U.S. imperialism for direct intervention and an extension of the war, won a great victory and thereby safeguarded peace in Indo-China.

To be afraid or not to be afraid of U.S. imperialism is a question which is posed before the peoples of all the world. U.S. imperialism believes that with its new-fangled weapons it is very strong and so in the years since World War II it has instigated wars and carried out armed intervention in place after place, threatening and trying to suppress revolutionary movements in many countries. The modern revisionists, cringing before the pressure of U.S. imperialism, have done their best to exaggerate the horrifying might of U.S. imperialism so as to frighten the people of these countries and sap their militant spirit in opposing U.S. imperialism, but many facts since World War II have proved that U.S. imperialism is nothing to be afraid of and that it can be defeated. The Korean people, unafraid of U.S. imperialism, won a great victory in the war to liberate their motherland. The Vietnamese people, unafraid of U.S. imperialism, crushed the U.S. imperialist plot to extend the war in Indo-China. The Cuban people, unafraid of U.S. imperialism, overthrew its running dog the Batista dictatorship and, moreover, have again and again defeated its aggressive acts and war threats.

Today, more and more revolutionary people in the world have grasped this truth. By not being afraid

of U.S. imperialism, which is the most vicious enemy of the world's revolutionary people, the oppressed peoples and nations can realize their hopes of victory for the revolution.

Revolutionary Spirit Inherited

The revolutionary spirit which the people of Viet Nam demonstrated in waging their courageous struggles has been inherited and developed by the people in south Viet Nam. Having failed to extend its aggressive war to the northern part of Viet Nam, the United States tried to intensify its aggression and intervention in the south. It tried in vain to intensify its enslavement of the people of south Viet Nam and turn that area into a base for attacking the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. It is experimenting with its "special warfare" in south Viet Nam from which it hopes to draw counter-revolutionary experience for suppressing national-liberation movements elsewhere. But the people of south Viet Nam with their glorious tradition of struggle will never allow U.S. imperialism to succeed in its schemes. Resolute in repulsing its armed aggression, they are dealing it blow after blow and at the same time smashing the frantic attacks of the puppet troops it maintains and grooms. This has knocked the bottom out of its aggressive plots in south Viet Nam and Indo-China. These successes of the people of south Viet Nam against the "special warfare" of the United States have inspired the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and have enriched

their experience in waging armed struggle. This is of very great significance.

Although its aggressive activities in south Viet Nam have been dealt a telling blow, the United States is far from being resigned to defeat. It is trying to drag some of its satellites in SEATO and the Chiang Kai-shek bandits into the same quagmire in order to extend its aggressive war there. It is certain that such panic efforts will only bring still more ignominious defeats to the U.S. aggressors.

There is only one way out for U.S. imperialism: that is the proposal for settling the south Viet Nam problem put forward by President Ho Chi Minh at the First Special Political Conference. If the Johnson Administration insists on going its own way the result can only be another Dien Bien Phu. There can be no other outcome.

In the ten years since the great victory of Dien Bien Phu changes have taken place in the international situation favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism. As mankind enters the second half of the twentieth century, it is no longer possible for imperialism to continue to maintain its colonial rule by fire and sword. By persisting in their struggle and carrying on the revolution to the end, the oppressed nations who are striving for independence and freedom can win just as great a victory as that won at Dien Bien Phu. They will finally boot out imperialism from their lands.

The Battle of Dien Bien Phu

TEN years ago, on May 7, at Dien Bien Phu, the heroic Vietnamese People's Army inflicted a crushing defeat on the French colonial forces backed by U.S. imperialism and so smashed their plans to extend the war in Indo-China. This victory made a decisive contribution to the success of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China.

In the winter of 1953 and the spring of 1954 the war situation in Viet Nam was characterized by the growing strength of the Vietnamese People's Army, built up in the course of seven years of resistance against French imperialism. It won one victory after another in the northern, middle and southern sectors of the front, and liberated most of the important cities in the northwest. As a result, the military initiative in northern Viet Nam was firmly in its hands. On the other hand, the French colonial forces were everywhere suffering reverses. In these circumstances, the United States and French colonialists decided on a desperate gamble to save themselves from utter defeat and put their biggest stake in the war on Dien Bien Phu.

The French command airlifted to Dien Bien Phu 13 battalions of troops, one-third of all its mobile forces in northern Viet Nam. This brought the French forces concentrated there to 21 battalions and more than a dozen companies. U.S. planes dropped 300-400 tons of U.S.-made arms and ammunition into encircled Dien Bien Phu every day. Washington and Paris boasted that Dien Bien Phu was an "aircraft carrier in the jungle."

The Vietnamese People's Army launched their attacks on Dien Bien Phu on March 13. The last French strongpoints fell on May 7. The French lost more than 16,000 troops in this debacle. The French commander and his whole command were taken prisoner.

With the liberation of Dien Bien Phu, the French invaders lost their last stronghold in the northwestern part of Viet Nam. On May 8, the day after their Dien Bien Phu defeat, the French delegates to the Geneva conference sat down at the conference table and began the negotiations that resulted in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China.

Thwart Manoeuvres to Split International Communist Movement

“Rodong Shinmoon,” organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party, published an editorial on April 19 roundly denouncing the modern revisionists for their recent violent attacks on those fraternal Parties which are upholding Marxism-Leninism and for their activities to split the world communist movement. Extracts from the editorial follow. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

ENTITLED “Thwart the Manoeuvres to Split the International Communist Movement,” the editorial said: “The international communist movement is faced with a great obstacle due to the activities of certain people who have sunk into the slough of revisionism.”

Machinations to Split Socialist Camp

“For several weeks,” it added, “certain people have been waging extensive campaigns through Party plenums, speeches and the press attacking fraternal Parties which are upholding the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

“They have called meetings of local Party organizations throughout the country attacking fraternal Parties almost every day and unceasingly slandering and vilifying the latter by all available propaganda media.

“They have gone to the extent of prattling about taking ‘collective measures’ for ostracizing a fraternal Party and a fraternal country from the socialist camp.

“This is an open machination to split the socialist camp. . . .

“It was they themselves who started the open polemics and kept attacking fraternal Parties while talking about stopping the open polemics. Yet they charge others who answer this attack with throwing out challenges, and they threaten to give the latter ‘the most resolute rebuff.’

“This calls to mind a thief crying ‘stop thief!’ This is an act for screening their own splitting activities and shifting responsibility on to others.

