

PEKING REVIEW

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December 17, 1965

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National conference discusses its advantages

30th Anniversary of the December 9th Movement

What the great student movement of 1935 can teach the younger
generations of today

More Ballyhoo From Washington About "Peace Talks"

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olive branch gambit

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS



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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

December 17, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 51

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THE WEEK

Cambodian Military Delegation Leaves for Home

Lieutenant-General Lon Nol, Cambodian Vice-Premier, Minister of National Defence, Commander-in-Chief and Chief of the General Staff of the Royal Armed Forces, and members of the Cambodian Royal Military Delegation he led left Canton for home on December 10.

During the delegation's three-week tour, Lieutenant-General Lon Nol and his colleagues visited Peking, Wuhan, Chengtu, Kunming, Canton and the Hsishuangpanna Tai Autonomous *Chou* in Yunnan Province. The Cambodian guests received an enthusiastic welcome everywhere.

While in Shanghai, they attended a banquet given by Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, at which both host and guests reiterated Sino-Cambodian friendship. Vice-Premier Lo told the Cambodian guests: "The Chinese people and their armed forces will spare no effort and continue to support you in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges; and whatever the storms may be, we will always stand firmly by you."

Lieutenant-General Lon Nol acclaimed the age-old Sino-Cambodian friendship which has been made closer as a result of aggression and intimidation by the U.S. imperialists and their satellite countries. He declared that the Cambodian people and their armed forces, rallying behind Prince Sihanouk, "will never submit, no matter what difficulties are ahead."

Kenya's Independence Anniversary

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta on December 11 warmly congratulating him on the second anniversary of Kenya's independence.

The same day, Kenyan Ambassador T.A. Koske gave a reception in Peking to celebrate the occasion. Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee

of the National People's Congress Peng Chen and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Premier Ulanfu, and other Chinese leaders attended.

Both Ambassador Koske and Vice-Premier Ulanfu spoke of the growing friendship between the Chinese and Kenyan peoples.

"To oppose U.S.-led imperialism and old and new colonialism, to win and safeguard national independence — these are the most pressing common fighting tasks facing the Afro-Asian peoples today." This was emphasized by Vice-Premier Ulanfu in his speech. He condemned the U.S. and British imperialists for conniving at and supporting the declaration of so-called "independence" by the South Rhodesian colonialist authorities. The Vice-Premier noted that the Zimbabwe people were unfolding a persistent struggle in various forms to oppose the unlawful rule of the South Rhodesian colonialist regime, and many other countries in Africa had decided to take action against it. "All this fully demonstrates the firm will of the African people for unity against imperialism," Ulanfu said.

Chairman Liu Greets Soviet Leader

Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent a message on December 12 to N. V. Podgorny congratulating him on his election as President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The Chinese leader extended his wishes for the consolidation and development of friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival Ends

The four-month-long highly successful friendship festival of the Chinese and Japanese youth has ended. All participants have hailed it as a common victory for the Chinese and Japanese peoples, a heavy blow against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and a great contribution to

peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Sponsored jointly by the China-Japan Friendship Association, the All-China Youth Federation and the All-China Students' Federation, the festival began in mid August in Peking. Over 300 Japanese youth delegates took part, while many others were prevented from coming to China because of the Japanese Government's refusal to issue passports. After a valiant 90-day struggle, some 140 Japanese young people from 15 organizations broke through the obstacles that had been set and arrived in China in early November when the festival was continued.

Memorable Meeting With Chairman Mao. The young guests were received on November 25 by Chairman Mao Tse-tung for whom they long had a deep admiration. They described him as "a great man who dares to identify U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger" and "a statesman who in the past always had the entire suffering people of China in mind and who now always thinks of the two-thirds of the world's population who have yet to win emancipation."

Shanghai Rally. Ten thousand Shanghai youths gathered at a huge rally on December 13 to bid farewell to their Japanese friends.

Addressing the rally, Liao Cheng-chih, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, announced: "The Second China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival will be held in China next year and we are going to invite more young Japanese friends to attend." He warmly acclaimed the festival and said: "In China, this festival means great jubilation and great unity. In Tokyo, the Japanese youth have carried out a big struggle and have utterly exposed the reactionaries for what they are. To the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries, the festival means a big headache and big isolation. This shows that the people's strength always grows in the course of their staunch struggle against the decaying reactionary forces. The people are invincible."

