

PEKING REVIEW

32

August 6, 1965

Democratic Tradition of The Chinese People's Liberation Army

By Vice-Premier Ho Lung

China Stands Ready to Smash U.S. War Schemes

Lo Jul-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff,
speaks at Army Day reception.

On Johnson's July 28 Statement

Renmin Ribao points out that U.S. intends to fight a local
war in Viet Nam, or in all Indo-China.

"Across the Land" and Other Features

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

August 6, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 32

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS	
Democratic Tradition of the Chinese People's Liberation Army — Ho Lung	6
Shatter the Adventurous U.S. War Plan in the Course of Its "Escalation" — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	17
Protest Against U.S. Piracy	20
China Supports Laotian People's Anti-U.S. Struggle	21
New American Adventure in Laos	21
Holding High the Banner of Unity Against U.S. Imperialism — Liu Ning-I's Speech	23
Khrushchov Revisionists Make Themselves More Notorious — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Observer	26
China-Burma Joint Communique	29
China-Somalia Joint Press Communique	31
ROUND THE WORLD	32
ACROSS THE LAND	34

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Cable Address: Peking 2910
Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

Chairman Ne Win Concludes Visit

General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Revolutionary Government of Burma, concluded a nine-day visit in China on August 1. A China-Burma joint communique was released that day (see p. 29).

Arriving in Peking on July 24, General Ne Win, accompanied by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, left the capital for Shenyang on a tour of the northeast on July 27.

Two days later, the General arrived in Shanghai where Premier Chou En-lai and local municipal leaders were on hand to greet him. Thousands upon thousands in the city lined the streets to welcome him as he drove through in the company of Premier Chou. During his stop-over in this metropolis, he visited several factories and watched a military performance by units of the People's Liberation Army.

Together with Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, General Ne Win flew to Kunming on July 31. The next morning, to the farewells of thousands, the Burmese leader and his party left China for Burma, taking with them the deep friendship of the Chinese people.

Bon Voyage to President Osman

Aden Abdulla Osman, President of the Somali Republic, left Shanghai for home on July 28 after an eight-day visit to China. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien were among the thousands who saw him off at the airport.

Accompanied by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, President Osman left Peking on July 25 for a tour of east China. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Chinese leaders were on hand to see him off at Peking Airport. He arrived in Hangchow the same morn-

ing and spent a pleasant day in this beautiful lake city visiting scenic spots and places of historical interest.

The next day, he flew to Shanghai where large numbers of people gave him a hearty welcome. During his short stay in the nation's biggest city, the Somali President visited factories, a people's commune on the city's outskirts and the Shanghai Industrial Exhibition.

Premier Chou En-lai made a special trip to Shanghai to bid President Osman farewell. He was host at a banquet for the Somali President on the eve of the latter's departure.

A China-Somalia joint press communique was issued upon the conclusion of President Osman's visit (see p. 31).

Chinese C.P. Delegation Returns From Rumania

The Chinese Communist Party delegation led by Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, returned to Peking on July 28 after attending the 9th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party in Bucharest. Among those who greeted the delegation at Peking Airport were Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Party's Central Committee, Tung Pi-wu and Peng Chen.

Departing from Bucharest for home, the Chinese delegation was seen off at the airport by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, and other Rumanian leaders.

Indonesian C.P. Delegation Arrives in Peking

The Indonesian Communist Party delegation led by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Party's Central Committee, arrived in Peking on August 1 for a visit.

Welcoming the Indonesian comrades on their arrival at Peking Air-

port were Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Party leaders as well as thousands of the capital's citizens.

The Central Committee of the C.P.C. gave a banquet for the Indonesian comrades on August 3. Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairmen of the Party's Central Committee, and Teng Hsiao-ping, its General Secretary, were present.

Comrade Liu Shao-chi and Comrade Aidit who both spoke at the banquet toasted the growth of the close relations between the Communist Parties of China and Indonesia, the growth of friendly relations between the people of the two countries, and the greater victories of the struggle of the two Parties and the two peoples against imperialism, modern revisionism and modern dogmatism.

Chairman Mao Meets French Minister

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi met and had a friendly talk on August 3 with French Minister of State Andre Malraux, special envoy of General de Gaulle. The French Minister had returned to Peking a few days earlier after a tour of Loyang, Sian and Yenan following his arrival in China on July 20.

Premier Chou En-lai met the French Minister on August 2. In the evening, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi gave a banquet in honour of the French guest. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his welcoming speech, noted that the past 18 months had witnessed a sound growth of cultural and economic contacts between China and France. This fact, he said, shows that there are broad prospects for the development of relations between the two countries. The Vice-Premier went on to say that there were a handful of diehards in the world who were unhappy about China's progress and development and always tried to isolate China and undermine its relations with other countries. "However," he said, "the development of history runs counter to their wishes. It is they, and not China, who are being isolated. Far

from being undermined, China's friendly relations with the people of other countries have developed and become more consolidated than ever." Chen Yi expressed the hope that Minister Malraux's visit would promote the growth of friendly ties between France and China and their two peoples.

Minister Malraux thanked the Chinese Government for the friendly reception given him since his arrival. He said that though France and China had different social systems, the two countries had fought against powerful armed invaders who had made inroads into places where they should not have set foot. He added that "what unites us is that you made the Long March and this struggle is an example for all humanity."

Chairman Liu and Other Leaders Receive Li Tsung-jen

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu and Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, received Mr. Li Tsung-jen, acting president of the former Kuomintang government, his wife Kuo Teh-chieh, and Mr. Cheng Ssu-yuan on July 31. Chairman Liu and the other leaders had a cordial talk with Mr. Li on the excellent domestic and international situation. Later, they gave a banquet in honour of their guests.

Madame Karume Leaves Peking

Madame Fatuma Karume, wife of First Vice-President Karume of Tanzania, and the women's delegation led by her left Peking for Shanghai August 3.

On the eve of her departure, Madame Karume gave a farewell banquet which was attended by Premier Chou En-lai and Chinese women leaders. Madame Karume hailed Sino-Tanzanian friendship which she described as a "tree of friendship." She said: "We must take good care of this tree and prevent it from being destroyed by the U.S. imperialists and the colonialists and their lackeys."

Chang Yun, Vice-President of the National Women's Federation, in her speech, expressed the hope that the women and other people of China and Tanzania, who in the past suffered from imperialist exploitation and oppression, would always fight side by side in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the whole world.

China Recognizes Maldives

Maldives, a country of islands in the Indian Ocean, proclaimed its independence on July 26 after 78 years of British colonial rule. This is a victory for the Maldivian people in their struggle for national independence.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent congratulatory messages to Sultan Al Amir Mohammed Farid Didi I and Prime Minister Ibrahim Nasir of Maldives respectively. Foreign Minister Chen Yi, in his message to Minister of External Affairs Ibrahim Nasir, informed him of China's recognition of Maldives and expressed the hope that this would lead to the development of relations between both countries.

Protest Against Indian Intrusions

In a note to the Indian Embassy in Peking on July 29, the Chinese Foreign Ministry strongly protested against frequent Indian intrusions into China's territory and air space on the Sino-Indian and China-Sikkim borders in the first six months of this year.

During this period, Indian troops made 26 incursions into Chinese territory across the line of actual control on the Sino-Indian border or across the China-Sikkim boundary. The Foreign Ministry's note detailed some of the intrusions.

The note also refuted the Indian note of April 2, in which the Indian Government tried to deny Indian intrusions during the second half of 1964. It pointed out that, in order to facilitate a gradual easing of relations, the Chinese Government had decided to cut down on the exchange

(Continued on p. 20.)

China Stands Ready to Smash U.S. War Schemes

August 1 marked a nationwide celebration of the 38th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Thirty-eight years ago, after Chiang Kai-shek and his reactionary Kuomintang government betrayed the revolution, an armed uprising organized by Chinese Communists broke out in the city of Nanchang in Kiangsi Province on August 1, 1927. August 1 has since been celebrated each year as the birthday of the Chinese people's revolutionary armed forces which, under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have grown in strength in the protracted struggle against domestic and foreign reaction and become an invincible army dedicated to the defence of the security of the motherland and of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Vice-Premier Lo's Speech

Peking marked this year's anniversary with a reception attended by commanders of the P.L.A., representatives of outstanding companies and militia units, and military attaches of various Embassies in the capital. Speaking at the reception, Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A., strongly denounced U.S. imperialism for stepping up preparations for a large-scale local war in Viet Nam. "Following in the footsteps of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo," he said, "Johnson is writing the dirtiest and bloodiest page in the history of U.S. aggression." **He pointed out that the heroic Vietnamese people would surely drive all the U.S. aggressors out of their country or completely wipe them out.** Referring to Washington's loud proclamations about fighting a Korea-type war in Southeast Asia and its threat that "the idea of sanctuary is dead," Lo Jui-ching said: "To be frank, this will never intimidate us. In Korea, together with the heroic Korean People's Army, we had a test of strength with the American aggressors. Facts have proved that they are by no

means formidable. **If they should lose all sense of reality in their lust for power, misjudge the Chinese people's strength and determination, impose a war on them and compel them to accept the challenge, then the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who have long since made every preparation and who stand ready in battle array, would not only take them on till the very end but would invite them to come in large numbers. And the more the better, for we would then have more opportunities to fight in unity with the revolutionary forces of the world and to struggle in the interests of the world's people for the early uprooting of the source of war.**"

The Vice-Premier noted that, through unremitting efforts in the past year, the Chinese people had further increased their strength in national defence and in safeguarding world peace. He added: **"We have continued to give paramount importance to politics, thereby further developing the spiritual atom bomb which our people's revolutionary army possesses. In the past year, too, we have successfully mastered the material atom bomb which we did not possess in the past."** Refuting U.S. imperialist slanders aimed at setting off a new anti-China wave, he said: "The Chinese people's success in making atom bombs has been hailed by the people and progressive forces all over the world. They are atom bombs in the hands of Marxist-Leninist forces and in the hands of a socialist country which resolutely opposes the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, bombs belonging to the people themselves and for the defence of world peace."

Declaring that the anti-China plot hatched by U.S. imperialism and its stooges had, together with their nuclear blackmail and nuclear monopoly, met with humiliating defeat, Vice-Premier Lo continued: "We are materialists. In order to smash U.S. imperialism's threat of a nu-

clear war, we will continue to master the material atom bomb in a still better way. But at the same time we are dialectical materialists. We resolutely oppose the theory that weapons decide everything and do not put blind faith in the atom bomb. **Acting in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great teachings on a people's war, we always hold that the outcome of a war is decided not by the atom bomb but mainly by the people's proletarian consciousness and revolutionary spirit which can be transformed into a tremendous material force.** We, therefore, have consistently given top priority to political and ideological work and placed it above material construction. **With the people's spiritual atom bomb plus our own material atom bomb, we have greater confidence in completely smashing the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war and in defending world peace."**

Vice-Premier Lo went on to denounce the "peace talk" fraud dreamt up by Johnson and his partners while they were wildly escalating the war of aggression in Viet Nam. He said that the proposed "peace talks" were merely a hoax aimed at winning a breathing space so as to preserve what they were losing on the battlefield and to entice the Vietnamese people into giving away the complete victory they would soon garner.

The Vice-Premier recalled that throughout history when a decadent class or ruling clique was going downhill fast, there always emerged an ultra-reactionary who tried by every desperate means to prevent its total collapse. He said: "The emergence in the United States today of the Johnson Doctrine which is neo-Hitlerism, and the emergence of Johnson who is a most rabid warmonger, is just like the appearance of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo in those fascist years in Germany, Italy and Japan. It marks the bankruptcy of U.S. reactionary policies and its rapidly approaching doom."

Democratic Tradition of the Chinese People's Liberation Army

by HO LUNG

The following article by Ho Lung, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council of the People's Republic of China, appeared in "Hongqi" (Red Flag), "Renmin Ribao" (People's Daily) and "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily). It was written in celebration of the 38th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.—Ed.

A FUNDAMENTAL criterion for distinguishing a revolutionary army led by the proletariat from all counter-revolutionary armies led by the reactionary ruling classes, as far as internal relations are concerned, is whether there is democracy in the army. It is common knowledge that all armies are instruments of dictatorship. Counter-revolutionary armies of the reactionary ruling classes are instruments of dictatorship over the masses of the people, while the proletarian revolutionary army is an instrument of dictatorship over the counter-revolutionaries. Since they represent the interests of a handful of people, all counter-revolutionary armies of the reactionary ruling classes are hostile to the people, who comprise over 90 per cent of the population. Therefore, they do not dare to practise democracy within their ranks. By contrast, a revolutionary army led by the proletariat is a people's army which safeguards the interests of the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people, that is, of those who make up the over 90 per cent of the population. Therefore—except for exercising dictatorship over the counter-revolutionaries—it establishes equal and democratic relations with the masses of the people; within its own ranks, it can and must work in accordance with democratic centralism. This is to say, it can and must practise democracy under centralized leadership and exercise highly unified and centralized leadership on the basis of democracy.

A fundamental characteristic distinguishing the Chinese People's Liberation Army founded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung from all the old-type armies is that within its ranks this army carries out the mass line and practises democracy under leadership in three principal fields, the political, the economic and the military. It is a great creation of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's in army building, his great contribution both to Marxist-Leninist military theory and to the world pro-

letarian revolution and the national-liberation movement.

Why has the Chinese People's Liberation Army been able to create so many miracles on this planet and write so many miraculous pages in military history? What is the cause and the strength that has enabled it to conquer all difficulties instead of being baffled by them, to vanquish all its enemies instead of being overpowered by them? The most fundamental cause is that our army is a genuine people's army led by the political party of the proletariat and armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and that the wars we wage are just wars for the liberation of the people, genuine people's wars conducted by relying on the people's own strength. Taking this as our point of departure, we have broken thoroughly with the old military traditions of all the old-type armies. We have not only firmly set ourselves the aim of wholeheartedly serving the people, established absolute leadership by the Party over the army and introduced revolutionary political work, but we have also completely shattered the obsolete idea that since the army is for military combat and must obey orders, it cannot practise democracy. We have created the first army in history which genuinely practises democracy and belongs to the people.

In the initial stage of the building of our army, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the brilliant idea that "in China the army needs democracy as much as the people do."¹ This idea has been steadily enriched in the course of long practice of army building and of fighting and has developed into a whole set of democratic traditions of a people's army, the content of which is democracy in three main fields—the political, the economic, and the military. In the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the experience of the movement for democracy in our army. He pointed out: "The policy for political work in our army units is fully to arouse the masses of soldiers, the commanders and all working personnel in order to achieve, through a democratic movement under centralized leadership, three major objectives, namely, a high degree of political unity, an improvement in living conditions and a higher level of military technique and tactics."² In line with these instructions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we have practised the fullest democracy in the army and applied the mass line by trusting the masses in all cases and relying on them in all matters. This has given us such great strength as no reactionary troops can possess.

Throughout history all troops of the reactionary ruling classes have been instruments of violence for suppressing the people and privileged forces trampling on the people. In the matter of army-civilian relations, the anti-popular class nature of this kind of army is reflected in antagonism between the army and the people; and in the matter of internal relations within the armed forces, it is reflected in antagonism between the officers and the men. These antagonistic relationships make inevitable a policy of oppressing the men and keeping them in ignorance. They determine this kind of army's advocacy of so-called absolute obedience by the lower ranks to the higher ranks, by the soldiers to the officers, without any reasoning why. They determine its inability to practise democracy, its fear of it and its intolerance towards it. It frequently resorts to the brutal methods of beating and berating the men and even executing them to maintain military discipline. Therefore, fundamentally speaking, the antagonism between the army and the people and between the officers and men is universal, without exception, in all reactionary ruling-class armies.

Although a number of measures and systems of a somewhat democratic nature were adopted by certain revolutionary armed forces of the oppressed classes before the army led by the proletariat came into being, yet these measures and systems, restricted as they were by historical conditions and the class limitations of these forces, were inevitably spontaneous, fragmentary and not thorough.

From its very inception Comrade Mao Tse-tung's ideas on establishing a new type of people's armed forces helped the Chinese People's Liberation Army to make the relationship between the army and people fundamentally different from the antagonistic relationship that had existed for thousands of years between the reactionary army and the people. Our army is composed of the sons of the people, it is a servant of the people and it is the people's instrument for achieving their own liberation. It serves the people heart and soul, lovingly cherishes even the most trifling thing that belongs to the masses, and does not take anything from them however insignificant it may be. It does not, because it carries a gun, oppress the people and does not, because it has performed outstanding military exploits, claim to be the people's benefactor. This is why our army receives the wholehearted support and help of the people wherever it goes. This supreme unity between the army and the people forms a steel wall of defence that no force can breach.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's ideas on establishing a new type of people's armed forces has helped the Chinese People's Liberation Army to eliminate completely the antagonistic relationship between officers and men and between superiors and subordinates which plagued all the old-type armies, and to create in the army a vigorous and lively political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unity of will and personal ease of mind.