“To shift responsibility for the splitting activities on to others, to deck themselves out with hypocritical phrases about unity and solidarity and to go ahead

with mobilization work for splitting — this is precisely the true content of the campaign they are now waging.”

Korean Communists Put Up With What Was Unbearable

“We oppose split and earnestly desire unity,” the editorial stated.

“If certain people had not deliberately violated Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the jointly formulated Declaration and Statement, if they had not violated the norms of relationship among fraternal Parties and countries, such complicated phenomena as evidenced today would not have cropped up within the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

“When certain people started open polemics,” the editorial said, “we demanded an immediate end and opposed splitting activities to isolate and ostracize fraternal Parties.

“We have striven for an internal solution to the issues, putting up with what was unbearable, for the sake of unity of the socialist camp.

“If certain people had not acted differently from what they said, had not refused to resolve differences through comradely consultation on an equal footing, and refused to show humbleness before facts, the situation would have long been reversed, and the socialist camp and the international communist movement would have won ever greater victory.

“They, however, openly violated Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and spread wrong views and propositions and are continuously engaging in harmful activities.

“They have turned a deaf ear to the correct opinions of fraternal Parties. On the other hand, they have tried to impose their wrong views upon others, attack in every way and isolate and exclude class brothers who refuse to follow them and hold on to the revolutionary stand. They have done so in the past. They are still doing so now.

“Acting as if they would not be sorry to ostracize a few countries from the socialist camp, and even

extend differences to state relations, they did not hesitate unilaterally to scrap agreements with fraternal countries and sever diplomatic relations with one of them.

"They have gone so far as to make no distinction between revolutionary comrades and class enemies. They embellish imperialism, make unprincipled concessions to it, submit to it and show 'friendship' and 'goodwill' to it, while treating class brothers and revolutionary comrades like enemies, and taking outrageous actions against them.

"All Communists and the working class of the world are grieved by the fact that the socialist camp and the international communist movement have suffered serious harm owing to all these activities."

A Big Socialist Country Cannot Replace Socialist Camp

"The socialist camp is the great fruit of the bloody struggles of the international working class and the oppressed toiling masses over a long period.

"The socialist camp is the great revolutionary force of our times, an invincible bulwark of world peace and a reliable guarantee of victory for all progressive people.

"No single Party or country can trample on this precious fruit of victory. . . ."

"No one country, big as it may be, can take the place of the socialist camp. Moreover, no country can depart from Marxist-Leninist principles, and decide and dispose of questions related to the common interest at will, simply because it is a big country and has a long history of revolution.

"The anti-China campaign which has been whipped into a new frenzy recently and the noisy clamour about so-called 'collective measures' show that these people are sinking deeper into splittism," the editorial said.

"The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Republic are resolutely defending Marxist-Leninist principles, fighting against imperialism and actively supporting the revolutionary struggle of the world's people.

"This is why the imperialists and international reactionary forces, with rankling hatred, are feverishly trying to impair the prestige of China and isolate her.

"Nevertheless, some people, dancing to this tune, are abusing and attacking China as 'bellicose elements,' 'Trotskyites,' 'splittists' and so on.

"It is dangerous beyond measure for those who profess themselves Communists to team up with the

imperialists in violently attacking, and attempting to isolate and ostracize China.

"Trying to isolate China comprising two-thirds of the socialist camp's population in fact means breaking up the socialist camp. No one can talk about unity of the socialist camp while trying to isolate and exclude China.

"This applies not only to big but also to small countries.

"It is impermissible to ostracize a country from the socialist camp, no matter how small it is. . . ."

"It is quite clear that if things develop in such a way that one country was isolated and excluded from the socialist camp yesterday, another today and yet another tomorrow, this will in the long run tear asunder the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

"In particular, to attempt to isolate and exclude the fraternal Parties which are defending Marxist-Leninist principles, while forcing wrong actions upon others is to enervate and ruin the socialist camp, the base of world revolution, and disrupt the international communist movement."

The editorial condemned those who were engaged in splitting machinations, imposed their will on others, described the Party congress of an individual country as the opening of a "new stage" in the international communist movement and insisted that all should accept its resolution and abide by it.

International Sectarianism Under Cloak of Opposing "Personality Cult"

"Carrying with them the label of opposing the 'personality cult,'" it went on to say, "these people have been persecuting and attacking those who remain faithful to Marxist-Leninist principles, and interfering in the internal affairs of fraternal Parties and fraternal countries, while inciting anti-Party sectarian elements in these countries to split fraternal Parties and subvert the leadership of fraternal countries.

"This is the vilest act of international sectarianism. The label of opposing the 'personality cult' has become their notorious medium in assailing the people who do not follow them. . . ."

"Some people, while themselves committing such vicious international sectarian and subversive activities, are brazenly trying to reverse the fact and blame others, accusing them of 'splitting activities.'

"All these methods and acts which are inconceivable to the Communists, in the final analysis, only reveal their own political and moral bankruptcy.

"At the same time," the editorial said, "they are opposed to the Parties and people of fraternal coun-

tries building an independent national economy with their own strength.

"They are attempting to control and dominate economic construction in other countries under the cloak of a so-called 'economic integration.'

"This is to ignore others' sovereignty and an attempt to arrogate in every possible way to oneself all the advantages of the socialist camp and to reduce the economy of other countries to the status of an appendage. It is a manifestation of typical national egoism."

Big-Power Chauvinism Against Class Solidarity

"Those who persist in splitting machinations," the editorial added, "are departing farther and farther from the internationalist stand and are undermining the international solidarity of the working class and the solidarity of the international working class with the oppressed nations.

"Certain people," it said, "have grown so overbearing as to assert that the Parties in Asia are not capable of acting independently due to a 'lack of experience'; they even brand as 'politically immature' and 'unsound elements' the people who are adhering to revolutionary principles as well as the revolutionary fighters who are shedding their blood in the battle against imperialism.

"They know nothing but to boast of their own revolutionary tradition and experience; they maintain that the Parties in Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot lead the revolution correctly because they have a small-size working class and that even if they win victory in their revolution, they will find it difficult to hold on to it.

"This is an act of big-power chauvinism in disdain and insulting others and disrupting class solidarity.

"We respect the revolutionary tradition and experience of fraternal Parties.

"But what is important is not the boasting of the past but who is struggling correctly for the revolution at present.

"One cannot vindicate oneself by boasting of one's revolutionary tradition while deviating from the revolutionary stand at present.