Praising the Japanese delegates for their determination to come to China, not fearing brute force or threats of

unemployment and imprisonment, Liao Cheng-chih said that it heralded an upsurge in the great movement of the Japanese people to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to be friendly with the Chinese people. "When the people of China and Japan join hands," he declared, "and when the people of the whole world, the American people included, join hands to form a broad international united front against their common enemy—U.S. imperialism—that will be the most important event in the 20th century."

One after another, the leaders of the 15 Japanese youth delegations took the floor. They said that the festival had proved the friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples to be durable and indestructible. They pledged to carry on the fight against the "Japan-South Korea Treaty," to drive U.S. imperialism out of Japan and out of Asia, to work for the normalization of relations between Japan and China, and to strengthen their unity with the Chinese youth and people in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Country-Wide Tour. During their stay in China, the young Japanese toured many parts of the country. They visited Shaoshan, Chairman Mao's home town in Hunan Province, where they took pieces of stone, bamboo leaves and handfuls of earth from the compound of his former residence for remembrance.

In Yen-an, the historic centre of the Chinese revolution, they visited many places where Chairman Mao had worked and lived. They saw the simply furnished cave at the foot of Phoenix Hill where he first lived after arriving in Yen-an after the Long March. The Japanese guests also visited Sian, Hangchow and other cities.

Protest Against Repeated U.S. Piracy

U.S. military aircraft have recently bombed and strafed Chinese fishing boats over and over again on the high seas, killing and wounding Chinese fishermen and damaging fishing vessels. The Chinese department concerned has registered the strong-

est protest against the United States Government for these acts of piracy.

At 00:40 hours on November 30, a fishing boat (No. 1021) of the Jiang-hung People's Commune in Suichi County, Kwangtung Province, was attacked on the high seas west of Hainan Island. Three U.S. military planes dropped flares, bombed the boat and strafed it with machine-guns.

At 14:30 hours on December 1, four U.S. military planes strafed two fishing boats (Nos. 2137 and 2138) of the Waisha People's Commune in Peihai in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region when they were fishing on the high seas in the Gulf of Bac Bo. Boat No. 2138 was hit and damaged by seven shells, and four fishermen were wounded.

At 16:00 hours on the same day, a U.S. military aircraft attacked a fishing boat of the Dijiao People's Commune in the same waters, killing one fisherman, wounding three and damaging the boat.

Condemning the U.S. atrocities, an official of the Chinese department concerned said: "The Chinese people cannot possibly ignore these serious armed provocations by the U.S. aggressors. We warn the Johnson Administration once again that it must immediately stop such piratical acts and that it must bear full responsibility for all the grave consequences."

Captured U.S.-Chiang Agents Released

Sixty-four U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents and 12 boatmen were recently set free by judicial organs in Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsu and Shantung Provinces. The armed agents had sneaked into the mainland from the sea or were air-dropped in the coastal areas of these five provinces, starting in 1962, while the boatmen had helped transport the agents who came by sea. They were released because they had confessed to their crimes against the people, truly repented and decided to turn over a new leaf and demonstrate their gratitude to the People's Government with good deeds. Jobs will be given to all the released. Those

(Continued on p. 9.)

Part-Work, Part-Study System Shows Its Advantages

THE National Conference on Urban Part-Work, Part-Study Education held recently in Peking pointed out: experiments in part-work, part-study education are being made currently in all parts of the country. A deep-going revolution is taking place in the sphere of education. To carry out this revolution is a fundamental measure for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the prevention of the restoration of capitalism. The part-work, part-study schools run on an experimental basis in cities throughout the country at the present time have shown their superiority in promoting the integration of education with productive labour, in bringing up workers who can labour with their hands and who are both socialist-minded and cultured, and in gradually diminishing the differences between mental and physical labour.

Sponsored by the Ministry of Education, the conference was held under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Liu Shao-chi. It was attended by representatives of various government departments, both central and local, and of schools of all types. Important directions were given by Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and other Party and state leaders in the course of the meeting, and Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier, made a report.