Doing things and solving problems by the method of democracy under centralized leadership has become a glorious and deep-rooted tradition and a system; it has become a widespread habit in the daily life of our army, of our soldiers and officers at all levels. Democracy is practised in work and training and on the battlefield, in the companies [the basic combat units in the army — *Ed.*], the army headquarters and the military schools. In all matters, from the formulation of policies and combat plans to routine work, criticism and commendations, as a rule, there is ample deliberation and discussion before a decision or action is taken. It can be stated that there is democracy everywhere, at all times and at all levels in our army. This greatly enhances the consciousness of the masses and gives their initiative fuller play. Everyone feels he is master in the house. Therefore, in our army "everybody consciously attends to things and everything is attended to," and "everything that is good is sure to be praised and everything bad is sure to be exposed." All our armymen observe discipline and obey orders consciously and voluntarily; they have truly become a highly centralized combat collective. This explains why our army has become invincible and all-conquering, a fully united army in which everybody uses his brains and contributes his energy, fearing no hardship, dauntless before death, and daring and courageous in fighting the enemy.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's ideas on army building did not come to be implemented easily and smoothly. Inevitably, so unprecedented an event as the founding of a proletarian revolutionary army in China came up against bourgeois thinking on military affairs and the resistance of conventional notions and habits of every kind. Indeed, from the very first day of the founding of our army, people infected with the habits of the old type of army and those clinging to bourgeois thinking on military affairs have stubbornly opposed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on army building. While opposing the strengthening of absolute Party leadership over the army, they have used one reason or another, one pretext or another, for opposing the movement for democracy and resisting the mass line. Clearly, the system of democracy and the democratic tradition, characteristic of a revolutionary army of the proletariat, cannot possibly be established, and still less be consolidated and developed, unless this influence of bourgeois thinking on military affairs is again and again knocked down and the resistance of conventional notions and habits overcome. Whether to uphold democracy and the mass line or not — this has always been an important aspect of our struggle to implement Comrade Mao Tse-tung's ideas on army building and to oppose bourgeois thinking on the question, a struggle between two lines on army building. The system of democracy and the democratic tradition of the Chinese People's Liberation Army have been affirmed, consolidated, and developed step by step and perfected in the course of continuous struggle against bourgeois ideas on military affairs.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army has accumulated a rich store of experience and scored great achievements in practising democracy and carrying forward

the mass line for 38 years. To rely on the people, on the soldiers, on democracy and on the mass line — this is the essence of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great thinking on people's war and a people's army, this is the priceless tradition by which our army, over the past decades, grew from small beginnings into a mighty force, and, fighting against odds, defeated one powerful enemy after another and won victory after victory. The summing up of our basic experience in this field so as to continue and carry forward this priceless tradition still better will make us invincible.

The most essential elements, the most basic experience, in the democratic tradition of our army, a tradition which has been developed and perfected in the course of the 38-year history, can be summed up in the following eight points:

I. Whether democracy should be practised in the army is by no means a question of method but of standpoint and basic attitude; in the final analysis, it is a question of whether one respects the masses, trusts them and relies on them.

As early as 1938 when Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the experience of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the Eighth Route Army in this respect, he pointed out: "Many people think that it is wrong methods that make for strained relations between officers and men and between the army and the people, but I always tell them that it is a question of basic attitude (or basic principle) of having respect for the soldiers and the people. It is from this attitude that the various policies, methods and forms ensue. If we depart from this attitude, then the policies, methods and forms will certainly be wrong, and the relations between officers and men and between the army and the people are bound to be unsatisfactory. Our three major principles for the army's political work are, first, unity between officers and men; second, unity between the army and the people; and third, the disintegration of the enemy forces. To apply these principles effectively, we must start with this basic attitude of respect for the soldiers and the people, and of respect for the human dignity of prisoners of war once they have laid down their arms."³

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions on this point are still very much alive for us today. He once again emphasized this idea in his instructions on the five qualifications for successors to the proletarian revolution. He taught us that anyone without a firm belief in the masses and without a good democratic style of work is unqualified to be a successor to the proletarian revolution. In fact, the line of demarcation between a proletarian revolutionary and a bourgeois revolutionary is whether one treats the masses of the people with respect, trusts them and relies on them.

This is a matter of basic attitude primarily because it is a question of how to understand and what attitude to have towards the role of the masses in history. Marxism-Leninism always regards the masses as

the makers of history, the motive force in creating world history. At the time of the founding of the First International, Marx and Engels put forward the clear slogan: "The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself."⁴ The same point is also well put in *The Internationale*: "No saviours from on high deliver, no trust have we in prince or peer . . . and to all give a happier lot, each at his forge must do his duty. . . ."

Applying this idea to revolutionary war, Comrade Mao Tse-tung clearly pointed out: "For the revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them,"⁵ "the army and the people are the foundation of victory."⁶ The history of the decades of war fought by the People's Liberation Army under the personal leadership and command of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is one of people's war, of revolutionary war by the masses. Basically, the army's political work lies in educating and mobilizing armed masses. Once a revolutionary is alienated from the broad masses of the people and the rank-and-file soldiers, he is bound to become isolated and to be defeated in struggle, even if he be a man with three heads and six arms. Clearly, if anyone puts himself above the masses, regards himself as the hero, the overlord, and views the masses of the people and the rank-and-file soldiers as puppets, as the "rabble," he inevitably cuts himself off from the masses, has contempt for them, and cannot possibly treat them as equals, and consequently fears democracy and is unwilling to put it into effect.

This is a matter of basic attitude also because it is a question of how to understand and how to approach the source of knowledge. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always maintained that the masses are the doers and, without exception, all knowledge comes from the masses, from their activities in class struggle, in the struggle for production, and in scientific experiment. "It has to be understood that the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and unless this point is understood even the most rudimentary knowledge cannot be acquired."⁷ Fighting a battle is the same. The broad masses of soldiers and commanders at the basic levels are direct participants in the front-line battles and have real knowledge of part of the actual situation; therefore, they are usually able to conceive the problems that may arise in each specific battle in a way that conforms more closely to reality, and it is easier for them to devise practical ways and means of solving these problems. The leading organs and cadres are only processing plants; their task is to go deeply into the actual situation, gather the opinions and experience of the masses, process and work on them and then take them back to the masses, popularize and carry them through among the masses. This is the mass line. In this way, work can be done well and battles fought well. This is a truth we have again and again proved in the wars over the past decades. Obviously, anyone who does not understand and does not want to see this point, anyone who does not believe in the wis-

dom and capability of the masses and regards himself "the number one authority in the world," will never have a democratic style of work.

This is a matter of basic attitude because it is a question of the class feeling with which one approaches the masses. Comrade Mao Tse-tung always teaches us that a revolutionary cadre must be full of warmth towards the masses of the people and the soldiers, regard them as closest comrades-in-arms, make friends with them, know them intimately and love them from the bottom of his heart, if he is to be really integrated with the masses, speak their language and win their confidence. Our army, from the commanders to the men, is knit together closely and democracy is invigorated and extended precisely because of the identity of class feeling. As for enemy troops who have laid down their arms, they must be regarded as class brothers who were oppressed and deceived if the Party's policy towards captives is to be faithfully carried out and the work of winning them over and educating them is to be done well. Obviously, those who lack proletarian ideas and feelings find it impossible to treat the soldiers, the people and the enemy troops who have laid down their arms with genuine respect for their human dignity. And that being so, a democratic style of work is indeed out of the question.

II. The "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention,"⁸ which base the strict discipline of the people's army on its democratic relations with the people, are a powerful weapon for promoting internal unity in the army and the unity of the army and the people and for disintegrating the enemy forces.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always taught us that the Chinese People's Liberation Army is powerful because all its members are self-disciplined, are united and fight together not in the private interests of a few individuals or a small clique, but for the liberation of the masses of the people, for national liberation and for the liberation of mankind. Standing firmly on the side of the people, its sole aim is to serve them wholeheartedly.

In the earliest days of the Red Army, Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally formulated the "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention." These rules embody the very purpose of founding the proletarian revolutionary army in tackling concrete problems encountered most frequently in the internal relations within the army itself and in the relations between it and the people. The most common "trifles" are dealt with as matters of political principle. In this way, warlord influences of the old type of army, such as bullying people and maltreating captives, were completely eliminated from the Red Army, and a revolutionary democratic tradition of unity between the army and the people and unity between officers and men, and the correct policy of winning over officers and men of the enemy troops and treating captives with leniency, were firmly established in the people's army.

With the carrying out of the "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention," in the course of daily contact with the army and through their own experience the people completely changed their old conception of an army. The change was from fearing the troops to loving them, from regarding soldiers as "most terrible people" to regarding them as "most beloved people," from fearing or refusing to serve in the army to competing and taking the lead in joining it, from the idea that "good men never become soldiers" to the idea that "good men must become soldiers." In the past decades our army has proved in practice that by earnestly carrying out the "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention," it can maintain the true nature of a people's army at all times and in all its actions, and can at all times be invincible.

By carrying out the "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention," we have gained the best results in disintegrating enemy troops and reforming captives. Our army's lenient policy towards captives and the democratic life within our army are in striking contrast to all reactionary armies and in themselves provide most convincing living evidence. When junior officers and rank-and-file members of any reactionary army come in contact with this reality, the lying anti-communist propaganda they have been stuffed with is recognized for what it is and class consciousness is quickly aroused in most of the ordinary soldiers of working people's origin. The influence of our correct policy and democracy and our education of the captives made millions of Kuomintang soldiers turn their guns against Chiang Kai-shek, and resulted in many combat heroes coming forward from among those soldiers liberated during the revolutionary civil wars. These also induced large groups of enemy troops to lay down their arms, so that officers and men of the enemy forces, trained by the imperialists and reactionaries, changed into forces opposing their policies of aggression and war; and this happened during the War of Resistance Against Japan, during the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, and during our counter-attack in self-defence along the Sino-Indian border.

The "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention" consist of only 61 Chinese characters and mostly deal with the most ordinary and common things, such as speaking politely and paying fairly for what you buy. Of course, to people filled with the notions of the old army all this is meaningless, and those whose heads are crammed full of foreign doctrines think what is the use of such "country bumpkin" talk? They do not understand that in truth these very common rules shine with the brilliance of creative Marxism-Leninism and, in concrete terms, embody the essential idea in the building of a proletarian revolutionary army. Some people regard these 61 Chinese characters as very simple. How easy it is to carry out these rules, they think. But in fact they fail to understand that these rules cannot be carried out at all unless there is the spirit of wholehearted service to the people and a thoroughly revolutionary world outlook. No bourgeois army, no army which

does not really take Marxism-Leninism as its guide, will ever be able to carry them out.

III. The prerequisite and the basis of all democratic life and the movement for democracy are the strengthening of political and ideological education, the raising of proletarian consciousness and the practice of widespread political democracy.

The democratic movement in our army has always started from the establishment of equal political status and a democratic relationship between officers and men. This is to be seen in the fact that there is only division of responsibility between the officers and men, with no distinction in the matter of respect for the human dignity of all. All are class brothers who have come to work for the revolution and who regard wholehearted service to the people as their sole aim. In the interests of the revolution, everybody has the right to learn, to investigate, and to carry out the Party's policies and lines, the right to make positive proposals in accordance with them, and the right to combat any thinking or action which run counter to them. In the interests of the people, officers and men may supervise and criticize one another. Officers have obligations to think harder, to devise more ways and to shoulder more responsibility, but have no privileges of any kind. They are duty-bound to welcome proper criticism from the soldiers and have absolutely no right to reject it. Naturally, they are not allowed to suppress criticism or take revenge on account of it. This is the only way to tap the masses' creative ability and readiness to accept responsibility to the maximum, so that everyone can boldly and aptly pose problems, express opinions and criticize shortcomings. They can carefully and lovingly supervise the leading organizations and leading members. This is the only way to heighten the enthusiasm of the broad masses of commanders and soldiers and strengthen the army's combat ability.

The raising of the proletarian political consciousness of the officers and men is the ideological basis for exercising democracy in the three main fields. As early as 1929, in the resolution "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," written for the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army, Comrade Mao Tse-tung stressed the need to intensify the political training of both officers and men, to raise their political level through education, to bring democracy into full play and to organize collective life correctly in accordance with democratic centralism, in order to oppose and correct all unfavourable tendencies. In summing up the experience of the new type of ideological education movement in the army during the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, he pointed out: "The correct unfolding of the movement for pouring out grievances (the wrongs done to the labouring people by the old society and by the reactionaries) and the three check-ups (on class origin, performance of duty and

will to fight) greatly heightened the political consciousness of commanders and fighters throughout the army in the fight for the emancipation of the exploited working masses, for nationwide land reform and for the destruction of the common enemy of the people, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang. It also greatly strengthened the firm unity of all commanders and fighters under the leadership of the Communist Party. On this basis, the army achieved greater purity in its ranks, strengthened discipline, unfolded a mass movement for training, and further developed its political, economic and military democracy in a completely well-led and orderly way."⁹ Democracy in the three main fields must be and can only be established on the basis of political and ideological education, with class education as the core, and on the basis of political democracy. This is most clearly illustrated in the above-quoted passage.

Again and again experience has proved that democracy as a whole cannot be practised in a healthy manner if it deviates from the basis of class education and political democracy. Just consider, if there were no common political goal, no equal political status and no common class feeling between officers and men, how could economic democracy and military democracy be carried out? How could soldiers take part in managing the mess and superintending expenditures? How could officers and men, in military training, coach one another and evaluate each other's teaching and study? As for having democratic discussion of combat plans during battle, letting everybody air problems and find solutions, and evaluating the commander's skill and tactics after a battle, such things would be even more out of the question.

Political democracy in our army is determined by its class character. There are no class antagonisms in the ranks of our army, the officers and men being class brothers. But the reactionary class character of all counter-revolutionary armies makes it impossible for them to have genuine political democracy, and even more impossible for them to employ the revolutionary political work and the strategy and tactics which only proletarian troops can use. Just consider, did not Chiang Kai-shek long ago make a serious study of our ten military principles? Did he not give orders for our campaign of emulation of meritorious service to be adopted? Has he not, since last year, studied and "popularized" our method of teaching troops devised by Kuo Hsing-fu [a company commander — *Ed.*] Have not the U.S. imperialists long studied our tactics of guerrilla warfare? Has not the group of U.S. "military advisers" in south Viet Nam repeatedly advocated that efforts should be made to learn from our "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention"? But has all this been of any help to them?

Military matters cannot be isolated from politics. Proletarian military matters can arise only out of proletarian politics. However fully we disclose our methods and refrain from keeping them secret, however

fully Chiang Kai-shek and his U.S. masters study our material, they can never understand the essence, and still less can they employ these methods among their troops. This is determined by the reactionary class character of their troops. Though their intention here is to find ingenious ways of raising the morale and fighting strength of their soldiers, they are bound to fail pitifully over and over again and repeatedly make a laughing stock of themselves.

IV. Economic democracy, attention to the well-being of the soldiers and the sharing of weal and woe by officers and men embody the political principle of the unity of officers and men in daily life, and form the starting point for uniting the masses and bringing their initiative into play.

In all the old-type armies, the soldiers are not only politically oppressed but economically exploited. It was a common thing, an open secret, that part of the soldiers' pay in those armies was pocketed and the soldiers "bled white." From the earliest stages in the building of our army, Comrade Mao Tse-tung built a system which ensured unity between officers and men and abolished the practice of bullying and beating. At the same time, he introduced economic democracy, namely, the practice of having accounts open to inspection by all and of soldiers handling mess arrangements. He has always attached great importance to improving the life of the soldiers, always emphasized the importance of officers and men sharing the bitter and the sweet, and always opposed bureaucratic tendencies to ignore the soldiers' welfare. As early as 1928, Comrade Mao Tse-tung emphasized how important economic democracy, integrated with political democracy, was for the Red Army, which at that time was still in its infancy and engaged in arduous fighting. He wrote: "Apart from the role played by the Party, the reason why the Red Army has been able to carry on in spite of such poor material conditions and such frequent engagements is its practice of democracy."¹⁰ Over the decades, this tradition has played a tremendous role in strengthening unity, in encouraging the initiative of the masses and in raising the combat effectiveness of the army.

Those tainted with warlord and bureaucratic habits of the old-type army are reluctant to undertake what they disdainfully regard as "trifles," such as economic democracy. In their view, having the accounts open to inspection by all and running the mess better are trivialities. They simply do not know that only by attending to the needs of the masses can they unite and lead them. This has been explained by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on more than one occasion. He said, "Do we want to win the support of the masses? Do we want them to devote their strength to the front? If so, we must be with them, arouse their enthusiasm and initiative, be concerned with their well-being, work earnestly and sincerely in their interests. . . ."¹¹ If we do so, "the masses will surely support us and regard

the revolution as their most glorious banner, as their very life."¹² It is in compliance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions that the tradition of officers and men eating, living, working, drilling and relaxing together has been maintained all through the protracted revolutionary wars and the period of peaceful construction following the triumph of the revolution. This has ensured selfless striving for the common goal on the part of the officers and men, who are bound together by class feeling and class brotherhood.