"These people," the editorial said, "vilify the revolutionary struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples as a sort of 'adventurist petty-bourgeois movement'

"Certain persons even malign the peoples in these areas, saying that for them to unite and combat imperialism is to oppose the working people of the European capitalist countries.

"This cannot but be regarded as an attempt to fan nationalist sentiments and sow the seeds of discord among the working people.

"It is indeed surprising to hear from those styling themselves Communists the same rigmarole made by the imperialists in their attempt to sow discord between the working class of capitalist countries and the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

"Such erroneous actions in the ranks of the communist movement cannot be permitted but must be eliminated."

The Sacred Task Before Communists

"Today," the editorial said, "when the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement is placed in danger owing to certain people, the Communists of the world and the international working class have before them the sacred task to wage vigorous struggles to defend unity for the victory of the international communist movement. . . .

"Today, the struggle against the splitting activities of certain persons is not confined to individual Parties but is a question concerning the Parties and Communists of all countries the world over."

The editorial went on: "It is of paramount importance for all Communists to take a clear stand in the interest of the communist movement and maintain their independent character.

"We consider that all Communists in the world, mindful of their heavy responsibility for the lofty cause of the working class, should observe the present situation with presence of mind, make distinction between right and wrong on the basis of facts and decide their correct stand after seriously considering the matter."

Centralism Is Inapplicable to Relations Among Fraternal Parties

The editorial pointed out that "now certain people, abusing the established authority of their Party, are trying hard to force others to follow their splitting activities and scrape together supporters.

"To force other people to follow their incorrect deeds and spurn the Parties disobeying their will, they are harping on the majority and minority and demanding the application of the principles and discipline of centralism to the international communist movement. They are also talking about measures for creating a certain organization to put their idea into effect.

"This is an idea which was already rejected at the meetings of fraternal Parties and went bankrupt.

"There is no room for such relationship between a superior and subordinates in the ranks of the communist movement, a relationship in which one issues

orders and controls others from a central post while others obey him and execute his orders; no will of a mechanical majority can be imposed upon others.

"The principle of centralism is a norm applicable to life within each individual Party. This principle cannot be applied to relations among fraternal Parties.

"To prattle about the principle of centralism is meant, in the final analysis, to lead the differences of views to an organizational split and bring into full play big-power haughtiness and arbitrariness, making oneself the holder of the central post."

A Party Should Not Submit to External Pressure

The editorial declared: "If a Party sets store by unity and the socialist cause, it should not submit to external pressure and give up its independence and blindly follow another Party.

"To speak and act as others do without a sense of independence on one's own part will not help strengthen the unity of the communist movement; nor does it mean loyalty to internationalism. On the contrary, it would cause losses to the revolutionary work of their own people and the international working class and weaken the genuine internationalist unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

"The differences in the international communist movement," the editorial said, "have now developed into those of principles affecting the destiny of the socialist camp and international communist movement. These differences involve the fundamental questions of revolution and the comprehensive questions of socialism, democracy, national independence and peace, and not simply the question of methods of struggle in the international communist movement.

"The revisionists continue to try to create confusion and split in the ranks of the international communist movement. They disgrace socialism and impair the prestige of the socialist camp everywhere and try to demolish the great position built over a long period by the working class of the whole world at the cost of their sweat and blood."

Struggle Against Revisionism to Ensure Genuine Unity

"Without the struggle against revisionism, the purity of Marxism-Leninism cannot be safeguarded; nor can genuine unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement be ensured.

"At the same time, big-power chauvinism which imposes revisionism upon others and indulges in high-handedness must be flatly rejected.

"In order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and strengthen the genuine unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, sincere criticism should be extensively unfolded within the ranks of the communist movement.

"Criticism should be freely conducted on the basis of facts, in a fair way and on an equal footing; it should be conducted from a principled, comradely stand.

"The erroneous practice of carrying on polemics one-sidedly and making groundless attacks on others while trying to isolate and ostracize the latter and suppress their correct opinion must not be permitted."

Fraternal Parties' Meeting Must Not Serve as a Tool for Split

The editorial declared: "We deem it necessary to convene an international meeting of fraternal Parties for the solution of the differences within the international communist movement.

"However, the international meeting of fraternal Parties can succeed only when it is held on the basis of the principles of independence, equality and comradely consultation and after full preparations have been made.

"If an international meeting takes place in which 'necessary ways and means' will be adopted against others, as certain people are now threatening in advance, it will only serve as a tool for a split.

"If those people who have departed from the road of revolution and are bent on creating a split in the socialist camp continue their treachery to the international working class, they will have to bear the grave responsibility for the consequences arising therefrom."

The editorial said that Marxist-Leninist parties and Communists must staunchly safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. "They must firmly unite with the world's revolutionary peoples and carry the revolution through to the end."

Concluding, the editorial said: "The Korean Communists have persistently opposed revisionism under all complicated circumstances and have abided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"As in the past, our Party will remain faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and Statement of the meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties and will indomitably fight against imperialism and revisionism and for the defence of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement."

Revisionist Line of Colombian C.P. Leadership Denounced

MARXIST-LENINIST members of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Colombia have condemned the leading group of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia for leading the Youth Union along revisionist lines. The condemnation was voiced at the fifth plenary session of the Union's Central Committee, held in Bogota in February this year. A split took place at the session, and so the Marxist-Leninist members held a meeting and established the Colombian Communist Youth Union.

They adopted a resolution at the meeting condemning the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia for its Rightist revision of Marxist-Leninist principles. It, the resolution said, did not take the seizure of power as the fundamental strategic objective, distorted realities in the country, created illusions, conjured up possibilities for improved living standards for the masses under bourgeois rule, and adopted economist and reformist policies in the proletarian struggle.

The resolution called on Colombian youth to wage a revolutionary struggle, so as to seize power through a patriotic, anti-imperialist popular revolution and

advance to socialism. Preparatory and organizational work should be done to lead the toiling masses to their fundamental objective — the seizure of power.

The resolution said that certain people were resorting to tactics incompatible with a revolutionary organization, such as persistent sabotage of internal democracy and democratic centralism, spreading lies and slanders, and informing against others, all for the purpose of hampering the development of the Communist Youth Union.