A Situation of Revolution

The current situation on the educational front of our country, the conference pointed out, was one of revolution and development. Since the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party had directed last year that part-work, part-study education should be gradually introduced, the large and medium-sized cities throughout the country and some of the smaller cities had set up a considerable number of work-study schools on a trial basis. The past one year and more had witnessed the emergence of schools of various types: work-study secondary specialized schools and work-study classes of higher learning, work-study schools and classes equivalent to junior middle schooling, schools which catered to the needs of both town and country and where students did both factory and farm work, and schools which were orientated towards

the countryside and recruited their students from cities on the understanding that upon graduation they would go to work in the countryside. Varied in organizational forms, some of these schools were run by factories or enterprises either individually or jointly; some had regular links with factories; some were factory-school-in-ones; some had their own small factories or farms; and some arranged for students to do whatever work was available, having themselves no definite places where physical labour could be done.

Good for All-Round Development

Practice in the past year had shown clearly the superiority of the part-work, part-study educational system. It had enabled education to be closely integrated with productive labour, making full use of the two kinds of classroom (that in the school and that at the place of work) and two kinds of teacher (the school-teacher and the worker-tutor), thus facilitating the all-round moral, intellectual and physical development of the students. Steeled in the class struggle and in the struggle for production in the factories and influenced by working-class ideology, students of such work-study schools had raised their political consciousness very rapidly. These schools had shown their advantages in turning out people who can do physical labour and who are both socialist-minded and cultured.

Facts produced at the conference had shown that, though students in work-study schools spent only half of their time in classroom studies, what they learnt was not less than those studying at full-time schools. Sometimes their knowledge had proved to be even more closely related to life. Participation in labour had much improved the students' physique also. The consensus among workers was that this new system was satisfactory in four respects: the factory was pleased because such students helped production; the school was pleased because through linking theory with practice, the quality of teaching was raised; the parents were pleased because they needed to spend little or no money for their children to obtain a good education; the student was pleased because he could both study and do manual work. In some factories where this type of school was successfully run, the students had become an important force

in production as well as bringing about political, cultural and technical changes among the ranks of the workers.

The conference reviewed the situation in part-work, part-study education, the experiments made during the past year, and the experience gained. After further study and discussion of the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on education, as well as the directions given by the Party's Central Committee, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi concerning the Party's policy on education, the meeting made clearer the course to follow, raised general understanding of the new system and reinforced confidence in it.

Popularization Must Be Preceded by Painstaking Experimentation

The conference pointed out that making the work-study educational system a well-thought out and well-organized one would be a long process. It would take several years or even longer to master its laws and accumulate experience, so it would be necessary to persist on the principle of "five years experimentation, ten years popularization." The main tasks at the present time were to strengthen the leadership, to make unified plans and conduct active experimentation, to consolidate what had been achieved and to raise the level of work. **The emphasis of experimentation should be on secondary technical schools and institutions of higher learning.** In running work-study schools on a trial basis, it was necessary to persist in the correct direction, to implement in an all-round manner the Party's policy on education so as to enable the students to develop vigorously and actively in character, mind and physique, and to bring up a new type of people who can do physical labour, who possess socialist consciousness, and have a wide general and scientific knowledge, technical ability and working skill. Graduates should be able to engage in both mental and manual labour. They should be able to work as cadres, technicians, ordinary workers or peasants.

A Task for the Whole Party

The conference also pointed out that the institution of the part-work, part-study educational system concerned all trades and occupations, and was therefore a task for the whole Party.

The conference agreed that a special feature of this new system was that the students were engaged both in study and physical labour. The principle for arranging the school-time was that classroom studies and physical labour should each occupy half of the

total time. The existing schools were working in different ways according to different local conditions. Some divided their day equally into two, others studied and worked on alternate days, weeks or months, still others divided up their time equally between classroom studies and physical labour as dictated by the season. There should be further experimentation in this connection. But the conference was of the opinion that the arrangement of "four hours' study and four hours' work a day" was a better arrangement as this would be beneficial for productive labour, study and the healthy development of the body.

Reform Teaching

The raising of quality and the reform of teaching would play an important role in ensuring the smooth institution of the new educational system. The conference held that the reform of teaching hinged on the revolutionization of the teachers and the fact that they became physical labourers at the same time. The teachers could really play their part in reforming teaching only by devoting their working time to both teaching and physical labour so as to link theory with practice. The conference urged the teachers and leading personnel of the urban work-study schools to arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and to acquire a revolutionary world outlook to be equal to their status as a vanguard in part-work, part-study education.