The importance of practising economic democracy and paying attention to the life of the masses also lies in the fact that, more often than not, the soldiers come to understand concretely the nature of the revolutionary army, and the revolutionary principles such as who is the revolution for, and whose interests the army is fighting for, in very concrete and practical ways, i.e., through those "trifles of everyday life" which directly involve their vital interests. In a soldier's eyes, a leading cadre is just a chatterer about revolution and a bureaucrat bossing the masses, however skilful he may be in argument, if he leads a privileged life and does not care about the well-being of the masses. If such a bureaucrat is in command of men in action, he will surely come a cropper.

V. Military democracy is an important measure for raising the tactical and technical level, for winning victories and for bringing forward men of ability. The officers teach the men, the men teach the men, and the men teach the officers, and all difficulties are brought up at "Chuke Liang meetings" where ways and means are suggested for overcoming them; this is the basic method of carrying out military democracy.

Our experience has long proved that a revolutionary army can practise not only political and economic democracy but also military democracy. It can apply military democracy in fighting as well as in training. Such military democracy was practised as early as the period of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. There was mobilization for the fighting before a battle and meetings afterwards to analyse the battle and sum up experience. This was indeed military democracy in practice. Military democracy was one of the factors, and an extremely important one, in the young Red Army's rapid development of high combat effectiveness and in the mature development of large numbers of fine military commanders who combined intelligence and courage, out of soldiers of peasant origin, "country bumpkins" who never attended a military academy.

The military democracy practised in the Red Army period was developed in the War of Resistance Against Japan. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, it leapt forward to a new stage, and a complete set of

* Chuke Liang, 181-234 A.D., the famous Chinese statesman and strategist whose name became a synonym among the Chinese people for "a wise man." A "Chuke Liang meeting" in the People's Liberation Army is one in which the soldiers pool their wisdom to solve difficult problems.

methods of applying military democracy both in training and in fighting came into existence. In training, the officers and men instructed each other, to the benefit of both the teachers and the students, and evaluations were made of both teaching and studying. They were organized into mutual-aid groups for training in which veterans helped new recruits, the stronger helped the weaker and each overcame his own weaknesses by acquiring the strong points of others. They taught and learnt from one another and pledged themselves to teach well and study diligently. In fighting, so long as conditions permitted, the officers and men were encouraged to discuss the fighting tasks and plans and offer their ideas, and to devise ways and means of solving technical and tactical problems; after a battle, they came together to "evaluate the battle," that is, to discuss bravery, technique, tactics, discipline and command, and to sum up their experience in actual warfare. They made progress after each battle. In this way, all the difficulties encountered in training and fighting were easily solved once the masses were encouraged to carry out full military democracy. During the whole period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, military democracy played a very great role in raising the army's combat effectiveness and ensuring that even with such inferior equipment as "millet plus rifles," it could defeat the Chiang Kai-shek troops equipped by the U.S. imperialists with aircraft and artillery.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a timely summation of the additional experience in perfecting military democracy. He said, "With regard to military democracy, in periods of training there must be mutual instruction as between officers and soldiers and among the soldiers themselves; and in periods of fighting the companies at the front must hold big and small meetings of various kinds. Under the direction of the company leadership, the masses of soldiers should be roused to discuss how to attack and capture enemy positions and how to fulfil other combat tasks. When the fighting lasts several days, several such meetings should be held."¹³ By practising such military democracy, it is possible to concentrate the wisdom of the masses, heighten the morale of the soldiers, overcome difficulties and defeat the enemy.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions stimulated a more extensive and conscious development of military democracy throughout the army. The greater the number of battles fought, the more resourceful the army grew, the cleverer the soldiers and the more capable the officers became. Many foreigners, and even some Chinese, were never able to understand how the People's Liberation Army could knock out tanks with hand-grenades, defeat warships with wooden junks and blow up fortified city walls and reinforced concrete strongholds without artillery. To them, problems of this sort seemed enigmas impossible of solution. In reality, apart from its high political consciousness and its bravery, the army was able to create all these miracles mainly by relying on military democracy whereby

"everyone contributes his ideas and offers his ways." That was our "secret."

VI. The object of democracy in the army is to consolidate discipline and strengthen combat effectiveness. The key to its correct development is the bold arousing of the masses and the strengthening of centralized leadership.

Far from weakening discipline and combat effectiveness, democracy in the army aims at consolidating and strengthening them. The units that correctly apply democracy under leadership in the three main fields in fact attain this result. Experience proves that there are no grounds for anxiety that the practice of democracy, especially democracy in military affairs, will weaken discipline, impede the work of the command, affect the prestige of the officers, cause delays and lead to the missing of good combat opportunities.

War is a life-and-death struggle between ourselves and the enemy. Above all, it demands concerted action, strict discipline, authoritative command and prompt decision at the right moment. In a word, it calls for a high degree of centralization. Since it calls for high centralization, how can democracy be widely practised? Indeed, to the bourgeois militarists this is utterly incomprehensible. It is completely impossible in a reactionary army, but completely possible in our army. The practice of military democracy in a revolutionary army does not contradict all these requirements of battle; on the contrary, it strengthens them.

Experience shows that the more democracy is brought into play, the greater is the mutual understanding and trust between the higher and the lower levels and between officers and men, thus eliminating apprehensions and misgivings. Those commanders who give correct leadership and promptly rectify mistakes enjoy greater prestige and issue orders with greater confidence, and the lower officers and the soldiers observe discipline, carry out orders and obey commands with greater consciousness of what they are doing. At the same time, the more battle plans are discussed democratically and amended, with each man clearly understanding his place and role during the whole operation, the more initiative the soldiers show in fighting and the more they strengthen their unity and co-ordinate their actions in battle of their own volition. The effect of democratic discussion on military affairs before battle is that the fighters are to a due extent acquainted with the plan of combat. In case the commander and his appointed deputy are killed or wounded in succession, the command will not be interrupted. Members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League who come forward and take up the command have the assurance of possessing a sense of political responsibility and a knowledge of the concrete measures. Does this not provide a clear answer to the question of whether democracy impedes or strengthens centralization?

The point can also be clearly illustrated from our daily life and work. When preparing or carrying out a task, our officers and men say, "Let's have a talk about it," "Let's chew it over" or "Let's collect opinions." When there are differences of view they say, "Let's lay the different opinions on the table," or "Let's discuss." And as to those who hold wrong opinions they propose, "Let's help them get things straight" or "Let's try and win them over by persuasion." Again, after completing a job, they "make some comments," "check-up" and "sum up." All in all, this does not cause any trouble, waste any time or increase the differences but on the contrary makes for better understanding, strengthens unity, crystallizes people's will and unifies action at all levels, so that every task is fulfilled better.

It is wrong to be endlessly worried, timid and hesitant about democracy, it is wrong to be afraid of arousing the masses fully, and it is wrong to hamper democracy by various prohibitions. It is wrong if democracy is lacking in the daily life and work of the army in ordinary times, if no attention is given to other people's opinions, or if democracy is reduced to a formal procedure, while in actual fact one's own words alone are decisive. But it is likewise wrong to assume that when democracy is developed, the responsibilities of the cadres are lighter and that they can do everything simply in accordance with other people's ideas, with themselves trailing behind the masses and abandoning necessary leadership and centralism. It should be said that this is not democracy but an utter distortion of democracy. Nothing could be done well that way and battles would be badly fought. It would only encourage unhealthy tendencies and thwart the true initiative of the masses.

How then can one give correct leadership to developing democracy in the three fields?

Basing himself on the experience of the Red Army, Comrade Mao Tse-tung supplied us with a clear-cut answer as early as 1929. He pointed out that to practise democracy under centralized leadership, "the leading bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance and find solutions when problems arise, in order to establish themselves as centres of leadership."¹⁴ "The higher bodies must be familiar with the life of the masses and with the situation in the lower bodies so as to have an objective basis for correct guidance."¹⁵

Obviously it is wrong, when we advocate democracy, to think that the leaders have no responsibilities, may not have their own opinions, can drift with the stream, make no analysis of the correctness or incorrectness of the opinions of the masses, and fail to distinguish between suggestions that can be put into practice and those which for the moment cannot, and that they can get along simply by trailing behind the masses. Such ideas and actions would be entirely wrong. To practise democracy under leadership, the leaders must conduct serious investigations and studies and gain an understanding of the situation so that they can offer correct opinions and practical solutions when problems arise. Therefore, if the movement for democracy is to

unfold correctly, the leading organs and leading cadres must not only have a firm belief in the masses and a correct democratic attitude but must be highly principled and skilled in giving leadership. It cannot be otherwise.

Though there has been great progress in both the form and content of the army's democracy in the three fields during the past few decades, the basic experience and methods in practising democracy under leadership remain the same as those outlined by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Experience shows that democracy is sure to develop in a healthy fashion when this is followed, and when one first conducts serious investigations and studies oneself and understands the situation, and then leads the masses to pay serious attention to investigation and study so that they clearly understand the actual situation. In such circumstances, criticism and self-criticism, and bringing difficult problems to the surface and finding ways of solving them, will get to the heart of things and achieve the best results.

VII. The fundamental guarantee of consistently practising democracy and following the mass line in the army is adherence to the system of division of responsibility among the leaders under the unified collective leadership of the Party committee.

From the very outset of building the army, Comrade Mao Tse-tung worked hard to establish the army Party committee system, and to improve and consolidate it. And in the years of practice that followed, he steadily perfected this system and gradually developed it into the system of division of responsibility among the leaders under the unified collective leadership of the Party committee. All questions of major importance must be decided by discussion in the Party committee, except in an emergency when a leader has to make a quick decision. In discussion, there must be full democracy, with differing opinions debated and efforts made to see that decisions are taken on the basis of agreed ideas. Experience shows that this system can bring all positive factors into play, concentrate the experience and wisdom of the masses, prevent any individual from monopolizing all activity and taking decisions on important problems all by himself, and avoid narrowness and one-sidedness in the handling of problems. At the same time, the leader concerned can play his role to the full, make prompt decisions on his own in the process of exercising his powers as a leader, and fulfil his tasks independently under the unified collective leadership of the Party committee. This is the most essential and the best system of leadership, and has stood the test of time.

The army's history over the decades proves that whenever any unit undermined or weakened the Party committee system, it inevitably developed a trend of warlordism characterized by individual arbitrariness, and undermined inner-Party democracy in the army and the Party's leadership over the army, disintegrated the unity and solidarity of the unit, and weakened its fighting capacity. During the period when the line of "Left" opportunism predominated for the third time,

this time represented by Wang Ming, the Party committee system in the Red Army was abolished, with grave adverse effects on its combat activities and on army building. After the Party committee system was restored in the form of the military and political committees during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, and especially after it was completely restored and improved at all levels in the army during the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, the unity of the whole army under the leadership of the Party was greatly strengthened, democracy within the army was greatly invigorated and the movements for democracy and the new type of ideological education in the army were conducted in a guided, orderly way. This added tremendously to the combat effectiveness of the army and ensured final victory in the war.

Historical experience shows that the Party's leadership over the army should mean unified collective leadership by the Party committees at all levels and never individual arbitrariness by any Party member or leader. The establishment of the Party committee system under unified, central leadership at all levels in the army, the practice within the Party committee of the system of division of responsibility among the leaders under unified collective leadership—this is the fundamental system whereby the military command is placed under the leadership of the Party. At the same time, democracy in the army can be satisfactorily practised only when the leaders first of all develop a good, democratic style of work under this system. Therefore, adherence to the system of division of responsibility among the leaders under the unified collective leadership of the Party committees has become a basic guarantee of consistently practising democracy and following the mass line in the army, and preventing any warlord trends characterized by individual arbitrariness.

VIII. Democracy in the three fields which was necessary under "millet plus rifles" conditions is still needed, and needed all the more, and is entirely feasible, under conditions of modern equipment and modern war.

Democracy in the three fields came into being during the "millet plus rifles" period of our army. This provided those who held bourgeois views on military affairs with a "reason" for arguing that democracy in the three fields and the mass line were simply makeshifts or "indigenous methods" that had to be adopted in view of the inferior equipment of our army and the lack of military training of the officers. To their mind, these "indigenous methods" were very inferior and unscientific. They were utterly useless when modern equipment was adopted, regular training was initiated and modern warfare was prosecuted; accordingly, only those commanders and technical experts who had undergone strict professional training were to be depended on. For a time a few persons who stuck to bourgeois views on military affairs came to the fore again and created trouble in the new historical period following the founding of the People's Republic of China. In

the name of building a modern, regular army, they advocated the abolition of the Party committee system in the army, which in reality meant abolishing the Party's leadership over the army, weakening political work and negating the democratic tradition and mass line of our army. This represented a vain attempt to push the People's Liberation Army on to the bourgeois road of army building. The question of whether to preserve the democratic tradition and mass line of our army and bring them into full play is an essential part of the struggle in the new historical period between the two different military lines.

The facts of the past 15 years have entirely shattered their absurd arguments. The Korean war can be taken as the biggest modern war since World War II. The Chinese People's Volunteers together with the heroic Korean People's Army defeated the U.S. forces of aggression, even though the latter had naval, air and artillery superiority. This was not because our military equipment and military technique were more modern at that time than those of the United States. The main reasons for our victory were the justness of our war, the all-out support of the Korean and Chinese peoples, our correct strategy, the high political consciousness and courage of our officers and men, and, an extremely important factor, the healthy development of our democratic tradition and the mass line. The world-famous tunnel fortifications, known as the underground Great Wall, and the tunnel offensive and defensive tactics, the indestructible transport line which was never interrupted despite continuous enemy bombing, the mass movement for bringing down enemy planes which turned U.S. "air superiority" into "air anxiety," and the sniping operations that caused the U.S. troops uneasiness on the 38th Parallel—were not all these the creation of the masses, the cadres and fighters, arising from the widespread practice of democracy in which everybody put forward his ideas?

To say that modern equipment is too scientific and too complicated for the masses of soldiers to understand and therefore no democracy is possible—this kind of assertion is an absolute swindle; if not compacted of superstition and ignorance, it is deliberately intended to frighten people. The technical equipment of an air force and navy is modern enough. The research, experiment and manufacture connected with atom bombs, guided missiles and other new weapons of the most advanced type can be said to be highly modern. Yet how did our young air force and navy rapidly master such modern techniques? How were our young pilots from worker and peasant families able to bring down U.S. ace pilots? And in recent years how were our air defence units able again and again to bring down U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reconnaissance planes of all types? Is it not to a very large extent due to the democratic movement in which everybody offers his ideas and methods, due to the priceless tradition of the integration of the leaders and the masses? How was our national defence industry, breaking all bourgeois rules and overcoming all difficulties imposed by the modern revisionists, able

successfully to explode two atom bombs designed and manufactured in China in so very short a period? What is the reason? Is it not to a very large extent due to the democratic movement in which everybody offers his ideas and methods, due to the priceless tradition of the mass line, the pooling of the efforts of the leaders, experts and workers?

Experience has shown that the more modernized technical equipment becomes, the more that modern equipment is used in war and the more we have to deal with an enemy using modern equipment, the less can we afford to weaken the democratic tradition and the mass line in our methods of work. On the contrary, they have to be upheld and developed all the more. The reason is very simple. Man invents the weapons, man manufactures the weapons, man uses the weapons, and man destroys the weapons. Without man, all modern technical equipment is not only so much deadwood; it could never be produced. The conscious activity of man cannot be replaced by any technical equipment, however advanced. Man is always the primary factor. Within the human factor, the wisdom and experience of the individual leader and technical expert is always very limited and incomplete. Therefore, modern technical equipment can be used most fully, and extremely complicated forms of modern warfare can be carried out with the utmost confidence and success only by fully practising democracy, bringing the collective wisdom of the masses into full play and rallying the initiative and creativeness of the masses under the collective leadership of the Party committee.

In this respect, the imperialists and reactionaries are still our best teachers by negative example. They thought highly of the bourgeois conception that appeared in our army building work at one time after the victory of our revolution and were very happy about it. They believed that in this way, though the People's Liberation Army would become stronger in technical equipment, its revolutionary tradition — such as leadership by the Party, political work and the mass line, centred on democracy in the three main fields — would be weakened and even discarded; this revolutionary force would therefore change its nature and become a "professional army" such as that of the bourgeoisie and would become easier to deal with and possible to defeat. However, the imperialists and reactionaries rejoiced too soon. The facts soon turned their hopes to despair.

In the new historical period since the victory of the revolution, and especially in recent years, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Military Council and Comrade Lin Piao, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has not only persisted in but has further developed its revolutionary tradition which was initiated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and which includes democracy in the three main fields. This has struck great fear into the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists of the Khrushchov brand and aroused their enmity. They

furiously slander our people's movement for learning from the Liberation Army. They say it is intended to wipe out democracy and force the people to submit without complaint. They say it is meant to ask the Chinese people to further sacrifice their personal interests. They say it is meant to impose military organization and methods on the factories and the communes and turn the whole of China into a barrack, etc., etc. Why do they slander and attack us so fiercely in this matter? It is because they sense that our persistence in and development of this tradition is to their great disadvantage. We have shattered their delusions that as time goes by, as our economy develops and with the improvement of our equipment, we will some day discard our old traditions bit by bit and gradually become estranged from the masses.