The meeting also decided to put an end to the inquisitional methods imposed by the leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia. The resolution said that such measures prevented the membership from studying freely different views on the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement. The restrictions were designed to obstruct the development of ideas and the ideological struggle, and to prevent necessary debates within the Party and the Union on the revisionist and tailist lines followed by their leaders. All this made it impossible to help resolve these differences in the best way on the basis of respecting the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Road for Educated Youth

To Become One With the Workers And Peasants

On May 4 "Renmin Ribao" published an editorial marking the 45th anniversary of the May 4 Movement of 1919 and the 25th anniversary of the publication of the two articles by Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "The May 4 Movement" and "The Orientation of the Youth Movement." Extracts from the editorial which was entitled "Educated Youth Should Become One With the Worker and Peasant Masses" are given below. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a high evaluation of the role Chinese young people had played in the revolution since the May 4 Movement. He said that, standing in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people,

Chinese youth had in a way played the role of the vanguard and was an important front army. He also pointed out however that the main forces of the revolution were the broad masses of workers and peasants and that victory could not be achieved by relying only on the young intellectuals and students. To these latter he said: "Young intellectuals and students of the whole country must be united with the broad masses of workers and peasants and become one with them, so that a powerful contingent can be formed." This call, shining ever more brightly as time goes on, has lit up the road ahead for our youth.

After China achieved victory in the New-Democratic Revolution and entered the era of socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Tse-tung urged young

people "to become cultured labourers possessing socialist consciousness."

We are glad to see that a new generation of young people is growing up well in New China. They have a deep love for the Communist Party, the people and the socialist motherland. The teaching of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that educated youth should identify themselves with the workers and peasants has inspired large numbers to join the ranks of the labouring people. Tens of thousands of students, understanding the important role of agriculture in developing the national economy and understanding also that it is a glorious task to share in the work of ridding the countryside of its backwardness, have gone to the agricultural front with their minds made up to become China's first generation of new-type peasants, both armed with culture and science and versed in the use of traditional farm tools and modern machinery.

A Historic Mission

Every generation has its own historic mission. That of the present younger generation, apart from striving continuously on the basis of work done by the older generation to carry the revolution to the end, to uproot imperialism and capitalism, is to do away with our economic and cultural backwardness. Our country needs our young people to play an active part in the three revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production, and of scientific experimentation in order to build China into a powerful socialist country with a modern agriculture, a modern industry, a modern national defence and a modern science and technology.

Looking down upon physical labour is a characteristic common to all exploiting classes. Exploiters as a rule do not engage in physical labour but depend on the labour of others for their living. They hold the labouring people in contempt and to safeguard their own interests, do their utmost to make distinctions between labour by the brain and labour by the hand.

The proletariat and revolutionary people on the contrary have always respected and loved labour. They are opposed to the idea and practice of scorning labour in the quest for an easy life. In our socialist construction, the greatest amount of the labour is agricultural and industrial labour. And be it agricultural or industrial, the greatest part of it is physical labour. Labour is, in short, the basis for man's social existence and the foundation of scientific and cultural progress. Building socialism and communism is the greatest and most arduous task in the history of mankind. It can only be accomplished by labouring people with well-developed political consciousness and high scientific and cultural levels. Our ultimate goal is to eliminate the differences between mental and physical labour.

To fulfil this glorious task dictated by history, the younger generation must temper themselves until they

become cultured labouring people with socialist consciousness.

During the present historical period, the motherland and the Party have a particular need for young students on completion of their studies to work together with the peasants to raise the rural areas from their backward state and build a new socialist countryside. Educated youth who settle down for good in the villages have the dual task of making themselves labourers and helping to make peasants intellectuals.

Changing the Countryside

In the rural areas there is plenty of room for the educated youth to foster revolutionary qualities in a practical way in the class and production struggles. By taking part in these side by side with the labouring people, they can themselves constantly raise their own socialist consciousness and gradually develop the thoughts and feelings of the labouring people. Only when their sweat drips on to the fields can they personally realize that it is not easy to get a grain of rice or a boll of cotton. In battling nature in strong winds, torrential rain, scorching sun and bitter cold, they can cultivate a firm and indomitable will. And by struggling, working and living day in and day out with the labouring people they can foster the latter's inherent class feelings and noble qualities. In the course of sustained practice, the young people can learn the know-how of waging class struggle and the battle for production.

Educated youth going to the country also shoulder the glorious task of spreading scientific and cultural knowledge, propagating the Party's policies and popularizing new techniques. The broad masses of labouring people who have been freed from enslavement and humiliation in the old society urgently need, while actively working for the development of production, to raise their cultural level, so as to master scientific knowledge and new techniques and raise their political consciousness. That is why the young intellectuals who have gone to the fields and hills, apart from doing a good job in physical labour and scientific experimentation, should also be good at propaganda and educational work. They must acquaint the peasants with the Party's policies, with revolutionary history, the current situation both at home and abroad and scientific knowledge, and at the same time help them to learn to read and write, to pay attention to hygiene and to break down superstitions. When the broad masses of peasants have attained a still higher political level, become cultured, and have mastered up-to-date techniques, the modernization of agriculture will be accomplished, and the face of the countryside drastically changed, more quickly.

It is a law of nature for the older generation to be succeeded by the younger. Lenin said: "It is precisely the youth who will be faced with the real task of creating a communist society. For it is clear that the

generation of workers that was brought up in capitalist society can, at best, accomplish the task of destroying the foundations of the old, capitalist social life, which was built on exploitation. At best it can accomplish the task of creating a social system that would help the proletariat and the toiling classes to retain power and to lay a firm foundation, on which only the generation that is starting to work under the new conditions, in a situation in which exploiting relations between men no longer exist, can build.”*

Backbone of Socialist Construction

The important task confronting our Party and Communist Youth League is to adhere to the socialist and communist orientation in training the successors of those building socialism and communism. We must actively guide and support the educated youth to take part in labour and go to the agricultural front. The new type successors we want to train are a new generation of working people who are highly socialist-minded with a good mastery of modern science and culture. They will not only become the backbone of our socialist construction and the cadres leading production and class struggles at the grass-root level, but will also be an inexhaustible reservoir which will provide

*“The Tasks of the Youth League,” *Selected Works*, in two volumes, Volume II, Part 2, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, p.474.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5)

the conviction that Sino-Japanese trade had a bright future. Others looked forward to the speedy normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations. Many visitors wrote how impressed they were by China's rapid industrial growth, others expressed admiration for the great progress made by China and said that they saw in the exhibition the real image of New China.