The conference stated that the establishment of work-study schools orientated to support the countryside was a question of policy. Work-study schools in the cities should train for the countryside large numbers of graduates who were politically progressive, cultured and who had a technical ability. Such schools might be set up in the rural areas, students being recruited from the cities on the understanding that after graduation they would be assigned to work in the countryside; or they might be set up in the cities or suburban areas with their graduates going to work in the countryside. The conference said that attention should be given to this work and a positive attitude should be adopted in order that this type of school could be run well.

During the conference, the representative from the Taching Oilfield had reported on the experience gained in establishing work-study schools there — that of giving full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work — and this had greatly inspired other participants. The conference held that the Taching spirit was the spirit of revolution, providing an exemplary model of industry and thrift in running schools. This revolutionary spirit would not only enable people to surmount difficulties and run their schools well, but would also help to promote the revolutionization of teachers and students alike.

30th Anniversary of December 9th Movement

On December 9, 1935, the students of Peking, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, began a patriotic movement demanding an end to civil war and the start of armed resistance to Japanese aggression. The movement quickly won the support of the people throughout the country and was the prelude to the great War of Resistance Against Japan.

The youth of China today carries forward the revolutionary tradition of that movement.

BIG rallies of youths and students were held all over China, in Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, Shenyang, Nanking, Urumchi and other places, to mark this year's 30th anniversary of the December 9th Movement.

On the evening of December 9 more than 10,000 young people gathered at a commemoration meeting in Peking. Together with them in the Great Hall of the People were many veterans of the December 9th Movement. Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Mayor of Peking, and Hu Yao-pang, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, attended the rally.

Events of the Movement

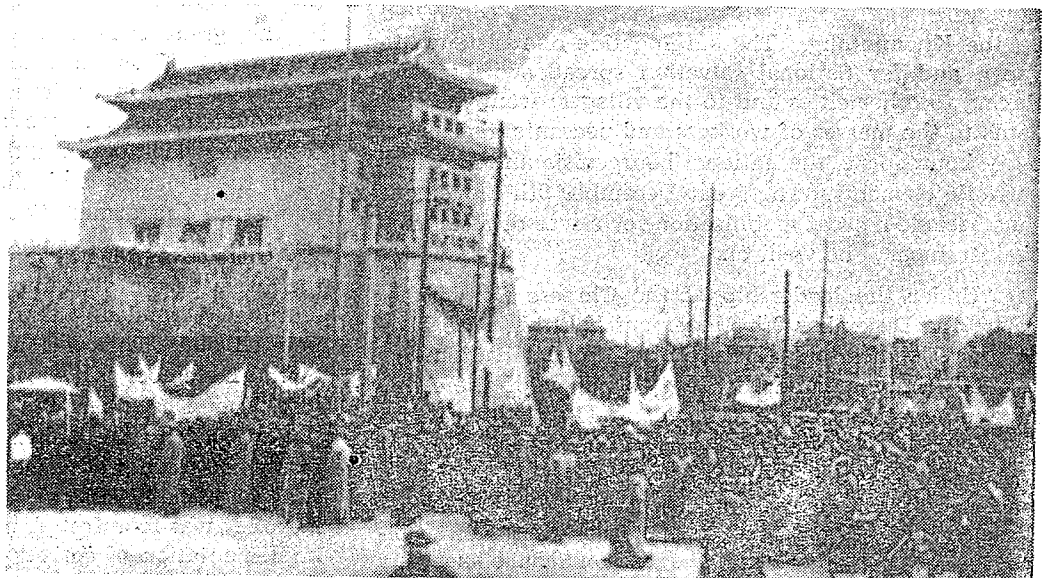
Chiang Nan-hsiang, Minister of Higher Education and himself a participant of the movement, gave an address entitled, "Study the historical experience of the December 9th Movement and be prepared to be successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution." In recalling the events of those days, he said:

"China in 1935 faced a grave national crisis. The very survival of the Chinese nation was at stake under the frenzied armed aggression of Japanese imperialism and the dark, reactionary rule of the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek regime.