This is not at all surprising. Their reactionary class stand determines their reluctance and failure to understand the following: the essence of what the Chinese people are learning from the Liberation Army is precisely to learn to persist in the "four firsts" and the "three-eight" style of work,* and at the same time to persist in and develop the democratic tradition of our Party.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung long ago pointed out, "In China war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization."¹⁶ Hence, the Marxist-Leninist line of the Chinese Communist Party, represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and all the fine traditions of the Party were usually implemented first in the army. This is precisely the characteristic of the Chinese revolution and arises from the historical conditions of the protracted revolutionary war. So it was with the spread of our Party's democratic style of work among the masses. The whole Liberation Army was a school of democracy throughout the decades of war, a sower of democratic thinking and a democratic style of work. During the difficult years of struggle against reaction at home and abroad, wherever the Liberation Army went, there revolutionary bases were established and democratic thinking and a democratic style of work spread; the people learnt to hold meetings, conduct elections, hold discussions, practise criticism and employ other democratic means, how to exercise democratic

* The "four firsts" are as follows: Giving first place to man in the correct handling of the relationship between man and weapons; giving first place to political work in the correct handling of the relationship between political and other work; giving first place to ideological work in the correct handling of the relationship between ideological and routine tasks in political work; and in ideological work, giving first place to living ideas in the correct handling of the relationship between ideas in books and living ideas. With regard to the "three-eight" working style, "three" refers to the three mottoes: "Keep firmly to the correct political orientation," "maintain an industrious and simple style of work," and "be flexible in strategy and tactics"; "eight" refers to eight characters which mean unity, alertness, earnestness and activity.

rights and reach unanimity and undertake unified action on the basis of democracy. To this day, the Chinese people still warmly refer to a good cadre whose style of work is very democratic and who is at one with the masses as "our old Red Armyman" or "the old *ba lu* [Eighth Route Army]." This is an apt illustration.

Leadership by the Party which is armed with Marxism-Leninism, with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and wholehearted defence of the highest interests of the overwhelming majority of the people—these are the prerequisites for all the systems and fine traditions of our army. All the tasks of the army are carried out through firm reliance on the masses. Our people learn from the army and our army learns from the people and from the work of the local authorities. The army and the people are as one, and the army units and local authorities are in accord. How can this be understood by the imperialists, reactionaries and revisionists, who are alienated from and hostile to the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population? They do not want to and can never understand it. To them, absolute obedience and no democracy are common characteristics of all armies, bourgeois or proletarian alike; thus, according to them, for the Chinese people to learn from the Liberation Army naturally means abolishing democracy and imposing military control over the people. Such is their pitiful and absurd reasoning. Their slanders and attacks can achieve no more than to expose their complete ignorance of and utter hatred for all revolutionary causes. They cannot do us the least harm; on the contrary, these attacks and slanders serve us as the best teachers by negative example and prove that what we are doing is right. Once again this demonstrates the truth that it is not your modern technique that the imperialists and the reactionaries truly fear. The modern technique that you have they also have, even more and better. That is not what they are afraid of. What they really fear is precisely the unique proletarian political consciousness of our commanders and fighters, the mass line that brings into fullest play this political consciousness and the initiative and creativeness resulting from this consciousness, and our democratic tradition. Is this not perfectly clear?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory and practice concerning the need without exception for democracy in the army, the need without exception for the mass line in military work, and the theory and practice concerning the orderly and well-led development of democracy—political, economic and military—in the army constitute a new development of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses are the creators of history. It was born out of practice during China's protracted revolutionary war. It was first carried out in the course of war and within the army. At the same time, it is applicable to the revolutionary cause of the people in general. In learning from the oil workers of Taching, from the peasants of Tachai and from the Liberation Army, in the movement for comparing with the more advanced, learning from and overtaking them and helping the less

advanced, the Chinese people are concretely applying the democratic traditions of our army to the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation, and they are widely developing the movement for democracy in four fields, namely, democracy in politics, in production, in finance and in military affairs. They, too, are making many new creations, with tremendous effect on raising political consciousness, promoting production and developing science. All this fully demonstrates that the democratic tradition of our army initiated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a priceless revolutionary tradition, an unbreakable truth of universal application that works wherever it is applied.

Relying on this priceless revolutionary tradition, under the brilliant leadership of our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung our army and the masses of the people have won great victories in successive revolutionary wars, in socialist revolution and in socialist construction by carrying out the principles, lines and policies Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Party Central Committee have laid down. In the future, too, by continuing to rely on this priceless revolutionary tradition, applying it and carrying it forward on all fronts throughout the country, our people surely will all the faster reach the great goal of building China into a powerful socialist country, with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology. Our People's Liberation Army should continue to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, continue to persist in and develop the democratic tradition of our army and learn with modesty all the new achievements and experiences of the local organizations in this respect, and strive to raise the combat strength of our army and accomplish with distinction the great tasks assigned to us by history.

NOTES

¹ "The Struggle in the Ching-kang Mountains," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, English Edition, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, p.83.

² "The Democratic Movement in the Army," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, p.191.

³ "On Protracted War," *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1963, pp.260-61.

⁴ "Marx and Engels to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and Others" ("Circular Letter"), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1958, p.485.

⁵ "Be Concerned With the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1964, p.147.

⁶ "On Protracted War," *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1963, p.257.

⁷ Mao Tse-tung, *Preface and Postscript to "Rural Surveys"*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1962, p.3.

⁸The three main rules of discipline are as follows: Obey orders in all your actions; do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses; and turn in everything captured. The eight points for attention are as follows: Speak politely; pay fairly for what you buy; return everything you borrow; pay for anything you damage; do not hit or swear at people; do not damage crops; do not take liberties with women; and do not ill-treat captives.

⁹"On the Great Victory in the Northwest and on the New Type of Ideological Education Movement in the Liberation Army," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, pp.214-15.

¹⁰"The Struggle in the Ching-kang Mountains," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1964, p.83.

¹¹"Be Concerned With the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1964, p.149.

¹² *ibid.*, pp.149-50.

¹³"The Democratic Movement in the Army," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, p.191.

¹⁴"On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1964, p.109.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶"Problems of War and Strategy," *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1963, p.269.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Shatter the Adventurous U.S. War Plan In the Course of Its "Escalation"

U.S. IMPERIALISM intends to fight a local war in Viet Nam, or even in the whole of Indo-China: this is the gist of Johnson's July 28 statement.

Johnson has decided to immediately send more reinforcements — 50,000 — to south Viet Nam, to bring the number of American aggressor troops there to 125,000. Such a large number in a single reinforcement is the highest since Washington started its war of aggression against Viet Nam. Moreover, Johnson also let it be known that "additional forces will be needed later, and they will be sent as requested." He, thus, has opened the gate for great numbers of American ground forces to flood south Viet Nam, thereby speeding up the expansion of the Indo-China war.

Lest this should be opposed and condemned by public opinion both at home and abroad, play-acting Johnson wants people to believe that the United States was forced to make this new adventurous move after careful deliberation. McNamara's south Viet Nam inspection tour, repeated consultation meetings at the White House over the week — everything was designed to create such an impression. In actual fact, the sending of massive American reinforcements to south Viet Nam was decided long ago. Besides, what U.S. imperialism plans to do in Viet Nam is certainly not limited to what Johnson has just announced. As the Japanese Kyodo news agency has noted, there is much more

beyond what Johnson has announced. Johnson is telling only part of the story because he seeks, while forcing a local war on the peoples of Viet Nam and the rest of Indo-China, to drag the American people into a large-scale war of aggression before they know it.

U.S. Bent on Fighting a Ground War

The ruling group in the United States at first wanted to avoid fighting a ground war in Asia but now it is bent on doing this. This change, while revealing the aggressive nature of imperialism which is immutable, also reflects the U.S. predicament in Viet Nam. The four-year "special war" fought with American money and weapons has gone bankrupt. "Naval and air superiority," which relied on planes and warships without a contest on the ground, has made no gains at all. Willy-nilly, U.S. imperialism now finds it necessary to send ground forces to take a direct part in the fighting. But, just as a glass of water cannot extinguish a cartload of burning firewood, the sending of a mere 3,000 or 5,000 men at a time will not help the situation. So Johnson is now sending a huge force into south Viet Nam; on the face of it, this looks as if the enemy, showing his teeth, is getting tough. But, in essence, this is the consequence of the consecutive defeats suffered by the U.S. aggressors.

That U.S. imperialism might draw a lesson from its failures is impossible. It is not reconciled to its failures and will not quit south Viet Nam. In Johnson's words, "We will not surrender, we will not retreat." This is determined by the reactionary class nature of imperialism. The greater its failure, the more U.S. imperialism continues to make trouble—this is an objective law. And the more trouble it makes, the greater its failure—this is likewise an objective law. As was evinced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, this logic of action on the part of imperialism and all reactionaries has become all the more conspicuous and obvious today, which witnesses the further decay and decline of U.S. imperialism. What the Johnson Administration has done and will do in Viet Nam, its position today and its fate tomorrow, all have proved and will continue to prove the point.

The Johnson Administration is now speeding up its preparations in various fields to fight a Korean-type war in Indo-China. The White House and the Pentagon brains are emulating one another in providing the grounds to make people believe that the United States in every aspect is in a better position than it was at the beginning of the Korean war. As Johnson has put it, "this nation is prepared." Actually, this is nothing but whistling in a dark graveyard.

Comparisons With the Korean War

At this point, we might as well compare the Indo-China situation today with the Korean battleground then.

At that time, the Korean people, though rich in experience in their armed struggle against Japan, after all had not had any direct battlefield encounter with U.S. imperialism. Today, the Vietnamese people, in addition to rich experience in their armed struggles against Japan and France, have accumulated nearly ten years' experience in their armed struggle against the United States, especially valuable experience in defeating U.S. "special warfare."

At that time, in south Korea there was as yet no powerful people's guerrilla movement but a relatively stable puppet regime under Syngman Rhee. Today, in south Viet Nam there is already a powerful Liberation Army and consolidated liberated areas under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, whereas the Saigon puppets are in a terrible mess, having practically no government worth the name.

At that time, the belligerents in the Korean war fought on a narrow strip of the peninsula. Today, in Viet Nam and Indo-China, there are innumerable jungles which offer a vast area to manoeuvre. This geographical factor of the war theatre is most unfavourable to the U.S. aggressors.

At that time, the United States could still lump together a dozen or so "allies" and patch up a so-

called United Nations Force. Today, except for a meagre force of mercenaries provided by a few satellites, the United States fights alone.

At that time, the Chinese people took part in the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea only one year after China's liberation. Today, the Chinese people's movement to aid Viet Nam in its resistance to U.S. aggression is being unfolded at a time when New China is already 15 years old and has become much stronger than before.

At that time, U.S. imperialism had not yet strategically deployed its forces all over the globe. Today, its troops and bases are scattered all over the world in several hundred places with the result that its front has become far too extended, it cannot handle one place without neglecting another; when it reinforces its military strength in one place the others are weakened and its objectives are beyond its power.

At that time, the anti-U.S. struggle had not yet swept vast areas in the world. Today, U.S. imperialism is isolated as never before, and it has already been heavily encircled by the people of the world. A world-wide broad united front against U.S. imperialism is being formed and developed.

U.S. imperialism took many beatings in Korea. Washington policy-makers have reluctantly admitted that the Korean war was "the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." They seemed to have learnt something from this and became a bit cleverer. Eisenhower once remarked that "if the U.S. were, unilaterally, to permit its forces to be drawn into conflict in Indo-China and a succession of Asian wars, the end result would be to drain off our resources and to weaken our overall offensive position." Kennedy also said that "to pour money, material and men into the jungles of Indo-China without at least a remote prospect of victory would be dangerously hazardous, futile and self-destructive." Now, finding no way out and ignoring the "advice" of his predecessors, **Lyndon Johnson is doing what Eisenhower and Kennedy dared not to do or refrained from doing; he has flung large numbers of U.S. ground forces into the jungles of Indo-China. An even more disastrous defeat than what was suffered in the Korean war and with far-reaching repercussions is in store for the U.S. aggressors.**

U.S. imperialism has not learnt anything from its own experience, nor will it take lessons from others. France threw hundreds of thousands of expeditionary forces into Indo-China and fought for eight years there but in the end it had to acknowledge defeat and packed up and went home. Military and political chiefs in the United States have time and again remonstrated with themselves against taking the same road France did at Dien Bien Phu. But since the U.S. aggressors are now bent on fighting a ground war in Indo-China they will inevitably bog down deeper and deeper in the mire. They will encounter not only one Dien Bien Phu but countless Dien Bien Phus.

Acting as the world gendarme, the United States has dispersed its armed forces all over the world in the same manner as ten fingers are used to catch ten fleas at the same time. Even if the U.S. aggressors are able to deploy 100,000, 200,000, 500,000, one million or two million troops on both sides of Truong Son Range, drowning is the only result they can expect from the vast ocean of the great people's war waged by the 31 million Vietnamese.

Johnson Tries "Human Wave Tactics"

Since the myth of its "naval and air superiority" has been exploded the Johnson Administration is now trying to make a show of its "human wave tactics." But can it avert defeat by fighting a ground war? The Japanese imperialists sent a million troops to invade China and the Hitler gang thrust several million fascist bandits into the Soviet Union, but in the end they surrendered unconditionally. Today, in the 1960s, can the Johnson Administration's war adventure plan be more workable than those of the German and Japanese fascist bandits? What is more, standing on the side of the 31 million Vietnamese people are the 650 million Chinese people, the peoples of the socialist countries, the peace-loving people throughout the world and the peoples who, subjected to and angered by U.S. aggression, oppression, control and bullying, hold nooses around the neck of U.S. imperialism.

Every time the Johnson Administration beats its war drum the U.S. President never fails to accompany it with a peace tune. The idea is to cover up its adventurous moves for expanding the war, inveigle the American people to pay and die for the war and indicate to the political brokers that they can go ahead and peddle its peace fraud. But today the American people are not the same as during the Korean war and the world is not what it was 15 years ago.

Thousands of letters from mothers of American soldiers like the one Johnson mentioned in his July 28 statement are now piled up on his desk. These letters sharply reflect the American people's sentiments against the war of aggression in Viet Nam. What is ringing in his ears are the angry voices of the demonstrators against that war, which can be heard repeatedly around the White House and the Pentagon.

From the bloody crimes U.S. imperialism has committed in its war of aggression in Viet Nam, more and more people in the world today have come to see more clearly what Johnson's "peace" and "negotiations" really mean. This time, as he spoke tongue in cheek about "requesting that all the resources . . . of the United Nations be employed . . . to bring peace . . .," he raved about getting to the conference table by "death and desolation." In other words, Washington intends to intensify "fighting in the south and bombing in the north," to turn Viet Nam into a heap of rubble and force the Vietnamese people to surrender. It is clear

that to agree to Johnson's "unconditional discussions" is to endorse U.S. aggression against Viet Nam.

Vietnamese People Determined to Fight and Win

U.S. imperialism will not put down the butcher's knife and turn from doing evil to good. **To deal with such a rapacious aggressor, any begging or well-intentioned hopes will only inflate its arrogance. The only correct way is that of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, to meet its armed force with armed force, and to wage a tit-for-tat struggle. Only by smashing the Johnson Administration's adventurous scheme for expanding the war in the course of its "escalation" can there be any talk of bringing back peace to Viet Nam and Indo-China. The Vietnamese people, who have over 10 years of experience in struggle against U.S. imperialism, made their choice long ago: They will not rest until every single U.S. aggressor on Vietnamese soil is wiped out.**

On July 19 President Ho Chi Minh once again announced: "We are determined to fight till final victory even if we have to go on fighting another 5 years, 10 years, 20 years or even longer." These words of President Ho Chi Minh fully express the firm will of the 31 million Vietnamese people who are determined to carry the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end.

A spokesman of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation issued a statement on July 30 which firmly expressed the determination of the army and people of south Viet Nam to defeat the U.S. imperialists no matter to what extent they might expand their war of aggression. The Front called on the whole army and people of south Viet Nam to fight even more fiercely, "to take good aim at the forehead of the U.S. imperialists and to deal lightning blows until the aggressors cannot do anything but get out of south Viet Nam." The statement appealed to the army and people in the north to fight shoulder to shoulder with the army and people in the south to annihilate the U.S. aggressors wherever they may be. It declared: "The 31 million Vietnamese people can certainly annihilate the U.S. aggressors, liberate the south and defend the north and reunify the country."