Recent Anti-China Statements by C.P.S.U. Leadership

On May 8 *Renmin Ribao* devoted three pages to reports of anti-China statements made recently by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These statements were grouped under three headlines: “Anti-China Meetings Held by C.P.S.U. Organizations at All Levels,” “Soviet Press Prints One Article After Another Attacking China” and “Anti-China Speech by Y.V. Andropov at the Moscow Meet-

ing Commemorating the Anniversary of Lenin's Birth.”

talented people to be the mainstays on other jobs and to hold leading posts at all levels.

The educated youth have many merits: they have scientific and cultural knowledge and are diligent in study; they are less conservative and can easily accept new ideas; they are enthusiastic, daring and full of vigour and vitality. However they have some weaknesses: they have not undergone tempering in life; they lack political experience and have ideological inclinations towards subjectivism and individualism. We must also be aware of the fact that the old ideas and habits despising physical labour, a product of the old society, cannot be done away with in a short period of time. When educated youth shed their student's dress and don working people's clothes to take part in labour, especially agricultural work, the vestiges of old ideas and force of habit are bound to influence them, to make them waver and even retard their progress. Therefore, bearing in mind the characteristics of the educated youth, the Party and the Youth League organizations at different levels must strengthen their political and ideological leadership over the school leavers who start work, show keen concern for them, and help them patiently.

To mark the May 4 Youth Day, all youth must firmly bear in mind Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings, continue to study his works conscientiously and persist in taking the road of being one with the peasants and workers. This is the road leading to the bright future.

ing Commemorating the Anniversary of Lenin's Birth.”

The first group includes ten round-up reports about all kinds of anti-China meetings held in various parts of the Soviet Union and reported by TASS and *Pravda*. They show that, following publication of the anti-China report and resolution at the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on April 3, the C.P.S.U. leadership has mobilized the central committees of the C.P. in the various Soviet Republics, the Party committees in the border territories and regions and Party organizations in the major cities to hold anti-China meetings. The C.P.S.U. leaders attended these meetings at various places and fanned up the anti-China campaign with reports or speeches on the anti-China documents adopted at the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. It was reported that nearly all these meetings followed the same pattern of adopting resolutions expressing “unanimous and full support” for the resolution of the February Plenum

and “supporting” the “political activities and practical work” of the C.P.S.U. leadership.

The second group of anti-China statements carried in *Renmin Ribao* quotes excerpts of attacks on China contained in the 19 editorials, articles by the editorial departments and signed articles published by the Soviet papers *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and the journals *Communist* and *Party Life*. These editorials and articles repeat the shop-worn anti-China statements of the C.P.S.U. leaders, slandering the correct stand of the Chinese Communist Party on important questions in the present international situation and the international communist movement, attacking Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people of all nationalities, and his thinking and attacking the Chinese people's socialist construction.

Renmin Ribao also printed detailed excerpts from the report of Andropov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., at a meeting in Moscow marking the anniversary of Lenin's birth.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. in S. Viet Nam

Searching for Company

Like a drowning man, U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam is clutching at straws and trying desperately to drag others into the whirlpool.

Following the recent Manila meeting, during which Washington sought to embroil its SEATO junior partners in its own losing dirty war, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk was in Taipei to get the Chiang Kai-shek remnants into the fray and is now in Europe pressing its NATO allies to give "the varieties of help which are needed in many fields" in south Viet Nam. What these "varieties of help" meant was spelt out in Washington by his aide William Bundy who said that the United States would like to see more "combat units" and "economic assistance" for Saigon.

McNamara, meanwhile, is making another trip to south Viet Nam. He is going there for the fourth time in eight months to find out why the "pacification plan" worked out jointly by him and lapdog Nguyen Khanh in March has turned out to be just as much a flop as its predecessor the "Staley-Taylor Plan."

The gentlemen from Washington are just like ants on a hot griddle, running around but getting nowhere. Mourns the *U.S. News and World Report*, "War in south Viet Nam again seems to be going worse for the U.S. than expected. U.S. battle casualties — killed, wounded, missing — are running about 80 per cent higher than last year. . . . The U.S., it turns out, is left to carry the ball in south Viet Nam alone. Allies shy away from military aid, talk in general terms of economic aid some day. France, at Manila, even refused moral support."

Kennedy Round

U.S. Concedes Point

Despite months of heavy skirmishing before the real engagement started at Geneva the United States

has failed to soften up its protagonist. When GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) countries met for the tariff-cutting negotiations last week, they became bogged down within hours of the opening.

Known as the Kennedy round, these talks were proposed in 1962 by the late American President as Washington's counter to the growing economic might of the Common Market which was threatening the leading position of the United States in the capitalist world. The Common Market countries have done away with tariffs on each other's goods but maintain a protective tariff wall against outsiders. The United States, hoping to breach this wall, proposed that tariffs on both sides of the Atlantic be reduced.

At Geneva, France refused to accept a flat 50 per cent cut in tariffs on all goods moving between the GATT nations as suggested by the United States. It objected to making the 50 per cent target a working rule and countered with a proposal that it be only a "working hypothesis." The five other Common Market countries went along with France.

So rather than have a deadlock on their hands at the beginning, the United States, Britain and the other E.F.T.A. (European Free Trade Association) countries were obliged to agree to the amendment of the Common Market.

On the surface the American proposal sounded fair enough. But the flat cuts, if adopted, would work to Wall Street's advantage, for on an average the American tariff rates are much higher than those of the Common Market countries. Equal percentage reductions would not change the relative position of the United States and the European countries and would make it easy for American manufacturers to dump their goods in Europe.

Commenting on the American tactics, *La Nation*, organ of the Union for the New Republic, declared on May 6 that it was "American super-protectionism" that formed the chief obstacle to the tariff talks.

Other French papers wrote in much the same vein, attacking the United States for trying to get an unfair advantage.

New York and Sydney

Protests Against Racism

Two thousand university students demonstrated in Sydney last week against racial discrimination in the United States. They burnt an oil-soaked cross outside the American consulate and clashed with the police who tried to stop them. The demonstrators, including many girl students, sang protest songs before setting the cross ablaze. They distributed pamphlets denouncing the segregation practices which condemn the Negro people to second-class citizenship in the United States.

Notwithstanding the electioneering demagoguery of the Johnson Administration, racialism has not abated in the United States. Even if the much-heralded "civil rights bill" is pushed through in the present congressional term, it will not remove the real grievances of the American Negroes. As increasing numbers of people realize this, civil rights demonstrations are becoming more frequent. One of the most notable of these was that staged on April 22 when the "World Fair" opened in New York.