"The reactionary Kuomintang government made

repeated compromises and concessions to the invader and signed the secret 'Ho-Umezu Agreement' at the expense of China's sovereignty. After abandoning the northeastern provinces, it was selling out the whole of north China to the Japanese aggressors. Meanwhile it carried on its counter-revolutionary civil war and savagely attacked the Communist Party and the people while refusing to let the people resist Japanese aggression. It called for 'No mercy to those who talk extravagantly about resisting Japan.' A White terror stalked the land.

"The Japanese aggressors were at the gates of Peking. The city swarmed with Japanese gendarmes, plainclothes-men and ronins. A handful of traitors in Japanese pay started the self-styled 'Anti-Communist Autonomous Movement of North China' and demanded that the five provinces of north China should become



During the December 9th Movement: Mass meeting of the demonstrators at the Chienmen Gate, Peking

‘independent’ and set up a so-called ‘North China State.’ The troops of the ‘Central Army’ of the Kuomintang government, and the Kuomintang party organizations began to withdraw from north China, and leading Kuomintang officials fled south. . . . Then an atmosphere of panic prevailed.”

“After the September 18th incident,”* Chiang Nan-hsiang continued, “the Kuomintang government coupled its White terror to suppress the student movement with such slogans as ‘Save the nation by studying,’ and ‘Devote yourselves to your studies’ in an attempt to mislead the students and to sap their patriotism.” But, Chiang Nan-hsiang said, the students of Peking who were right in the frontline of national defence could not study unmindful of the situation when destruction faced north China and the whole nation.

“Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the students of Peking on December 9, 1935, took to the streets. . . . Here inside the imperilled ancient capital itself, they lit a beacon for resistance against Japan and for national salvation. The students voiced the patriotic sentiments cherished by the whole nation. They were the first to shout the slogans put forward by the Communist Party of China: ‘Stop the civil war and unite to resist Japanese aggression!’ and ‘Down with Japanese imperialism!’,” said Chiang Nan-hsiang.

“The valiant struggle waged by the students of Peking tellingly exposed Japan’s aggression and Chiang Kai-shek’s treason. The Chinese Communist Party’s proposals for resistance to Japan and for national salvation were spread far and wide in the areas controlled by the Kuomintang. The surging tide of resistance to Japan and for national salvation spread swiftly from Peking to other cities and to the villages; from the students to the masses of workers and peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and all other patriotic elements. The great December 9th Movement thus became a great mobilization for a war of resistance against Japan,” he went on.

“Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the December 9th Movement held high the banner of resistance to Japan and of national salvation and correctly implemented the Party’s policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. . . . The healthy devel-

* On Sept. 18, 1931, the Japanese “Kwantung Army” in northeastern China seized Shenyang (Mukden). Under Chiang Kai-shek’s order of “absolute non-resistance,” Chinese troops were withdrawn to the south of Shanhaikuan, and the Japanese forces rapidly occupied the three northeastern provinces.



Students using a captured fire-hose against the Kuomintang police

opment of the movement was thus guaranteed politically, organizationally and in the matter of tactics in the struggle. The movement steadily strengthened its positions and was able to hold on until the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war in 1937.

Patriotic Youths Go to the Front

“With the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the broad masses of patriotic young people who had taken part in the December 9th Movement, especially those who were members of the Communist Party and the Chinese National Liberation Vanguard Corps, took their enthusiasm to the frontlines of resistance to Japan — to the villages, and the guerrilla areas in the enemy’s rear in north China, to the people’s armed forces and to all the various fronts of the movement to resist Japan and save the country. Under the leadership of the Party they worked hard to become fruitful seeds of revolution in the great anti-Japanese national salvation movement. . . . Thus the December 9th Movement, which had blossomed in the cities, bore fruit in the villages; it provided the Chinese student movement with the experience of integrating the mass of young intellectuals with the workers and the peasants, and of bringing them into the armed struggle.”