The Vietnamese people's sacred struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is of great historic significance. Its complete victory will become another new turning-point in the world situation since World War II. The Vietnamese people are making the greatest contributions for defeating U.S. imperialism's war of aggression and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world. In this great struggle, the Chinese people pledge that together with the revolutionary people the world over they will do their utmost to support the Vietnamese people and smash the adventurous scheme of the U.S. aggressors for expanding the war in the course of its "escalation."

Protest Against U.S. Piracy

IN line with the Johnson Administration's intensified war moves, U.S. aircraft have recently carried out serious and repeated provocations against a Chinese merchant ship sailing on the high seas. **This has drawn the close attention of the Chinese authorities concerned.**

"The Chinese merchant vessel, *Nanghai 155*," according to a Hsinhua report on August 2 quoting sources in the Chinese departments of communications, "was sailing a regular trade route between ports of south China and the seaport of Sihanoukville in Cambodia. Between June 7 and 9, June 22 and 25 and July 13 and 18 of this year, U.S. military aircraft, on many occasions, dived over the Chinese vessel, pursued it and threw dazzling beams from search-lights on it while it was sailing on the open seas.

"At times, the U.S. planes circled above the ship at an altitude of only tens of metres and made repeated dives towards it. On one trip, the ship was pursued more than 1,200 nautical miles by U.S. military aircraft, which made 42 sorties in turn. They flew low and circled it more than 350 times.

"At night, the U.S. planes repeatedly shone search-lights over the cargo vessel and dropped illuminated floats at random along the ship's route, seriously hindering normal navigation and threatening the safety of the crew."

Renmin Ribao, in an article signed by Commentator on August 3, **protested against the U.S. piratical act as "a gross violation of the freedom of navigation on the high seas, flagrant encroachment on international law and deliberate provocations against China."**

Commentator wrote: "The U.S. imperialists have frequently infringed upon the territorial waters of China before these recent repeated, shameless provocations. On April 24 this year, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson issued an order and brazenly designated the whole of Viet Nam and adjacent waters as a 'combat zone' of the U.S. armed forces. He even included a part of the territorial waters of China near the Hsisha

Islands in the U.S. 'combat zone.' On March 29, U.S. fighter planes on three occasions strafed and attacked a Chinese fishing boat on the high seas west of Yingkotsui on Hainan Island and pursued it into the territorial waters of China. It is not just one Chinese merchant vessel, the *Nanghai 155*, against which the United States has carried out provocations on the high seas. All these criminal acts of the Johnson Administration seriously violate China's sovereignty and threaten the safety of Chinese sailors and fishermen on the high seas. The Chinese people can never tolerate this.

"The provocation against a Chinese merchant ship occurred at a time when the Johnson Administration was intensifying its expansion of the war of aggression against Viet Nam. Dispatching an ever greater number of U.S. aggressive troops to the southern part of Viet Nam, and continuously expanding its bombing of the northern part, it has blustered that it will step up its so-called land and sea blockade of Viet Nam. U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara openly declared that the United States would 'interdict infiltration' by sea 'by putting in effect a sea patrol across the 17th Parallel and extending it into the international waterways.' At the same time, the U.S. has been intensifying its provocations against China. Not long ago, the American air marauders intruded into China's air space over the area of Hainan Island, and later, U.S. war planes again brazenly intruded over the area of Hokow in China's Yunnan Province. It is obvious that **the provocation by the United States against the Chinese merchant ship sailing on the high seas is not accidental but a part of the Johnson Administration's moves to expand its military adventures in Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China.**"

"**The Chinese people cannot treat such piratical acts by the United States lightly.** We warn the Johnson Administration: You must immediately stop your provocations against Chinese merchant ships on the high seas; you will be fully responsible for the serious consequences of your provocations."

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

of notes with the Indian Government. Thus, since the first half of 1964, China had taken the step to make a round-up of Indian intrusions and lodge a single protest with India every six months, ex-

cept in particularly grave cases. The Chinese Government had informed the Indian Government of this measure and explained its reasons for taking it. But the Indian Government, in an attempt to cover up its intrusions, resorted to feigning ignorance and standing truth on its head, and went so far as to allege

that this measure, which the Chinese Government had taken entirely out of goodwill, was for the purpose of propaganda. The Chinese note said: "If the Indian Government entertains any fear of its crimes of aggression being exposed, the only way is to stop all its aggressive activities immediately."

China Supports Laotian People's Anti-U.S. Struggle

VICE-PREMIER and Foreign Minister Chen Yi in a letter dated July 28 to Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat and Vice-Premier of the National Union Government of Laos, declared that the Chinese Government and people resolutely and unreservedly support the proposals of the Neo Lao Haksat for a settlement of the Laotian question. These proposals were set forth in a memorandum issued by the Neo Lao Haksat on the third anniversary of the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos.

Reviewing the non-stop U.S. intervention and aggression in Laos since the 1962 Geneva agreements, Chen Yi said that "U.S. imperialism has no regard for any international agreements." He also said, "The United States signed the Geneva agreements three years ago, yet from the outset it did not intend to implement them, its sole object being to gain a breathing spell for readjusting and regrouping its forces so as to further intensify and expand its intervention and aggression in Laos and turn Laos into its colony and military base."

Chen Yi also noted the recent activities of U.S. imperialism in its intervention and aggression in Laos. These activities, he said, "form an important part of the U.S. imperialist plans to open a front in Laos in co-ordination with the south Viet Nam battlefield and enlarge the Indo-China war."

Chen Yi said: "The Neo Lao Haksat has consistently and strictly abided by the Geneva agreements and the tripartite agreements [of the three political forces in Laos] and resolutely upheld and implemented the political programme of the Laotian Government of National

Union. The Laotian people's struggle to defend their country against U.S. aggression is entirely just; it has made positive contributions to the safeguarding of the independence and neutrality of Laos and to the defence of peace in Indo-China and Asia, and thus won widespread sympathy and support among all the peace-loving countries and people throughout the world. There is no doubt that, in the face of the heroic Laotian people, the U.S. imperialists' sinister scheme to enslave and control Laos is doomed to failure."

"The Government of the People's Republic of China, as a close neighbour of Laos and a signatory to the two sets of Geneva agreements [of 1954 and 1962], has always strictly abided by the Geneva agreements and closely followed the development of the Laotian situation. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Laotian people in their just struggle to defend their country from U.S. aggression and fully endorse the proposals for a thorough settlement of the Laotian question put forward by the Neo Lao Haksat in its memorandum. The U.S. imperialists must put an end to every violation of the Geneva agreements, end their intervention and aggression against Laos, withdraw all the armed forces and war materiel illegally introduced into Laos by the United States and its vassal states and let the Laotian people settle their own affairs. We consider that this is the only correct way to settle the Laotian question. The Chinese Government and the 650 million Chinese people will unswervingly stand by the fraternal Laotian people and do their utmost for the fulfilment of the national aspirations and just demands of the Laotian people."

New American Adventure in Laos

THE Laotian situation is becoming daily more serious. The Johnson Administration, working overtime to expand the war, is feverishly trying to open up another front in Laos in co-ordination with the battlefield in south Viet Nam. The increasingly intense flames of war, lit by U.S. imperialism, is in the danger of quickly spreading to the whole of Indo-China.

On July 23, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the signing of the 1962 Geneva agreements, the Neo Lao Haksat published a memorandum, making an all-round analysis of the current Laotian situation and a timely exposure of the latest American military adventure scheme. One cannot but feel concerned about the dangerous development of the situation in Laos.

Since the signing of the 1962 Geneva agreements, U.S. imperialism has been doing the same in Laos as it did in south Viet Nam. In south Viet Nam, it fostered a puppet government serving the United States. In Laos, U.S. imperialism first broke up and paralysed the Government of National Union and later toppled it by initiating a coup; now through a sham election Washington hopes to rig up a puppet government entirely at its beck and call. It has started a "special war" in south Viet Nam. It has also started a "special war" in Laos by sending money, weapons and advisers to that country and directing the Rightist troops to rekindle the civil war. In south Viet Nam, Washington has cast aside the advisers' mask and sent troops to take a direct part in the war. Its air force in Laos has

taken part in the fighting while active preparations are being made to get into the ground war. **It is very clear that step by step U.S. imperialism is turning Laos into another south Viet Nam.**

To save itself from defeat in its war of aggression against Viet Nam and carry out its original plan of expanding the war in Indo-China, **the Johnson Administration has lately been working hard to link up the battlefields in south Viet Nam and Laos.** The following steps have been taken to expand the Laotian war:

1. The United States has already sent more than 2,000 military personnel and a huge quantity of war materiel into Laos. In preparation for a large-scale attack on the liberated areas of central Laos, large numbers of Rightist troops are being massed and deployed. The U.S. air force has intensified its raids on the liberated areas and main communication lines in central and lower Laos. Since the year began, American planes have flown several thousand sorties intruding into the liberated areas' air space.

2. A continuous flow of American military personnel and war materiel into Thailand has taken place. Efforts are being made to speed up the expansion or construction of military bases and strategic highways in that country. Thai troops, one batch after another, are worming their way into Laos. Thailand has become the bridgehead for U.S. armed aggression against Laos.

3. Johnson has recently consulted with many people at home on the expansion of the war of aggression against Viet Nam, especially discussing steps for large-scale intervention in Laos. During his recent trip to Saigon, as disclosed by UPI, McNamara mapped out a plan to throw in 50,000 troops and extend the war against Viet Nam to Laos. Admiral Sharp, commander of the U.S. forces in the Pacific, and General Westmoreland, who commands the U.S. aggressive forces in Viet Nam, have made special trips to Thailand, where they personally briefed U.S. officers.

As was known, the United States worked out an adventurous plan to expand the war at a meeting in Honolulu as early as June 1964. The American propaganda machine has lately bragged about this plan, calling it a "long range strategy for victory" in Viet Nam. It makes no secret that Washington's aim is to establish an "area under blockade" south of the 17th Parallel—stretching from the northern part of south Viet Nam, through lower Laos and to as far as Thailand—to "isolate" "the south Viet Nam war theatre" so that they will be able to have a free hand in fighting a large-scale local war in south Viet Nam. The whole world knows what is on Johnson's mind: **the U.S. aggressors are attempting to occupy lower Laos and, using it as a springboard, to put down the people's armed forces in south Viet Nam and, when the opportunity arises, to attack the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, threaten Cambodia and strangle the patriotic and democratic forces in Laos.**

This new adventurous plan of the Johnson Administration will give rise to grave consequences. By

carrying it out, the U.S. aggressors will have broken up the boundary lines between Viet Nam, Laos and Thailand. **In that case, it will not be only a Vietnamese war, or only a Laotian war, or even only an Indo-China war.** It appears that the Johnson Administration is still pinning its hopes on an expanded war. Lately, both U.S. officialdom and the press have talked a great deal about fighting a Korean-type war in Indo-China. They even maintain that the United States is "far better prepared" to fight a limited war in Indo-China today than it was in the Korean war in 1950. It seems that these adventurers have already become swell-headed. But the situation in Indo-China today, compared with the Korean situation almost 15 years ago, is most unfavourable to the United States. Neither the terrain, the relative strength of the two sides, nor other objective conditions, are favourable to U.S. imperialism. **The Johnson Administration is being very naive when it thinks that the United States can fight anywhere and in any manner it chooses. The policy-makers in Washington must understand that the objective laws in the development of a war are entirely different from their subjective hypotheses.**

Laos is another front in the present-day world anti-U.S. struggle. The struggle against U.S. imperialism and in defence of their homeland, which the Laotian people are engaged in, is an important part of the liberation movement of all oppressed nations and peoples. If the United States actually imposes a large-scale aggressive war on the Laotian people, it will not only suffer firm counter-blows from them but also heavy blows from the people of the whole of Indo-China. Just as Prince Souphanouvong pointed out not long ago, if the U.S. imperialists and their vassals venture to carry the war beyond the limits of south Viet Nam, provoke war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, intensify the war in Laos and increase their provocations and sabotage against the Kingdom of Cambodia, "they will surely be buried in the Indo-China peninsula." He added that the Laotian people, together with the other Indo-Chinese peoples, had the right to take all possible measures and use every means to carry through the struggle against the American imperialist aggressors and their vassals.

The essence of the Laotian question is the question of U.S. aggression, the question of the violation of the Geneva agreements on Laos by the United States and its lackeys. Thus, to solve the question, it is necessary to realize the four-point proposal put forward by the Neo Lao Haksat in its July 23 memorandum. U.S. imperialism must stop its aggression against Laos and withdraw all its armed forces from Laos. It is inconceivable that the Viet Nam question can be settled without the complete withdrawal of American troops from south Viet Nam. In much the same way, **a real settlement of the Laotian question is out of the question if U.S. military forces do not completely get out of Laos.**

(Slightly abridged July 30, 1965 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "Smash New American Adventure in Laos")

Holding High the Banner of Unity Against U.S. Imperialism*

— Speech by Liu Ning-I (Excerpts) —

TWENTY years have elapsed since the Hiroshima and Nagasaki incidents took place. The World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Japan, which has a glorious tradition, is holding its 11th session this year. During this period, the movement of the people of the world against imperialism, headed by the United States, for national liberation and in defence of world peace has surged forward in mighty waves. And the movement of the world's people for a ban on atomic and hydrogen bombs, with Japan as its centre, has grown in scope and depth.

Correct Line and Tremendous Achievements

The Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs has all along followed the correct path. It reflects the urgent demand of the people of Japan and the rest of the world to oppose U.S. nuclear blackmail and prevent a nuclear war. It unequivocally shows U.S. imperialism to be the most vicious enemy of world peace and the source of nuclear war menace. It is closely linked with the Japanese people's struggle for national independence and democracy. It firmly supports the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Holding high the banner of solidarity and unity and opposing a split, it closely relies on the masses, unites with people of all walks of life and has made important contributions to the founding of a broad united front by the people of Japan and throughout the world against imperialism headed by the United States.

This worldwide anti-imperialist mass movement, with its centre in Japan, is a mighty force in the struggle of the people of the world for peace. Credit for the immense achievements of the anti-atomic and hydrogen bombs movement must go first of all to the Japanese people.

Central Task — Opposition to U.S. Aggression in Viet Nam

The Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism has become the focal point of the

* The speech was delivered by Liu Ning-I, leader of the Chinese Delegation to the 11th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Tokyo, at the conference's international session on July 28. — Ed.

world's anti-imperialist struggle. In accordance with the proposal of the Japanese Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, the current conference has unanimously agreed that its central task is to support the Vietnamese people in their patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism, oppose U.S. aggression against Viet Nam and compel U.S. troops to pull out of Viet Nam.

Although it has been thrashed in the fight, U.S. imperialism's ambition to seize south Viet Nam remains unchanged. Johnson's "unconditional discussions" proposal is nothing but an attempt to make the Vietnamese people cease their struggle for liberation and recognize the U.S. occupation of south Viet Nam as legal.

The heroic Vietnamese people have been unequivocal in their reply to Johnson's "peace talk" fraud and war blackmail, pledging that they would let nobody enslave them and expressing their determination to fight to the finish.

The people of the whole world, including the American people, are unfolding a most powerful mass movement to assist Viet Nam in resisting U.S. aggression. The slogan "U.S. Aggressors, Get Out of Viet Nam!" is becoming the common battle cry of the world's people.

As a fraternal neighbour of Viet Nam, China is determined to do all in its power to support the Vietnamese people. We have rendered them and will continue to render them every possible assistance according to their needs. This is the international duty incumbent upon the Chinese people. The Chinese people are firm in their determination to give the Vietnamese people resolute support in their fight until final victory, no matter what trickery the U.S. imperialists resort to and no matter what adventures they choose to embark on.

In Japan, millions upon millions of people have taken part in the movement to aid Viet Nam. This is very important for preventing Japan from being involved in the U.S. war of aggression and for safeguarding Japan's peace and security. It is also a direct blow at the U.S. strategic move to turn Japan into a forward base in its war of aggression against Viet Nam.

Imperialism by nature is warlike. The possibility of a world war, or even a great nuclear war, cannot

be ruled out. The only way of preventing U.S. imperialism from launching a world war is to fight it resolutely. Joint struggle by the people of the world can smash the U.S. imperialist programme of war ventures in the course of its "escalation." U.S. imperialist "escalation" can only mean the quickening of its own doom. Should the U.S. war-maniacs dare to use nuclear weapons, they will light still greater flames of wrath among the peace-loving people of the world that will only accelerate their destruction.

Unmask the Pseudo-Supporters of Viet Nam

The struggle of the Vietnamese people vitally concerns the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the whole world. To support the Vietnamese people is to support ourselves.

Support to the Vietnamese people must be sincere and not hypocritical. As we have seen, certain people are making some gestures of support for Viet Nam, humming a few anti-U.S. imperialist tunes and devising some little stunts, while at the same time they actively collaborate with U.S. imperialism for "peace talks," exchange information and secretly enter into collusion with U.S. imperialism. They even used troops and police and ruthlessly cracked down on anti-U.S. demonstrations by students from Viet Nam, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We must be vigilant. We must strip these people of their camouflage, and resolutely expose and condemn them as accomplices of U.S. imperialism.