This demonstration was timed to focus the attention not only of Americans but of overseas visitors to the plight of the Negroes and their demand for a fair deal, politically and socially. Those taking part wanted no post-dated promises but immediate freedom and they shouted "Freedom Now!" as President Johnson arrived for the opening ceremony. The police who had turned out in force fought with the demonstrators and made many arrests. This real life example of American democracy made a mockery of the address delivered by Johnson who glibly talked about "equality for all" and "freedom for all."

Farce is the word for Johnson's "fair deal" for the Negroes. This is made clear by the New York demonstration, while the Australian one shows that the indignation roused by U.S. racial injustice is spreading far afield.

ACROSS THE LAND

Sinews for Agriculture and Industry

NEW impetus has been given to the technical transformation of China's agriculture and industry. In the first quarter of 1964 the country's steel mills turned out a large number of forgings and rolled stock never produced at home. More than 20 new kinds of rolled stock was added to its output assortment between January and March by the big northeast steel centre in Anshan while Shanghai mills successfully produced 420 steel products.

A third of the new products are for agriculture and the rest for the expanding oil and chemical industries as well as transport and communications. Notable among the new rolled stock are special channel beams for tractor chassis, large steel sheets for the motorcar industry, high intensity oil and drilling pipes for the oil industry and geological prospecting, as well as stainless capillary

tubes, multi-strand ropes and shaped card wires.

Steel mills are giving priority to forgings and rolled stock needed by the commune farms. For the tractor industry alone, the Anshan mills earlier this year produced extra-thick channel beams, thick-walled alloy tubes and heat-resistant plates. A new rolled stock made in Shanghai has been proved efficacious for making sickles, shovels and other small farm tools.

Quite a number of the new steel products are highly technical varieties. The alloy resistance wire and high-alloy silver bright wire recently made in Peking are for precision meters. The steel plate made by the Chungking Iron and Steel Works for icebreakers maintains its high strength under low temperature and is corrosion-resistant.

Spring Farming

SPRING sowing is drawing to a close across the land. The rural people's communes, encouraged by a steadily improved farming situation since 1961, have gone full steam ahead for a still better harvest in 1964.

In the south, the country's main rice area, transplanting of early rice is nearing completion, while spring wheat sowing has ended in the northeast and northwest, chief producers of the crop. Planting of maize, millet and other food crops is still under way in some parts of China. Although great efforts are being made to improve food crops, considerable attention is also paid to cotton and other industrial crops: oil, sugar, jute, hemp, flax and tobacco.

The quality of ploughing and sowing on the whole is good. Crops sown late last year—winter wheat, barley, rapeseed and legu-

minous crops—also are doing well. These crops which stand on roughly one-third of the total farmland are being grown on a bigger area than last year. The area under winter wheat is 6 per cent, and rapeseed 10 per cent, more than in 1963.

The communes have reason to be optimistic and have set their goals high. Effective measures have been worked out and applied, and Party and government organs have given top priority to guiding spring farm work. Large numbers of cadres have gone into commune production teams to help by taking part in manual labour as well as to give leadership on the spot.

Ploughing and sowing were preceded by painstaking preparatory work. Water conservancy work during the slack farming months far exceeded work in the same season a year ago, and from 30-50 per cent more manure has been accumulated. Sixty million *mu* of poor, low-yielding farmland has been improved by adding top soil, terracing and other measures. More good strain seed has been prepared, and pest control has been stepped up.

The communes are receiving support from all quarters. The nation's fertilizer plants turned out 20 per cent more chemical fertilizer in the first quarter of this year than in the preceding three months, last year's best quarter. Increased quantities of pumps, tractor parts and other farm tools have been rushed to rural areas.

All this adds up to an encouraging picture. So far this year the weather has been fair; rain and snow fall in the past months has been adequate. Although continuous rain and low temperature in some areas have delayed sowing somewhat, measures are being taken to cope with the situation.

Workers' Safety, Health and Welfare

BEFORE liberation Chinese workers had to fight tooth and nail to secure even minimum safety standards at work—and only a small number managed to secure that. Since 1949, People's Government policy



Transplanting Rice Seedlings (Kiangsu Province)
Gouache by Wu Chun-chi

and action has ensured the best working conditions possible. Today, comprehensive regulations cover all aspects of safety, health and welfare for the workers.

Trade unions in China are fully involved in workers' well-being on and off the job. Workers get regular health checks and free medical care in factory or plant clinics or in any of the modern hospitals.

In different parts of the country, by the sea, lake and in mountain resorts, there are 200 fully equipped workers' sanatoria and rest homes with some 40,000 beds. In addition there are nearly an equal number of beds in mines, factories and other enterprises for workers who need after-hour treatment and care. All expenses, save food, are covered by labour insurance funds borne by the management but administered by the trade union.

Augmenting the carrying out of health measures are more than 20 factories engaged solely in making 500 types of first-class equipment to protect people in industry. Products range from ventilation apparatus and equipment to draw off injurious fumes and dust and regulating atmospheric pressure and temperature to noise elimination and protective clothing against radioactive contamination.

Retired workers draw a monthly pension 40-70 per cent of their original salary. Where a worker has made an outstanding contribution the percentage is higher. All retired workers, regardless of the amount of their pension, enjoy welfare benefits. These men and women, whose children have already grown up, are free of the cares afflicting so many of the elderly all over the world. The great majority who want to keep active devote much of their energies to doing all they can to help in the socialist education of the younger generation and in neighbourhood social work.

Turbine Pumps for Stable, High Yields

THE introduction of a turbine pump is being hailed as of major significance in the technical transformation of the nation's agricul-

ture. This China-produced pump is part of the great effort going into building up farms that will bring high and stable yields regardless of weather.

Since about half the farms in China are on hills or in upland country, one of the big problems met by many people's communes has been irrigation. In many parts of the south and southwest, however, irrigation is not so much a matter of finding water as lifting it to the upland fields. For this, pumps and a prime mover are required. The new, inexpensive but highly efficient turbine pump meets just what is needed.

Shaped like a beehive, this all-metal machine combines water turbine and pump in one. Its blades are turned by falling water and rotors on the upper half of the pump's axle lift water up into the fields. In general, a turbine pump working with a one-metre head will raise water four metres high. The pumps can be mounted in series to lift water higher.

The turbine pump has few moving parts and costs very little to manufacture and next to nothing to operate and maintain. The initial outlay, including accessories, is much lower than a power pump and irrigation cost is reduced by more than two-thirds.