“The correct leadership of the Communist Party was the basic factor determining the outcome of the revolutionary student movement,” Chiang Nan-hsiang pointed out. “This was what the historical experience of the December 9th Movement demonstrated so vividly.” The December 9th Movement, he added, was directly led by the Chinese Communist Party and that was why it could advance victoriously through arduous and complicated struggles. The correct Party guidance in policy was manifested, he said, in the formulation and implementation of correct tactics in regard to the Anti-Japanese National United Front. He said that on the one hand, care was taken to overcome closed-doorism

and adventurism, which hindered the building of the national united front, and to correct in good time various "Leftist" tendencies in actual work; on the other hand, an uncompromising and principled struggle was waged against capitulationism and Right-opportunism within the movement itself.

Learning From the Movement.

Chiang Nan-hsiang told the meeting that in order to learn from the historical experience of the December 9th Movement the younger generation in China today must be fully aware of the tasks confronting them, have a still higher level of revolutionary consciousness and even more lofty revolutionary ideals than the youth of those times; they must stand with the working class and the poor and lower middle peasants of their country, work wholeheartedly for the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the world and promote the Chinese revolution and world revolution. He said: "We should always be fully prepared to oppose imperialist wars of aggression not only today but until the day imperialism is wiped out from the earth once and for all." He called on Chinese youth to study Chairman Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war, study and master the strategy and tactics of people's war and military skills and be prepared at any moment to take up arms to wipe out the enemy.

He also emphasized that to oppose imperialism one must oppose modern revisionism. "Today," he pointed out, "the Khrushchov revisionists are actively propagating bourgeois individualism as opposed to proletarian collectivism among the young, substituting national egoism for proletarian internationalism and using material incentives to lure the young away from the road of revolution. We must criticize and eliminate the erroneous views spread by the revisionists, persist in promoting proletarian ideology and eradicating bourgeois ideology, strive to remould our ideology and foster the revolutionary communist world outlook of serving the people wholeheartedly."

In conclusion, Chiang Nan-hsiang said: "Ours is an epoch in which imperialism is moving to its doom and socialism is marching to victory throughout the world. The historic task that falls upon the shoulders of our younger generation today is even greater and more glorious than that of the youth of the period of the December 9th Movement. We must not be unworthy of the great epoch in which we live, of the earnest exhortations of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and of the expectations of the people of China and of the world; we must study the historical experience of the December 9th Movement and be prepared to succeed to the cause of the proletarian revolution. We must be ready to take over the red banner of revolution from the older generation, pass it on from generation to generation, carry the revolution through to the end and strive to build China into a great, strong socialist country and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man."

His speech was warmly received and enthusiastically applauded.

The rally was followed by a performance of plays, songs and dances by Peking's students and literary and artistic workers. This included rousing choruses of revolutionary songs; *The Storm of December 9th*, a show in living newspaper style; *Study for the Revolution*, a group recitation; and *Go to the Countryside*, *Stand Ready to Defend the Motherland* and *Support World Revolution*, songs accompanied by dances. The vitality and militancy of these items truly reflected the spirit of China's youth today.

As part of the commemorative activities, an exhibition, opened in Peking's Beihai Park, presents a rich collection of photographs and relics of the time together with works of art depicting the events of the December 9th Movement. It is a popular exposition of Chairman Mao's ideas concerning the integration of young intellectuals with the workers and peasants.

— OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

who have families on Taiwan and desire to go back to be reunited with their relatives will be allowed to do so by the People's Government.

When the 64 U.S.-Chiang agents and the 12 boatmen received notification of their release, they all expressed their deep gratitude to the People's Government for their lenient treatment. They said that from their own experience they had acquired a deep understanding that anyone who

worked for U.S. imperialism and against the people could never evade punishment by the people and that the only bright road was to cross over to the people's side.

Among the 64 released were ten commanders or deputy commanders of columns and leaders or deputy leaders of detachments, four chiefs or deputy chiefs of staff, and three chief radio operators. While under detention, public security departments patiently explained the People's Government's policy to all the captured and helped them understand the nature of their crimes.

They were given the opportunity to read books and newspapers and to visit factories and rural people's communes to see some of the achievements in the nation's socialist construction. Some illiterates among them were taught to read and write. Those who had relatives on the mainland were allowed to write to them or to go and see them.

The confessions of the armed agents revealed that many were press-ganged into the Chiang Kai-shek army and later trained at U.S.-Chiang es-

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The Revolutionary Road for China's Young Intellectuals

— Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the December 9th Movement

THE December 9th Movement, prelude to the great War of Resistance Against Japan, wrote a glorious page in the history of the Chinese revolution.