We propose that the present conference adopt a powerful resolution of firm support for the March 22 Statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the four-point proposal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and call upon the people all over the world to develop the mass movement still more extensively to force the U.S. aggressors to get out of Viet Nam.

The struggle to smash the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" is of major importance to defending peace in Asia and checking the expansion of aggression by U.S. imperialism. The Chinese, Japanese and Korean peoples are comrades-in-arms fighting shoulder to shoulder against U.S. imperialism. The Chinese Government has declared that it will never recognize the so-called "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" concluded between the Japanese Government and the Pak Jung Hi clique and that it resolutely supports the just struggle of the Japanese and Korean peoples to smash this treaty thoroughly. We are convinced that the treaty will eventually be reduced to a cinder in the raging anti-U.S. flames.

U.S. Nuclear Overlord Besieged by Revolutionary People

To achieve the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons is the objective for which our movement has been consistently fighting.

U.S. imperialism has resorted to atomic blackmail everywhere in the world ever since it gained possession of the atom bomb. It thought it could cow the people with atom bombs and so attain its goal of world hegemony. But the laws of development always run counter to the wishes of the U.S. imperialists.

U.S. imperialism has been unable to cow the people of the world, still less check the growth and victory of the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, even though it has frantically carried out nuclear arms expansion and set up nuclear missile bases throughout the world, conducted hundreds of nuclear tests, and manufactured and stockpiled large numbers of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, it has aroused ever wider opposition from the people of the world. Today, this atomic imperialist power, which keeps on boasting of its possession of the world's biggest nuclear arsenal, is heavily besieged by the revolutionary people who have only rifles and hand grenades and by the peace-loving people of the whole world.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't." This means that the atom bomb cannot help U.S. imperialism so long as the people unite and fight. This is proved by the history of the 20 years since the appearance of the atom bomb. And the great victories of the national-liberation war in Viet Nam have provided still further proof of this.

The only correct way of dealing with U.S. imperialist nuclear blackmail is the one which this world conference has always insisted upon, namely: let all the people of the world arise, unite, take action and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

Scared out of their wits by U.S. imperialist nuclear blackmail, the leading group of another nuclear power has missed no opportunity for proclaiming that a tiny spark may touch off a global nuclear war and that nuclear weapons will destroy all mankind. They did not hesitate to betray the interests of the people of the world in order to concoct the notorious Moscow tripartite treaty in partnership with U.S. and British imperialism. This capitulationist line of yielding to the nuclear blackmail of U.S. imperialism is diametrically opposed to the correct line which this movement has all along persisted in.

China Develops Nuclear Weapons for Defence of World Peace

The Chinese people have always advocated the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and have indefatigably worked together with the people of Japan and the whole world for this objective. This position of the

Chinese people fully accords with the interests of world peace.

The imperialists always bully the weak and fear the strong. When the U.S. imperialists and their partners had a monopoly of nuclear weapons, they threw their weight about to intimidate others. This was because they had the weapons and we did not have them. They are no longer so overbearing now that China also possesses nuclear weapons and has broken their nuclear monopoly.

China has developed nuclear weapons for defence, for eliminating nuclear weapons, and for safeguarding world peace. The imperialists were downcast and the people of the whole world were elated at the news of China's first successful nuclear test. Many of our friends call China's atom bomb a bomb of peace. We express our thanks to our friends in many countries for their support and trust in the Chinese people. We will never prove unworthy of their support and trust. We will never be the first to use the atom bomb, nor will we use it to embark on any adventures, or make a deal with the imperialists at the expense of the interests of the people of other countries.

The Chinese people stood firmly for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons when they did not possess them. They will continue to work for this objective now that they have such weapons. The Chinese Government has proposed that a world summit conference be convened to discuss the question of banning nuclear weapons and that, as the first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement not to use nuclear weapons.

A pledge not to use nuclear weapons is an important first step towards their complete prohibition; whether there is willingness to make such a pledge is the minimum demand testing a nuclear power's sincerity for peace. But the Johnson Administration of the United States has not only rejected the proposal for a world summit conference but has refused to reach bilateral agreement with China on not using the nuclear weapons. This fully reveals U.S. imperialism's stubborn persistence in the policy of nuclear threats and blackmail.

Let us make the banning of nuclear weapons a fighting slogan in mobilizing the people of the world to struggle resolutely against the U.S. imperialist warmongers. The destiny of the world is decided by its people and not by nuclear weapons. Since man has manufactured nuclear weapons, he is certainly capable of eliminating them. A nuclear war can be prevented; the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons can be realized.

Unity Through Combating Capitulationist And Splittist Line

It is not surprising that the U.S. imperialists have tried every possible means to sabotage the people's movement. **But the leadership of a big socialist**

country has gone so far as to meet the needs of the U.S. imperialists and do its utmost to split and sabotage our movement politically and organizationally. This cannot but arouse one's greatest amazement and anger.

These people have persisted in their efforts to impose an erroneous line on the world movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs. This line means uniting with U.S. imperialism—the most ferocious enemy of world peace and the root cause of nuclear war—and with its lackeys, and refusing to give support to the Japanese people's just struggles and the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. When this erroneous line was firmly rejected by all of us, they did not scruple to bring about an open organizational split. Last year, while they plotted to convene a schismatic meeting, they wormed their way into the 10th world conference, bringing in a few hired hatchet-men to make trouble. When their conspiracy was defeated, they openly went over to the schismatic meeting. This year they have gone further and bought over a handful of Right-wing forces and political degenerates and collaborated with them to create a schismatic organization.

Lately, these greatest splitters have suddenly changed their tune and have been yelling for "unity." We would like to ask: What kind of unity do they want? And what purpose is this unity intended to serve?

Are we supposed to unite with them to promote the general line of "peaceful coexistence" for the purpose of Soviet-U.S. collaboration to achieve world domination?

Are we supposed to unite with them in secretly hatching schemes to bring about the "peace talks" desired by the U.S. aggressors and betraying the Vietnamese people's revolution?

Are we supposed to unite with them in begging for mercy and capitulating to U.S. nuclear blackmail?

Are we supposed to unite with them in changing the correct line of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and in sabotaging and splitting the Japanese peace movement?

We will never unite with them in such dirty work.

As the old Chinese saying goes, "Take note of his words but judge him by his deeds." These people are talking glibly about opposition to imperialism but are actually surrendering to it. They are making a lot of noise about support for others but are actually engaging in shameless betrayal; they are loud in shouting for unity but are actually going all out for a split. No matter how many times—a thousand or ten thousand times—these falsettos are sung, the cloven hoof of the splitters will always remain visible.

The movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs has always called for unity, and has worked for it indefatigably. The basis of the unity of our movement is opposition to U.S. imperialism and our striving for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of

nuclear weapons. To achieve such unity, it is imperative to wage an uncompromising struggle both against the erroneous line of capitulation to U.S. imperialism and against creating a split.

At the last few sessions of this world conference, and at the 10th world conference last year in particular, the Soviet delegation has done many evil things to try and split and destroy our movement. We hope that in response to the appeal of the Japanese people and the delegates from various countries, the Soviet Peace Committee will seriously reflect on their errors and return to the right path.

We Chinese people have been consistent and active supporters and participants in the world movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs. We have worked together with the Japanese people and the people of other countries to implement the resolutions of each

session of the world conference. Since the 10th world conference, we have responded actively to its call, publicized the brilliant success of the conference and organized a total of over 50 million people in more than 70 Chinese cities to take part in meetings and demonstrations in support of the struggles waged in Viet Nam, Japan, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Dominican Republic, Korea, Indonesia, North Kalimantan and Malaya, and struggles by the Palestinian Arabs and the Negroes in the United States, against U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention and oppression, for national independence and liberation, and for world peace.

We will unite and co-operate more closely than ever with the Japanese people and with friends from other countries to overcome difficulties and enable this important 11th world conference to gain new and still more brilliant victories.

At the Helsinki Congress

Khrushchov Revisionists Make Themselves More Notorious

by OBSERVER

THE World Congress for Peace held in Helsinki under the auspices of the World Council of Peace adopted, after a sharp and complicated struggle, a resolution on Viet Nam and a general statement. Both documents condemn U.S. imperialist intervention and armed aggression in Viet Nam and elsewhere. They express support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. aggressor. While calling on the peoples throughout the world to unfold a vigorous and widespread movement to support Viet Nam's resistance to U.S. aggression, they demand an immediate end to that U.S. aggression and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Viet Nam. This resolution and statement give expression to the common desires of the Vietnamese and all other peoples of the world. **The congress was a success as seen from its results.**

Two Big Lies Nailed

But the achievements of the congress have irritated the Khrushchov revisionists. Both during and after the congress, while making a great to-do about China's alleged "failures" at the congress, they put about the slander that China "attempted to thrust its own sectarian viewpoints" on others, carry out an "ideological 'purge'" in the peace movement and "damage the cause of the struggle for peace and the cause of the

struggle against imperialism." It looks that, in their frustration, the Khrushchov revisionists have lost their tempers and self-control.

The Khrushchov revisionists are caught on the spot, telling two consecutive lies. Firstly, it was the Khrushchov revisionists themselves, and no one else, who suffered "failures" at the congress. Secondly, it was they themselves again, and no one else, who persisted in trying to impose their erroneous views on others, trying to lead the world peace movement astray, and do serious damage to the cause of peace and anti-imperialism. Now they are attacking China in an attempt to cover up their failures and unseemly behaviour at the congress. But, the more they strive to cover up, the more they expose themselves.

Let us begin with the first point.

Capitulationist Schemes Go Awry

Beginning with the end of last year, the Soviet leaders, in their various activities, tried by all possible means to force upon the congress a complete line of compromise and capitulation, a line designed to win the favour of U.S. imperialism. As a result of their manipulation, the preparatory committee of the congress drafted a so-called appeal which, instead of con-

demning U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam and supporting the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle, advocated "mutual trust" and "international co-operation." With this "appeal" they hoped to set the keynote of the congress. Furthermore, they tried to lay down what they called procedural rules which were intended to deprive the delegates of various countries of their right to speak at plenary sessions. They thought that by this absurd, despotic means they could gag others so that the Helsinki congress would go as their baton indicated.

But they miscalculated.

Since the congress was held at a time when the Vietnamese people were heroically resisting frenzied U.S. imperialist aggression and when the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism was growing into an irresistible current, the mighty anti-U.S. struggle of the Vietnamese and other peoples of the world inevitably made itself strongly felt at the congress. The outcry against U.S. imperialism did in fact break through the barriers erected by the Khrushchov revisionists and was heard in the congress hall.

The "procedural rules" worked out by the Khrushchov revisionists to prevent delegates from speaking at plenary sessions were rejected soon after the congress opened. Those from China and some other countries who criticized the rules as undemocratic won the support of many other delegates. Having failed in their attempt to justify their arbitrary rules, the manipulators of the congress could not but agree to revise their "procedural rules" and give delegates the opportunity to speak at plenary sessions.

At the plenary and commission sessions, delegates from many countries indignantly denounced U.S. imperialist aggression, exposed the Johnson Administration's "peace talks" hoax and pledged resolute support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. This powerful current of support for Viet Nam and opposition to U.S. imperialism overwhelmed the schemes for compromise and capitulation.

This put the Khrushchov revisionists in a predicament, and they did all sorts of disgraceful things. They had "contraband American goods" in their pockets but they dared not lay them on the table; the best they could do was to ask others to do their hawking for them. Though they waved their baton energetically, they dared not come into the limelight, so the best they could do was to act as a prompter behind the scenes. They tried their utmost to dominate the meeting, suppress democracy, forbid consultations, place restrictions on speeches to be delivered at the congress, and tamper with congress documents. They even interrupted the speeches of those they didn't like by pounding the table, stamping their feet, catcalling and singing. Despite all this, the capitulationist line they had advanced met a powerful rebuff and failed to prevail. In the circumstances, the Khrushchov revisionists were forced to profess approval for the resolution on Viet Nam and the general statement of the

congress. This, in fact, was an acknowledgement of their failure.

Soviet Cheers for Camouflaged Johnson Proposal

Now let us deal with the second point.

The Soviet leaders kept on saying that all peace-loving forces should "unite" and "lay aside" their differences. Did they really mean it? The answer is: no, absolutely not. They talk about "unity," about "laying aside" differences, but they actually mean to split the world peace movement by imposing on it their entire capitulationist line to curry favour with U.S. imperialism and betray the national-liberation movement. Hence, their sordid tactics before and during the congress.

Let us see exactly what the Soviet delegates wanted to sell at the congress.

The Soviet delegates did say something against U.S. imperialism at the congress. But then they were in league with some American delegates to promote the scheme for "peace talks" on Viet Nam.

There was, for instance, this unseemly scene at one of the plenary sessions: the American delegate, Carlton Goodlett, declared that the only way to settle the Viet Nam question was through a ceasefire and negotiations, and he proposed that the congress appoint a mission that would go on a tour of "persuasion" to Hanoi, Peking, Moscow, London, Washington and the United Nations. The Soviet delegate on the presidium of the congress then immediately jumped to his feet to take the lead in giving him prolonged and warm applause, trying to create a favourable atmosphere for the proposal. It can be easily seen that such a "proposal" was only a revamped version of the Johnson Administration's "unconditional discussions" hoax, and was what that administration had, for months, been seeking assiduously, though in vain. The Johnson Administration and its followers had played this game first through the hands of the United Nations, and then of the British Commonwealth, but had failed in both cases. Now by enthusiastically supporting Goodlett's "proposal," the Soviet delegates were obviously trying through the hands of an international democratic organization to give the manoeuvres for "peace talks" an unofficial touch, so as to meet the needs of U.S. imperialism and betray the fundamental interests of the Vietnamese people.

While professing support for the Vietnamese people's armed struggle against U.S. aggression, the Soviet delegation repeated Khrushchov's shopworn theme that "any spark may touch off a world war" and talked at length about the danger of the present Viet Nam war growing into a thermonuclear world conflict.

Alexander Korneichuk, leader of the Soviet delegation, told the congress that "the so-called local wars may develop into a world conflagration" and that "the danger of a world thermonuclear war, which seemed to have started receding, has again become imminent."

He asked: "Who would be so bold as to say where lies the line that separates the 'dirty war' in Viet Nam and a world thermonuclear conflict?" The motive behind these statements is all too clear. This outburst is meant to intimidate the people of south Viet Nam into stopping their resistance to U.S. aggression; it is meant to intimidate the people of north Viet Nam into ceasing their support for the struggle in the south; it is meant to intimidate the people of the world into ceasing their support for the struggle of the people in Viet Nam. That is how the Khrushchov revisionists find excuses for working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism in pushing the scheme for "peace talks" on Viet Nam.

The Viet Nam Question as Modern Revisionists See It

On the Viet Nam question, the Soviet delegates invariably lumped it together with the question of "peaceful coexistence," giving their "peaceful coexistence" fallacy much publicity. Korneichuk said, "The American aggression in Viet Nam and the aggravation of international tension it entails undermines the very foundations of peaceful coexistence, endangers all the goals of our movement." *New Times*, a Soviet magazine, commenting on the congress, even said that the demand of world public opinion that the U.S. Government stop its military operations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and its intervention in south Viet Nam was "in effect, the struggle for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence." According to their reasoning, the crimes the United States has committed in Viet Nam are merely a violation of what they call "peaceful coexistence" and the support to the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle extended by people throughout the world is merely to realize this "peaceful coexistence." This view is utterly ridiculous. The Viet Nam question is one of imperialist suppression of national-liberation movement and the oppressed nation's struggle to win and safeguard national liberation. It is the question of a great, just struggle waged by the Vietnamese people to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression. What were the Khrushchov revisionists after when they reduced this great, just struggle to a question of "peaceful coexistence"? To put it bluntly, they look upon the Vietnamese people's struggle as something disturbing their fond dream of Soviet-American co-operation. So they try their hardest to make developments in the Viet Nam situation fit in with the aims of Soviet-U.S. co-operation and, by betraying the Vietnamese people's interests, they hope to buy "mutual trust" and "friendship" from the U.S. imperialists.

The Soviet delegates spread the argument at the congress that it is not U.S. imperialism but the armament race that is the main source of contemporary wars. To them, the road to preserve world peace lies not in concentrating forces to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war but in carrying out "general and complete disarmament." In his report to

the congress, Korneichuk expressed opposition to the arms drive only in general terms. He failed to point out that the root cause of the arms drive is the imperialist system. He said that "the United States has spent 800,000 million dollars on military needs in the postwar years, while this money was badly needed by the working people of the country which, as is generally known, has hungry and homeless people, which is short of schools and hospitals for the people." The Soviet delegates also believed that it was no "utopia" to realize general and complete disarmament while the imperialist system existed. According to this logic of theirs, U.S. imperialism can accept general and complete disarmament and can even be expected to use the money so saved from disarmament for the welfare of the working people. If U.S. imperialism could be so kind-hearted as all that and so interested in the welfare of the people, can it still be imperialism? What need is there then for the people of the world to struggle against it?