The new turbine pump served notice of its worth during last year's prolonged drought in the south. Widespread use of such pumps enabled communes in Locheng County in hilly northwest Kwangsi to keep their paddyfields watered during the unusually severe dry spell; they were even successful in bringing irrigation to hitherto unwatered land. As a result the communes there reaped a harvest that was 2.5 million *jin* more than in 1962. Turbine pumps now are becoming more widespread in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and Fukien, Szechuan, Hunan and Kweichow Provinces where treadle wheels and age-old water-lifting devices have long proved inadequate against drought.

Back at Work With New Hand

SHANGHAI machinist Wang Tsun-po, 28, whose completely severed right hand was successfully rejoined by two young surgeons, Drs. Chen Chung-wei and Chien Yun-ching, in January 1963 (see *Peking Review*, No. 34, 1963), has been back at work in his factory since February 19.

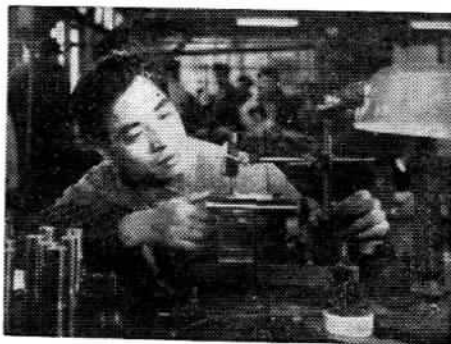
"I got a big welcome back when I returned," Wang Tsun-po wrote to a newspaper. The paper added that he shed tears of gratitude and joy when he again heard the hum of the factory. "My new hand can de-

tect a difference in temperature of one degree Centigrade. I can lift an 8-kg. weight with ease and tell metal, plastic and woven fabric by the feel. I can write comfortably and even play pingpong with my right hand," Wang said.

When Wang reported back for work, the factory found him light work as an inspector of finished work pieces. This involves using a screw micrometer and vernier calipers. He has made thousands of accurate measurements with his restored hand without an error.

"Management, factory Party leadership and comrades have been very kind and solicitous during my convalescence and back at work," wrote Wang. He works half a day only as he is still getting physiotherapy treatment to strengthen his hand.

Medical expenses for his 400 days hospitalization were covered by management, and during his factory absence he received an allowance for specially nutritious food on top of his full pay.



CULTURE

Workers' Amateur Theatricals

Workers' amateur ensembles gave sparkling May Day entertainments for their fellow-workers and their families at the parks and clubs. The Peking No. 1 Machine Tool Plant, the No. 2 Textile Mill and the Changhsintien Locomotive Works were only a few of the hundreds which put on variety shows. This was only in the capital. In Shanghai, Canton, Urumchi and every other big city too the professional troupes were ably assisted by amateur talent.

The activities of the workers' theatre troupes (and of other working-class artistic and literary groups) are a facet of the mass cultural movement in general and form an important part of the country's cultural life. Organized and subsidized by the trade unions, their members are workers in industry, trade and transport as well as employees of state enterprises. Their performances take a wide variety of forms catering to many tastes and grades of talent. In this way the widest number of workers can be drawn in and their interests served.

Complementing those of professional groups, their repertoires consist mainly of short items composed, produced and performed by themselves and directly reflecting life in their own plants, mines or enterprises. Their home audiences have an especially lively interest in watching

their "own people" perform, in seeing their own feats in production and other activities artistically portrayed and seeing or hearing working-class problems dealt with in familiar terms. The May Day performances illustrate this. Workers of the Peking Synthetic Fibre Plant put on, among other items, a dance reflecting their recent technical innovations. Up in Sinkiang's Ining, 500 workers at the Ili Leather Tannery enjoyed a play written by a veteran worker reflecting the tannery's 56 years' life from the time it was set up as a capitalist factory until it became the socialist enterprise it is today. Thousands of other examples could be cited. We might also mention a recent performance by the amateur modern drama troupe of Peking's well-known Wangfuching Department Store. It presented two new one-act comedies: *Two Pairs of Spectacles* and *Thank You Very Much*. Both were born out of the life around the sales counters of Peking's biggest department store and were written and performed by its employees. They went over big with audiences—fellow employees, families and friends.

A bit further afield is the stage group of the Yangchuan Colliery, one of the outstanding groups in the north China province of Shansi. Its 470 members are all mineworkers—hewers, tunnellers, machine-operators, transport workers, electricians. Its two latest plays on miners' life, written by its members themselves, have been staged to packed houses for the past several weeks at various miners'

clubs. Besides full-length plays it produces one-acters, skits, comic dialogues, ballad, song and dance recitals. Shansi is one of the country's big mining centres. The Yangchuan group is only one of 64 amateur art troupes there with nearly 20,000 mineworkers taking part.

No group of workers has a monopoly of theatrical talent. Each finds ways of fostering its artistic abilities. On the Yangtse River the sailors and rivermen have cultural centres and clubs at all the ports along the river. The biggest is at Wuhan. Every ship can stage a concert with talent from its crew. A central troupe mobilizes the best of the smaller troupes' talents. It has an orchestra and sections devoted to modern drama, traditional opera, singing and dancing. A recent theatrical festival attracted 1,000 performers from among the Yangtse rivermen.

Up in the northeast, China's first motorcar plant runs three big clubs for its workers and their families. Two are at the workers' housing estates and the other near the plant. Each seats 1,000 in its theatre and besides stage shows caters for art activities of other kinds, hobbies, sports and other recreations. There are groups for modern drama, Peking opera, ballad singing, choral singing, music and circus arts. Such clubs are typical of those run on a larger or smaller scale by every enterprise in China.

In the People's Printing House in Peking singing is all the vogue. It has a workers' chorus of 90 members.



At Our Plant: The Theatre



The Nursery

Woodcuts by Tien Hua and Wang Shu-chang

Each member teaches more workers outside the chorus. Every work-break finds groups of three or five singing away in the workshops. They often sing songs that are nationally famous. But more often you will find them singing songs written by the press' own worker-composers. During the early years of liberation, when the press was first founded, *Overfulfilling Production Quotas* was popular. During the Second Five-Year Plan period people sang *Welcoming the Second Spring*. In the last few years, *We Are Youths With Ideals* and *Always at the Forefront of Socialist Construction* are everybody's favourites. All four, and many more, were written by the worker-composers of the press. No important event in the plant or in the country goes by without their song comment which is quickly caught up by the worker-singers.