This movement took place after the Tsunyi meeting of 1935 [an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party] in which the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung was established throughout the Party, and it was Mao Tse-tung's thinking that guided its successful development. Under that guidance the masses of young Chinese intellectuals took the revolutionary road.

The successful development of the December 9th Movement was due to the leadership given by the Chinese Communist Party. Only the Communist Party could save China.

The Party's leadership is the basic guarantee of the victorious advance of the Chinese revolution. The student movement is a constituent part of the people's revolutionary movement. Only when it is led by the Party and is closely co-ordinated with the revolutionary movement of the people throughout the nation can it advance in the correct direction. If young people want revolution, they must follow the Party. This is a truth which the contemporary revolutionary movement in China has proved more than once.

Firmly Carrying the Anti-Imperialist Struggle Through to the End

The glorious historical task of the Chinese student movement is to fight, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and together with the people of the whole country, for the overthrow of imperialism and its lackeys. This is also the outstanding feature of the Chinese student movement.

In the thirty years that have elapsed since the December 9th Movement, earth-shaking changes have taken place in China and the world. With the founding of the People's Republic of China as the landmark, the Chinese people completed their national democratic revolution and entered the period of socialist revolution. They are marching victoriously along the road of building a great, strong socialist country.

However, imperialism still exists in the world and we are still faced with the serious task of fighting it. Stepping into the shoes of former German, Italian and Japanese fascism, U.S. imperialism is frenziedly carrying out its policies of aggression and war on all the continents. Fiercer and more subtle than the German, Italian and Japanese fascism of old, it has yet over-

extended its aggressive reach by establishing more than 2,000 military bases and establishments in more than 40 countries and regions and is conducting subversive activities everywhere. It is steadily extending its aggressive war in Viet Nam, engaging in armed intervention in the Congo (L) and the Dominican Republic and suppressing the national-liberation movements. It continues to occupy our sacred territory of Taiwan, spares no effort in reviving Japanese militarism and plots to launch war against the Chinese people. It is also adopting such treacherous means as the "Peace Corps," "U.S. aid" and "cultural co-operation" to enslave the peoples of various countries and plunder their resources.

U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world and they must fight against it if they want revolution and liberation, or to maintain their independence and sovereignty. Today, to oppose or not to oppose U.S. imperialism, to dare or not to dare to wage blow-for-blow struggles against it, has become a touchstone distinguishing real revolutionaries from false ones.

Together with the people of the whole country, the young revolutionary intellectuals at the time of the December 9th Movement made their contribution to the defeat of Japanese imperialism. Today, we shoulder a still greater historical task — together with the people of the world, to overthrow U.S. imperialism and work for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and the victory of socialism. U.S. imperialism is the gang-leader of world counter-revolution and the main stronghold of world imperialism. The more frenzied it becomes, the closer is its end. Its days are numbered. When the people of the world overthrow U.S. imperialism, it won't be long before they see the collapse of the entire imperialist system. Guided and taught by the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, China's youth are resolved to work for the lofty aim of burying the whole imperialist system on this earth and building a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation of man by man.

To fight imperialism, it is necessary to expose all kinds of reformism and opportunism which give service to imperialism. During the period of the December 9th Movement, in an attempt to drag young students back from the anti-imperialist front to the rear and sap their fighting will, old imperialist lackeys like Hu Shih and his ilk peddled such reformist stuff as "saving the nation by studying" and "saving the nation through knowledge." The true meaning of their deceptive reformist propaganda was exposed by the steady expan-

sion of Japanese imperialist aggression. At that time, "vast as the area of north China was; there was no place to put a desk for peaceful study!" Those slogans—"saving the nation by studying" and "saving the nation through knowledge"—really meant not fighting against imperialism, not making revolution and not saving the country. From ancient times down to the present day, no oppressed nation in China or elsewhere has ever gained its liberation merely by "studying." To save their country young people can put their reliance only on opposition to imperialism and on revolution. There is no other way.