In our opinion the prominent British philosopher Bertrand Russell was perfectly correct in what he said on this question in his written statement to the congress. He said, "Those who are in power in the United States of America have committed that country to a systematic programme of exploitation and foreign domination. The essence of the problem may be summed up in the following way: the United States maintains over 3,600 military bases in the world. This vast international system of military control exists because American capitalism controls 60 per cent of the world's resources, although the U.S. contains only 6 per cent of the world's population. The peoples of the world are in revolt against these conditions, which mean for them poverty, disease and unrelieved misery." He also pointed out in clear-cut terms that "the threat to world peace is American imperialism. Any honest observer of the world scene, conversant with the facts, must come to that conclusion."

What the Helsinki Congress Shows

The Helsinki congress mirrors the fact that more and more people have seen through the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. The Khrushchov revisionists have found it increasingly difficult to sell their old wares to whitewash and curry favour with U.S. imperialism. Their market is shrinking. The fact that they painstakingly resort to double-dealing tactics bespeaks their weakness.

One can see from the congress that it is impossible for the Khrushchov revisionists to hide their true features by their double-dealing tactics. They talk about anti-imperialism, revolution and unity. But what they do is to capitulate, betray and split. How can they avoid revealing their cloven hoof and being seen for what they are by more and more people?

One can also see from the congress that no matter what means they resort to, the Khrushchov revisionists' aim to make the world peace movement develop entirely along their erroneous line can never work.

Their baton is losing its following. The line of capitulation, betrayal and split in which they persist violates the fundamental interests of the peace-loving people of the world and runs against the trend of history. It is by no means fortuitous that the Khrushchov revisionists were frustrated at the congress.

Two opposite lines have existed for a long time in the world peace movement. One is to isolate U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of world peace, to the maximum, a line of ceaselessly dealing blows at and weakening the imperialist forces of aggression and of effectively safeguarding world peace. This is the line advocated by us and all others in the world who genuinely love peace. The other line confuses friend with foe, compromises with U.S. imperialism, encourages the imperialist forces of aggression, increases the danger of war and brings harm to world peace. This is the line advocated by the Khrushchov revisionists. In the past, Khrushchov stuck fast to this line and today, the new leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds on to this line with equal tenacity. These two lines are diametrically opposed to each other and are irreconcilable.

In order to safeguard the interests of world peace and enhance the solidarity of the world peace movement, it is absolutely necessary to wage a resolute struggle against the line of compromise and capitulation advocated by the Khrushchov revisionists. The unity of the world peace movement can only be established on the basis of fighting against the policies of war and aggression of imperialism led by the United States. Without this basis there cannot be any real unity in the world peace movement. Only by drawing a clear line between friend and foe will it be possible to unite all the forces that can be united, consolidate and extend the international anti-U.S. united front and carry out an effective struggle for safeguarding world peace. By following this right course, the movement for safeguarding world peace will defeat all the divisive schemes of the Khrushchov revisionists and march from victory to victory.

("Renmin Ribao" article, July 31, 1965, entitled "The More They Try to Cover Up, the More They Expose Themselves")

Documents

China-Burma Joint Communiqué

1. At the invitation of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, paid a friendship visit to the People's Republic of China from July 24 to August 1, 1965.

2. Accompanying General Ne Win on his visit were Madame Ne Win; Colonel Maung Shwe, Member of the Revolutionary Council and Minister for Industry and Labour, and Madame Maung Shwe; Colonel Hla Han, Member of the Revolutionary Council and Minister for Education and Health, and Madame Hla Han; Daw Khin May Aye and officials of the Government of the Union of Burma.

3. During their stay in the People's Republic of China, General Ne Win and his party toured Peking, Shenyang, Anshan, Shanghai and Kunming areas and visited factories, people's communes, cultural and educational institutions and places of historical interest. They made friendly contacts with the Chinese people and were accorded warm welcome and cordial hospitality by the Chinese people and Government, which fully reflected the intimate "pauk phaw"* friendship between

the two peoples. The distinguished guests from the Union of Burma expressed their profound thanks to the Chinese people and Government for their kinsmanlike welcome and hospitality.

4. Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China received General Ne Win and other Burmese guests and held cordial and friendly conversations with General Ne Win.

5. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai held talks with Chairman Ne Win on the question of further developing the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and on international questions of common interest.

Also present at the talks on the Chinese side were: Chen Yi and Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premiers of the State Council; Fang Yi, Chairman of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries; Han Nien-lung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Yang Hao-lu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Keng Piao, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Union of Burma; Lai Ya-li, Director of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Chang Tung, Director of the First Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Also present at the talks on the Burmese side were: Colonel Maung Shwe, Member of the Revolutionary

*"Pauk phaw," which means "kinsmanlike" in Burmese, has often been used to describe the growing China-Burma friendship. — Tr.

Council and Minister for Industry and Labour; Colonel Hla Han, Member of the Revolutionary Council and Minister for Education and Health; Sama Duwa Sinwa Naung, Ambassador of the Union of Burma to the People's Republic of China; Colonel Ko Ko, Secretary to the Revolutionary Council and to the Council of Ministers of the Revolutionary Government; U Soe Tin, Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Office; and Colonel Maung Maung Kha, Secretary of the Ministry of Industry.

These talks were held in an atmosphere marked by great cordiality and sincerity.

6. The two sides reviewed the relations between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma. **They noted with satisfaction that there has been a steady development of the relations of friendship, of mutual understanding and of co-operation between the two countries.** The two sides took the opportunity to inform each other of the efforts that are being made in their respective countries towards developing their national economies and promoting social progress and better standards of living for their peoples. They noted with satisfaction that appropriate measures are being taken to speed up the implementation of the Sino-Burmese Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation and to further expand trade and economic co-operation between the two countries. They also expressed satisfaction over the development of cultural co-operation between the two countries.

7. **The two sides reaffirmed their faith in the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, which have all along guided the relations between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma. The good neighbourly relations existing between the two countries have amply demonstrated that the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems would be ensured if these principles were observed by them. The two sides expressed their determination to continue to develop the relations of friendship, of mutual understanding and of co-operation between the two countries in the spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.** They agreed that the development of such relations is in accord with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and also promotes Afro-Asian unity and world peace.

8. **The two sides were of the opinion that imperialism and colonialism constitute obstacles to national independence and world peace and that these obstacles must be completely eradicated in the interest of mankind.** They reaffirmed their support for all peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism to win and safeguard national independence, to defend world peace and to promote human progress. They expressed their conviction that this struggle would finally emerge victorious despite attempts by imperialist and colonialist powers to preserve their colonial interests by political, military and economic means.

9. **The two sides agreed to help promote understanding and unity among the nations of Asia and Africa.** They considered that the unity of Asian and African countries, born of mutual respect and understanding, would greatly help their common cause. They are of the view that the primary task of the Asian and African countries is to fulfil the hopes of their peoples that their political independence, development of national economy and social and cultural advancement may be free from outside interference.

10. **The two sides reaffirmed that it is the inalienable right of all nations to choose their own political, economic and social systems and their own way of life without any outside interference or pressure.** They deplore and oppose flagrant outside intervention in the internal affairs of newly independent, developing states on one pretext or another, because such intervention violates the sovereignty of these countries and their right to self-determination.

11. **The two sides were agreed that the attainment of economic independence by Asian and African countries is an important condition for the maintenance and consolidation of their political independence. They were of the view that developing national economies of these countries on the basis of self-reliance and of mutual assistance and co-operation in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, will help promote their economic independence and the standard of living of their peoples.** In this connection, the Burmese side expressed its appreciation of the eight principles observed by the Chinese Government in providing economic aid to other countries.

12. The Burmese side reaffirmed Burma's support for the urgent restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and all its organs and Burma's opposition to any scheme for creating "two Chinas." The Chinese side expressed its gratitude for this, and reaffirmed China's respect for the policy of non-alignment and good neighbourliness pursued by the Government of the Union of Burma in international affairs. **The two sides held that necessary changes should be made in the United Nations Organization so that the world organization may better reflect present international realities.**

13. **The two sides once again expressed their deep concern over the increasingly grave situation in South-east Asia, particularly in Viet Nam. They were of the view that a lasting settlement of the Viet Nam question would be achieved only if the Vietnamese people were free to settle their own problems and determine their own future without any foreign interference. They considered that any ultimate settlement of the Viet Nam question must respect the principles of independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam embodied in the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Viet Nam.**

14. **The two sides considered that the postponement of the Second African-Asian Conference was in-**

tended to make fuller preparations for the Conference and make it a greater success. They were deeply convinced that the Second African-Asian Conference due to open in Algiers on November 5 would serve as the occasion for the continued strengthening of unity and harmony among the nations of Asia and Africa, and would further advance the Afro-Asian cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism, thus making an important contribution to the defence of world peace.

15. The two sides agreed that the exchange of visits by the leaders of the two countries is of great significance to the promotion of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. The extensive exchange of views between the Chinese and Burmese leaders during the visit of General Ne Win has made

a valuable contribution towards promoting mutual understanding between the two peoples.

On behalf of the Chinese people and Government, the Chinese leaders expressed their deep appreciation and gratitude to General Ne Win for visiting the People's Republic of China to renew and strengthen the relations of friendship and good neighbourliness existing between the two countries.

16. Chairman Ne Win extended an invitation to Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to pay a friendship visit to the Union of Burma at a time convenient to them. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai accepted the invitation with pleasure.

August 1, 1965

China-Somalia Joint Press Communique

AT the invitation of Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China and Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Aden Abdulla Osman, President of the Somali Republic, paid a goodwill visit to the People's Republic of China from July 21 to July 28, 1965. Accompanying President Osman on his visit were H.E. Ahmed Yusuf Dualeh, Minister of Foreign Affairs; H.E. Abdulkadir Mohamed Aden, Minister of Interior; Hagi Mohamed Awale Liban, Chief of Cabinet of the Presidency of the Republic; Abdulrahman Abby, Acting Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ahmed Botan, Acting Director-General, Ministry of State for Planning; Mohamed Sherif Eidarus, Director of Protocol, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Amir Tarmum, Director of Political Department, Ministry of Interior; Col. Abdi Mohamed Sahardid, Aide-de-Camp to H.E. the President; Mohamed Waberi, Private Secretary to H.E. the President; and other officials.

During their visit, President Osman and the other distinguished guests from Somalia visited factories, a people's commune and cultural and educational institutions in Peking, Hangchow and Shanghai, where they made extensive contacts with the Chinese people and were accorded warm welcome and cordial hospitality by the Chinese Government and people. President Osman conveyed the Somali people's sincere greetings to the Chinese leaders and people.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met President Osman and the other distinguished guests from Somalia and had cordial and friendly conversations with them.

During the visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai held talks with President Osman on the present international situation and the questions

of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and of further developing the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Somalia. The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of cordial friendliness.

Both parties pledged their firm support for the national-liberation movements of peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Both parties expressed their determination to work together for the success of the Second African-Asian Conference to be held in Algiers.

Both parties noted with pleasure that, since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Somalia had developed smoothly. Representatives of the People's Republic of China and the Somali Republic had fruitful discussions over the implementation of the 1963 Agreement on the Economic and Technical Co-operation between the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Somali Republic. They stated that they would further strengthen and consolidate the friendship between the two peoples and the friendly co-operation between the two countries.

President Osman's current visit to China has made an important contribution towards enhancing mutual understanding and friendship between China and Somalia and strengthening the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity.

President Osman extended an invitation to Chairman Liu Shao-chi for a visit to the Somali Republic at a time convenient to him. Chairman Liu Shao-chi accepted this invitation with pleasure.

July 28, 1965

ROUND THE WORLD

Africa on Guard

Congo (B) Foils Another Plot

Assassination, armed intervention, subversion. . . . Nothing is too sordid for the imperialists when bribe and bluff fail to achieve their purpose of undermining the African countries' newly won independence and riding roughshod over the people there. Last month, they were trying it out once more against Brazzaville, and again the subversive plot was foiled thanks to the vigilance of the Congolese people.

Washington and its junior partner in Brussels, it appeared, had everything worked out in advance. Through their henchman, the deposed dictator Youlou now operating in Leopoldville, they had managed to pick up a rabble of traitors and provided them with special training in Mobutu's army camps in Leopoldville. Then, on the eve of the First African Games in which thousands of athletes from various parts of the continent were taking part, the desperados were ordered to sneak into Brazzaville to blow up the city's stadium along with the power station, railways and bridges, and assassinate the revolutionary leaders and cause panic among the people. This was supposed to be the signal for still more disturbances.

What the imperialists overlooked, however, was the reaction of the Congolese people. The armed thugs crossed the Congo River, only to find themselves trapped by the militia. Those who escaped were soon caught cutting electric wires and attempting to take the lives of the Home and Health Ministers. With the army, the militia and the revolutionary youth on the alert, the assistance which was supposed to have come from the counter-revolutionary "underground" never materialized.

The vile scheme was a flop. It merely aroused the Congolese people's patriotism and strengthened their determination to continue their independent policy and support for the anti-imperialist struggles in Afri-

ca. The people had already thwarted a coup last August and fought off pressure and provocations from Tshombe, all masterminded by the U.S. and Belgium. They were not going to bow or bend now. As President Massamba-Debat declared at a Brazzaville press conference which displayed American and Belgian-made automatic guns, bombs and explosives, "Certain countries tried to stage a comeback . . . but to do that they must first of all kill all the Congolese people. We have courage. We will never cease our struggle."

The Trouble-Maker's Troubles

U.S. Defeats in Asia, Africa

As Chairman Mao once pointed out, the logic of the imperialists is: make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom. Now, more and more people are mastering this law, and, fighting back without illusions, they are giving the world's No. 1 trouble-maker — U.S. imperialism — a great deal of trouble. It is thus in south Viet Nam, in Congo (B) and Congo (L); it is

also thus in many other parts of Asia and Africa. Here are three of the latest examples.

Indonesia: Rebuff to U.S. Marshall Green, new U.S. ambassador to Djakarta, was told point-blank what's wrong with his government's policy in Asia when he presented his credentials to President Sukarno on July 26.

"The Vietnamese people are comrades-in-arms of the Indonesians," Sukarno told Green, "in their struggle for national independence and for a new world. They have now suffered for more than ten years . . . because they are forced into a situation in which they have to fight foreign intervention." Armed intervention, he said, "can never achieve its aims and will even bring humiliation and dishonour to the American people, and it will add to the feeling of hatred which the Vietnamese people will harbour against the Americans for generations to come." The President also denounced U.S. backing of the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" which has brought U.S.-Indonesian relations to its "present lowest point."

After that talking-to, the American diplomat returned to his residence where he was greeted by thou-

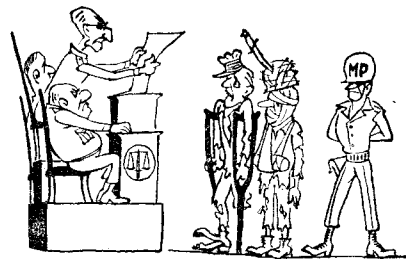
THE PASSING SHOW

The Lucky Thirteen

Thirteen U.S. air commandos in south Viet Nam have been court-martialed and dismissed for refusing to fight and "disrespect to a superior officer." Known to their buddies who they left behind as the "Lucky Thirteen," they no longer have to worry about dying for an unworthy cause on the battlefield.

Staff Sergeant Bruce Whitten, leader of the "Lucky Thirteen," told the story of what led to their trial. Dodging the "Viet Cong" in the jungle, they ran into a "special forces" captain separated from his patrol. He ordered them to attack "two Viet Cong companies." But they "wanted to get out and get out in one piece." So they put the "crazy" captain under arrest.

Back at their base, the thirteen were arrested and tried. They didn't give a damn. Said the sergeant, "the court martial was a joke" and "they even charged us with being 'out of uniform.' We'd been in the jungle over a month and they expect us to have our boots shined."



— You are hereby charged with being "out of uniform" and . . .

sands of demonstrating Djakarta citizens shouting "Stop U.S. aggression in Viet Nam!" and "Go home, Green!" He was handed a resolution which said that the Indonesian people knew the dirty role played by the U.S. Embassy and Green's task as Johnson's ambassador to carry out subversion, intervention and aggression against their country. The message was clear: "Get out, Green!"

Cambodia: Ready for U.S. Invasion.

In an address to the two houses of Parliament on July 26, Prince Sihanouk formally called on the Cambodian army, people and youth to get ready to defend the country in the face of U.S. imperialist intrigues. He

had already ordered defence measures in case Washington "escalated" its dirty war to Cambodia or let loose attacks from Thailand. Commented the Cambodian News Agency, "After five months of systematic bombing of north Viet Nam, the Pentagon strategists, in line with their consistent cynical approach of showing no respect for the independence of peoples, are very likely to invade our country, and at the same time, impose a naval blockade on us."