The popularity of singing in the People's Printing House is not exceptional. This is shown in the response to the current national Radio Singing Contest. Workers from 20 cities have already entered 80 songs they composed themselves about their life and work.

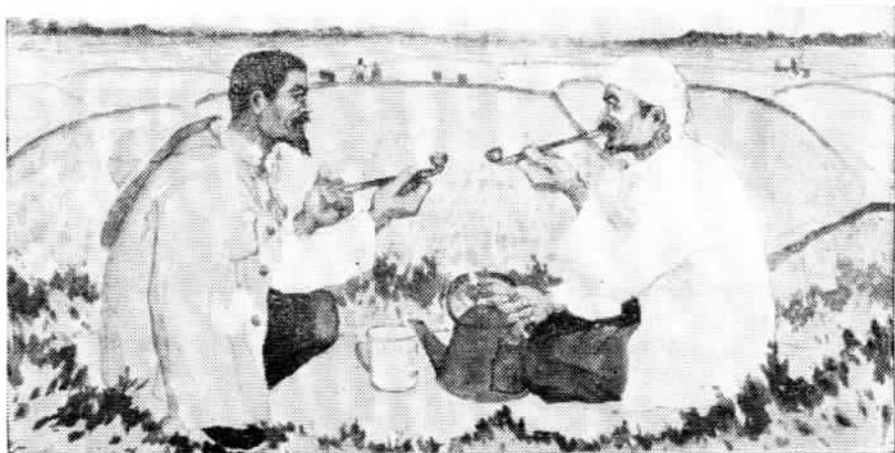
Amateur groups most effectively popularize and develop the stage and performing arts at the grassroot levels of factories, mines and enterprises. The professional troupes and cultural organizations practise, develop and spread the arts in all their rich variety and in their highest forms. And the workers also have unprecedented opportunities to enjoy these and learn from them in a country where the guiding policy for art and literature is for them always to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

ART

Workers' Drawings

Up to May 1 this year, the 311th issue of "The Workers Draw," the half-page art spread of the national *Gongren Ribao* (Workers' Daily), has come out.

In the past 14 years, this column has published thousands of woodcuts, cartoons, papercuts, reproductions of



Rural Cadre and Peasant Exchange Ideas

Painting in Chinese ink and colours by Sheng Hsien-ti

traditional Chinese paintings and other art work done by New China's amateur worker-artists.

Each spread has carried 5 to 10 works selected from contributions sent in from all parts of the country. Workers in every major city, including those of Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia in the northwest, Liaoning in the northeast and of Kwangtung and Kwangsi in the far south, have had their works published. Special issues have carried selections of the best work in the frequent exhibitions of workers' art held in many cities.

Workers not only publish their pictures, but air their artistic views on these pages. They praise or criticize particular works, add a personal note on how the idea for a certain piece was conceived and how it was executed, or comment on current trends and creative methods. Now and then established artists, such as the cartoonist Fang Cheng or the woodcut artist Li Hua, contribute professional comments analysing the merits and faults of the drawings or prints published.

Complementing the various other channels through which workers' art is publicized, such as art periodicals and exhibitions, "The Workers' Draw" column is a

constant encouragement to worker-artists, a gallery for new works, a forum for a lively exchange of art ideas and an effective means of cultivating an interest in the arts among the broad masses of workers.

There is no better time than May to introduce our readers to some of the workers' art published in that column in the past year (reproduced on this and the preceding page). The technique may sometimes lack the polish and finesse of professional standards, but these drawings and woodcuts have a simplicity and a vigour all their own.



"The Lumberjacks' Symphony"
Cartoon by Chiang Pei-yang

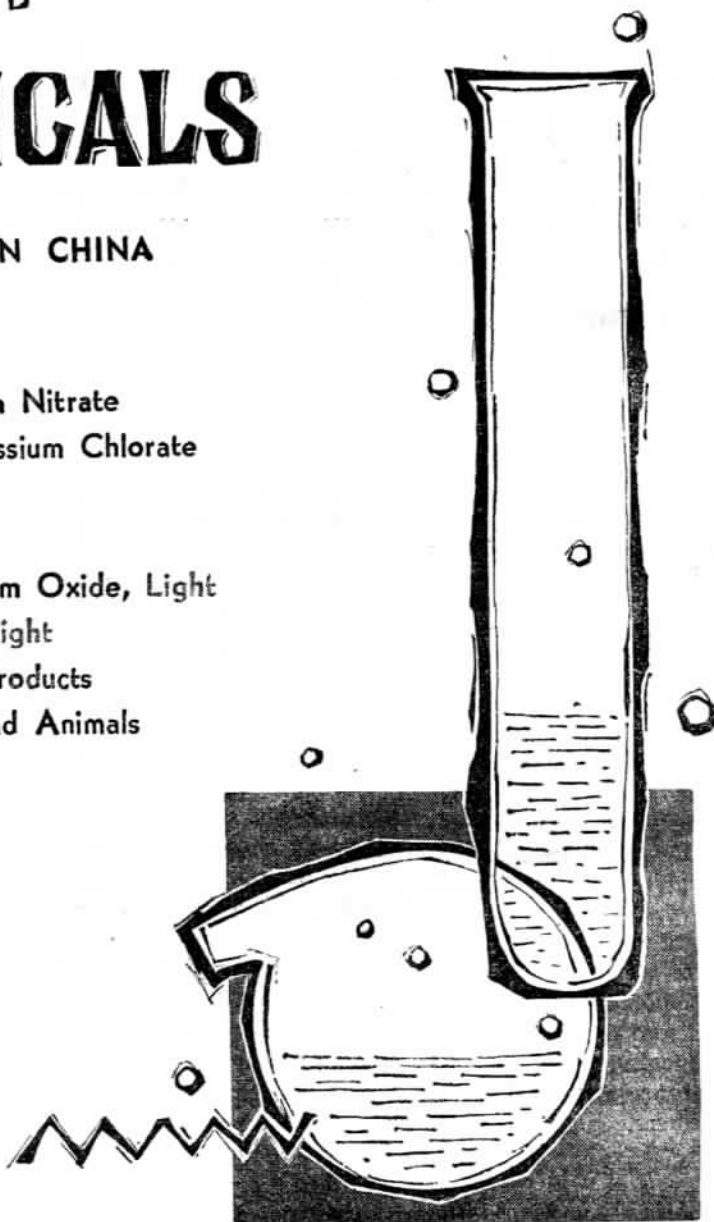
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