U.A.R.: U.S. Agent Kicked Out.

Bruce Taylor Odell, a C.I.A. agent and attache in the U.S. Embassy, got his walking orders and left Cairo in a big hurry. The U.S. cloak-and-dagger

man was arrested with Mustafa Amin, editor of the Cairo *Al Akhbar*, on July 21. Incriminating documents were seized and Amin was charged with "jeopardizing the country's security by supplying the CIA with political, economic and military information."

Speaking on the 13th anniversary of the Egyptian revolution, President Nasser recalled how Washington tried and failed to have his country agree to U.S. inspection of its armaments and promise not to produce atom bombs and missiles as conditions for American wheat supplies. He said: "Friendship with us could not be realized through pressure, nor through the activities of the CIA."

20th Anniversary of Potsdam Agreement

For the Complete Eradication of German Militarism

AUGUST 2 was the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Potsdam Agreement by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain. *Renmin Ribao*, in an article by Commentator commemorating the occasion, calls for the complete eradication of German militarism and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany at the earliest possible date as stipulated in the agreement. The paper also calls for efforts to normalize the West Berlin situation and to thwart the U.S. attempt to foster German militarism and revanchism.

"Twenty years have elapsed since the end of World War II," the article points out, "yet there is still no peace treaty with Germany. Foreign troops continue to be entrenched in West Berlin and West German militarism is increasingly menacing peace and security in Europe. This state of affairs is hideously abnormal. The German people as well as other peoples in Europe and throughout the world cannot tolerate it."

"China," the article declares, "was a participant in the anti-fascist war against Hitler. The Chinese People's Republic shall never waive its rights or back down from its obligations under the international agreements on Germany. The Chinese Government and people have consistently and firmly supported the just struggle of the German Democratic Republic against U.S. imperialism and West German militarism and for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and for the sovereignty of the country. The Chinese people place themselves firmly with the G.D.R. people in combating any design to incite West German militarism to annex the G.D.R., and in opposing any attempt at solving the German question at the expense of the G.D.R."

"The fundamental principle underlying the Potsdam Agreement is to uproot German militarism and

Nazism and make Germany a peaceful, democratic and unified country. Had the countries concerned observed this principle, the German question would have been correctly settled long ago and the 80 million German people would have built a peaceful and democratic life long ago.

"But events followed an entirely different course. In the 20 years, U.S. imperialism and its partners stubbornly pursued a policy of dividing up Germany and resuscitating West German militarism, thus tearing the Potsdam Agreement to shreds."

In order to achieve its own nefarious ends, U.S. imperialism has turned West Germany into a new hotbed of war in Europe, the article points out. The West German militarists are accelerating arms expansion and preparing to embark on the path of a revanchist war with the support of U.S. imperialism. They are flagrantly subverting and sabotaging the G.D.R. and are trying hard to arm themselves with nuclear weapons. They hope to swallow up the G.D.R. and even attempt to use force to change the German boundary. The "emergency laws" recently promulgated by the West German authorities is a danger signal that the West German militarists are bent on revanchist ventures.

"Ever since the G.D.R. was founded, it has, unlike West Germany, recognized the fundamental principles of the Potsdam Agreement and consistently observed them. . . . The Government and the people of the G.D.R. demand that the German peace treaty be signed at an early date and that, on this basis, the question of West Berlin be settled. This embodies the aspirations of the entire German people."

The article concludes by saying that the German people's just struggle to uproot German militarism and reunify their country on a peaceful and democratic basis will be crowned with success.

ACROSS THE LAND

Harnessing the Haiho River

THE Haiho and its tributaries form the main river system crossing the Hopei plain to empty into the Gulf of Pohai. They were capricious waterways, running dry in the spring just when their water was needed for the seedlings, and after the summer downpours, roaring into the plain to flood and sweep the crops away. In the 581 years before 1948, the Haiho overflowed 383 times, causing tremendous loss of lives and property. Its five main tributaries meet at a point above north China's big port-city of Tientsin. When flood waters converged on this bottle-neck in 1939 the Haiho burst its banks and inundated Tientsin for a month.

Since liberation in 1949, much work has been done to regulate the Haiho system. Large-scale soil and water conservation projects have been started or completed. Scores of reservoirs on the upper reaches now store water for the dry spring months. The cutting of new outlets to the sea on the lower reaches gives swifter passage for the flood waters of the river in summer. These arrangements served well until in 1963,

when, swollen by unprecedented rains, four of the five main Haiho tributaries spilled over, doing extensive damage to farms and threatening to flood Tientsin as in 1939. That disaster was averted by the combined efforts of the people and their People's Liberation Army. It was then decided to put an end, once and for all, to the danger of flood from the Haiho.

A mass campaign got going. Every commune in the Haiho area mobilized for action together with Tientsin; 700,000 people began work last winter and this spring with the slogan: "Harness the Haiho! Build more projects quicker with less money!" Main aim of these efforts has been to enlarge the drainage and discharge capacity of the Haiho channels.

Though they were expected to take two to three years, several major projects have already been completed. These include extensive dredging of the 167-km. Hsuanhui River and 136-km. Kiangkiang River, and a new outlet for Paiyangtien Lake, which serves as a retention reservoir.

In addition to these and 23 other large state-financed projects, the rural people's communes, using their own funds, have dredged and done other work on 40,000 lesser tributaries, canals and ditches which form part of the overall scheme. Last winter and spring, six times as much work was done as in the same time in 1962-63, and at one-third the cost. A good start has been made to completely harness the Haiho.

Mobile Schools of Inner Mongolia

CULTURAL and educational workers... should select material and forms of presentation both suited to actual conditions in the present-day countryside, and the

needs and wishes of the people there," wrote Chairman Mao 20 years ago (*On Coalition Government*).

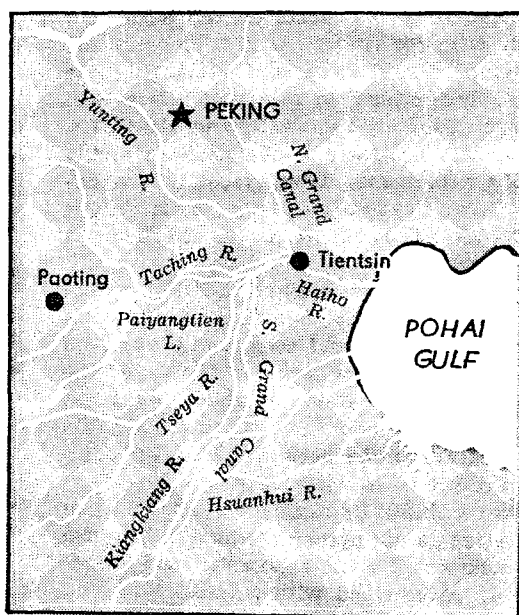
That directive still holds good and has inspired educators in giving schooling to as many children as possible under the most varied conditions. Schools take many forms. One is the "mobile school" in which teachers follow their pupils as they move with their working parents—herdsmen, fishermen or bargemen, for example.

Primary school teachers in two communes of Inner Mongolia's Chao Uda League have scored top marks from parents and pupils for the way they have adapted their schools to suit local conditions and the needs and wishes of the herding communities. This has enabled 95 per cent of all school-age children in the two communes to attend school.

Nomadism is decreasing in China today because wherever possible, the Government has helped the herdsmen settle in townships and lessen the hardships and disadvantages of a wandering life. But in Chao Uda League there are communes whose inhabitants still follow their herds and flocks as they move from pasture to pasture. In these circumstances, teachers travel from settlement to settlement, and move on with the herdsmen when they strike camp to take their livestock to fresh pastures.

Teachers face no easy task. A production team, with 30-40 households, herds some ten thousand head of livestock and its dwelling yurts will be scattered far apart, strung out maybe over 40 kilometres. But the teachers are tireless, cheerfully facing blizzards or blazing sun to reach their pupils. One teacher with 32 pupils gathers them together into six groups in wintertime when the herds are on fodder, but it takes him five days even then to visit them all and he travels 80 kilometres to do it.

Another innovation are "working holidays"—for pupils and teachers. As the pupils are frequently required to help with lambing, shearing, bringing in winter fodder and other work,



Sketch map by Su Li

the teachers have arranged lessons so that their pupils can work when needed. This is immensely appreciated, especially by the poorer parents, and is also admirably in keeping with the stress today on bringing up a generation which is equally adept at manual and mental labour.

Briefs

The first typewriters for the Tibetan language have been made.

Four have just left a Shanghai factory in fulfilment of an order from Lhasa. Tibetan has 30 consonants and four vowels but the typewriter had to have 570 keys to handle all the inflections, prefixes, suffixes and infixes in which that language abounds.

Elastic *chinlon*—Chinese stretch-nylon—for making socks has been produced by a Peking hosiery mill.

Hard-wearing *chinlon* socks can stretch to almost three times their original size and snap back into shape.

Some 2,650,000 sq. m. of new housing has been put up for workers in Anshan, China's biggest steel centre, since liberation. The apartment houses have electricity, piped water, central heating and other modern conveniences. Rent is 1 to 5 per cent of a worker's wage.

Nanchang, Birthplace of the P.L.A.

NANCHANG, capital of Kiangsi Province in east China, stands on the Kankiang River near Lake Poyang, the centre of one of China's chief rice-growing areas. Since its liberation in May 1949, it has become an important industrial city with factories for processing farm products, making tractors, diesel engines, generators and electric motors, machinery and agricultural implements, textiles and chemical fertilizer. Rubber goods, plastics, synthetic fibres and other industrial products are also made.

Before liberation, it was still a backward old city with a stagnant economy, and a few small factories, ill-equipped and averaging around 100 workers per plant. There was no heavy industry to speak of. From such beginnings, the people of Nanchang have built up their city into the thriving modern industrial centre it is today.

The transformation of Nanlien Road is typical. This was formerly Laofushan, a desolate stretch of marsh and hillocks where revolutionaries were executed by the Kuomintang reactionaries and Japanese aggressors. Since 1949, it has been turned into a long 50-m.-wide, tree-lined asphalt road flanked by modern factories and buildings. These include the up-to-date Kiangsi Tractor Plant that makes the well-known *Bumper Harvest* tractors. This was once a small repair and maintenance depot with a few old belt-driven lathes.

Old Nanchang was poorly drained, and dirty. Its pot-holed, ill-lit roads turned into streams of mud when it rained. The workers lived in slums.

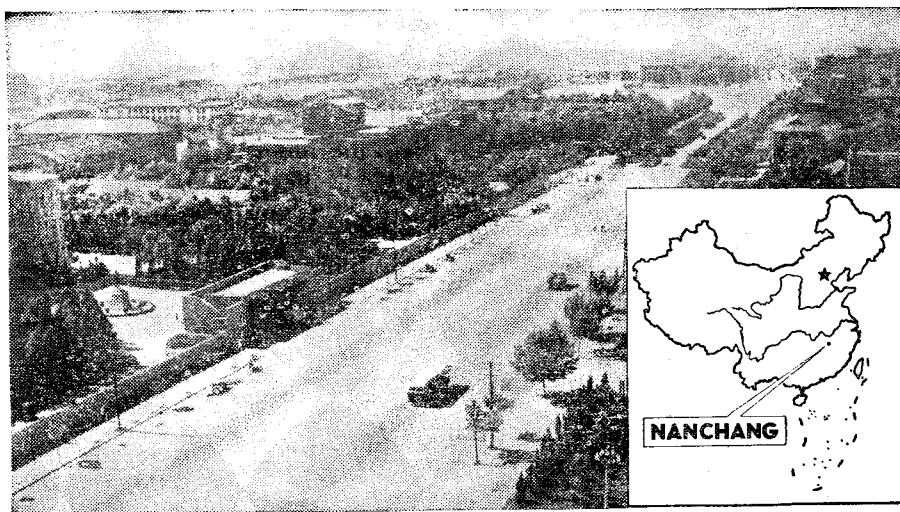
Today, new buildings have doubled the city's pre-liberation floor space. The length of paved streets has increased 11 times and there are 17 times as many buses as before 1949. Clean, well-kept streets, new parks, modern hotels, shops, theatres and a widescreen cinema are some of the modern amenities of new Nanchang.

Nanchang, however, is, and always will be, known as the birthplace of China's revolutionary armed forces—the Chinese People's Liberation Army. It was there that on August 1, 1927, Chinese Communists organized an armed uprising against the Kuomintang reactionaries—the famous Nanchang Uprising, which gave birth to the people's armed forces.

August First is a memorable day in China's revolutionary history. Each year on this day the nation remembers Nanchang when it commemorates the anniversary of its People's Liberation Army.

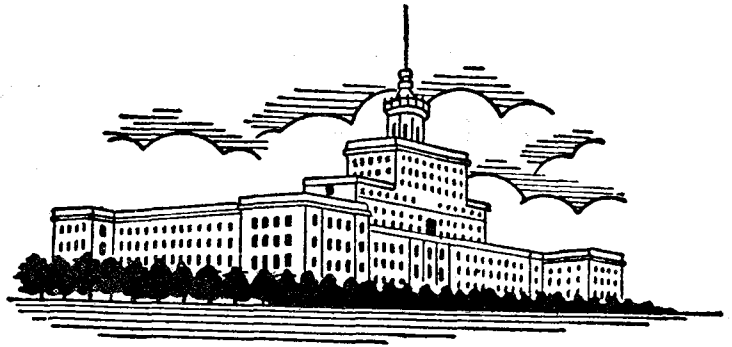
The old Kiangsi Hotel which was the headquarters of the uprising has been fully restored and renamed the August First Memorial Hall. The new steel bridge, one of the longest motor bridges in China, that spans the Kankiang River bears the proud name of August First and so does the city's main thoroughfare—the August First Boulevard.

The city holds its revolutionary past dear. The People's Government has carefully restored all local buildings and places of revolutionary historic interest and collected for exhibition many mementoes of the Nanchang Uprising. They are an inspiration to the thousands who visit Nanchang each year.



Nanchang's main thoroughfare—the August First Boulevard

Radio Peking



P r e s e n t s

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00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	6325,11740 9860,12055	47.4,25.6 30.4,24.9
	19:00-20:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)		
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	6325,11740 9860,12055	47.4,25.6 30.4,24.9
	20:00-21:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)		
03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45	(Monrovia)	5950,6950	50.4,43.2
	19:30-20:30	(Accra, Freetown)	9880,11650	30.4,25.8
04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30	(Lagos)		
	21:30-22:30	(Cairo)		
	19:45-20:45	(Monrovia)	5950,6950	50.4,43.2
	20:30-21:30	(Accra, Freetown)	9880,11650	30.4,25.8

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres	
20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	1190,1340 7035,9340	252,224 42.6,32.2
	19:30-20:30	(Singapore)	9650,11600	31.1,25.8
	20:00-21:00	(Saigon, Manila)	11860,15060	25.3,19.9
21:00-22:00	18:30-19:30	(Rangoon)		
	20:00-21:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	1340,7035 9340,9650	224,42.6 32.2,31.1
	20:30-21:30	(Singapore)	11600,11860	25.8,25.3
	21:00-22:00	(Saigon, Manila)	15060	19.9

CEYLON, INDIA, NEPAL AND PAKISTAN

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres	
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30	(Delhi, Colombo)	6025,7350	49.8,40.8
	19:00-20:00	(West Pakistan)	9860,11740	30.4,25.6
	20:00-21:00	(East Pakistan)		
	19:40-20:40	(Kathmandu)		
23:00-24:00	20:30-21:30	(Delhi, Colombo)	6025,7350	49.8,40.8
	20:00-21:00	(West Pakistan)	9860,11740	30.4,25.6
	21:00-22:00	(East Pakistan)		
	20:40-21:40	(Kathmandu)		

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres	
16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30	(Aust. S.T.)	9340,9457 11600,11650	32.2,31.7 25.8,25.75
	20:30-21:30	(N.Z.S.T.)	15060,17835	19.9,16.8
17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30	(Aust. S.T.)	9340,9457 11600,11650	32.2,31.7 25.8,25.75
	21:30-22:30	(N.Z.S.T.)	15060,17835	19.9,16.8

EUROPE

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres	
04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30	(G.M.T.)	6210,7080 9457,11630	48.3,42.4 31.7,25.8
	21:30-22:30	(Stockholm, Paris)		
05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30	(G.M.T.)	6210,7080 9457,11630	48.3,42.4 31.7,25.8
	22:30-23:30	(Stockholm, Paris)		

NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres	
08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00	(E.S.T.)	17680,15060	17.0,19.9
	20:00-21:00	(E.S.T.)	7035,9480 11945,15080	42.6,31.7 25.1,19.9
10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00	(E.S.T.)	15095 7035,9480 11945,15080	19.87 42.6,31.7 25.1,19.9
			15095	19.87

NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres		
11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00	(P.S.T.)	9457,11820 15095,15115 17745	31.7,25.4 19.87,19.85 16.9	
	12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00	(P.S.T.)	9457,11820 15095,15115 17745	31.7,25.4 19.87,19.85 16.9