In this crucial time when the people of the world are waging the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle, U.S. imperialism finds its accomplices in the ranks of a proletarian party—the renegade Khrushchov revisionists—to undermine the revolutionary movement of the people of the world. They are making fervent efforts to push through the general line of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." They propagate the idea that the nature of imperialism has changed; they do their best to spread pro-America, worship America and fear America sentiments; they vainly attempt to negate the struggle against imperialism, and actively implement Soviet-U.S. co-operation to dominate the world. They also spread among young people the idea that the time of Pavel Korchagin is past, that "human beings are human beings, no matter to what class they belong," and that "peace, progress, happiness, love and beauty" are the ideals of youth. With these ideas they try to obscure distinctions between classes, deny the existence of class struggle and sap the revolutionary fighting will of the young people so as to lead them on to the wrong path. To oppose imperialism it is necessary to fight revisionism. We must hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Tse-tung's thinking; we must hate, despise and hold in contempt the three evils—imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism—and wage resolute struggles against them.

Integrating With the Workers and Peasants

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the young revolutionary intellectuals of the period of the December 9th Movement set a good example of integration with the workers and peasants. At that time, large numbers of educated youths organized propaganda groups and went to the countryside to spread among the peasant masses knowledge of the Party's stand in resisting Japanese aggression. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, they again responded to the Party's call by taking off their students' clothes, putting on clothes of coarse cotton yarn and going to the revolutionary base areas to take part in the armed struggle against the Japanese invaders. By merging with the peasants, they were steeled and remoulded in struggle and made great contributions to the revolution.

The broad masses of workers and peasants are the masters of history. In the old society, though it was

they who created all the material and spiritual wealth, they were weighed down by the three great mountains—imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. To oppose imperialism and feudalism was the urgent demand of the worker and peasant masses. They were the main force in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism and they had immense latent revolutionary strength. No saviour could conquer the country for them; only when millions of workers and peasants were politically awakened and organized, was there enough strength to smash the old system and build a new society.

In semi-colonial, semi-feudal China, the young intellectuals always played the role of vanguard in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and were an important army of the revolution. However, without the main force made up of workers and peasants, it would have been impossible to carry the struggle against imperialism and feudalism to victory by relying on the ranks of the young intellectuals alone.

Because the young intellectuals of the colonies and semi-colonies are relatively keen politically and cultured, they are often the first to come into contact with revolutionary ideas and play the role of a bridge in disseminating revolutionary ideas among the worker and peasant masses. But, the latter, who suffer most from exploitation and oppression, are the mortal enemies of all exploiting systems and the most resolute and thorough-going revolutionary force. Their will reflects the trend of historical development. The educated youth can engage in revolution only by resolutely adhering to the workers and peasants, the most revolutionary classes, integrating with them and serving them. If intellectuals think themselves "wise," regard the masses as rabble and divorce themselves from the worker and peasant masses, they will get nowhere.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so." "If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary."

The process by which young intellectuals integrate themselves with the workers and peasants is also a process of self-remoulding. The educated young people of old China received a bourgeois education at school and many of them came from families of the exploiting classes or petty-bourgeoisie. Before they integrated themselves with the masses of workers and peasants, they had, in many cases, been influenced by subjective and individualist tendencies. Often they were empty spiritually and tended to waver at crucial moments in the revolution.

All young intellectuals who want to work for revolution must put away their airs, turn themselves into

willing pupils, and sincerely learn from the workers and peasants and integrate with them. They should share the same standpoint, thoughts and feelings as the workers and peasants, live and work together with them, love and hate what they love and hate, and stand the same hardships as they do. In the struggle for the interests of the workers and peasants, they must rid themselves of all that is non-proletarian. Only in this way can they become genuine revolutionaries.

In the December 9th Movement period, young intellectuals integrated themselves with the workers and peasants in order to overthrow the three arch-enemies — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Today we continue to persist in this integration in order to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a mighty socialist state. At the same time this integration also has the aim of gradually narrowing down and finally eliminating the differences between industry and agriculture, between town and countryside and between mental and manual labour, thereby creating conditions for the realization of communism in the future.

With the upsurge of the socialist economy and the steady development of culture and education, more and more intellectuals of worker and peasant origin will certainly come forward. Under such circumstances, if those who have an education divorce themselves from the workers and peasants, and cut themselves off from labour, it follows that the more culture is developed, the greater will be the number of people who become divorced from the workers and peasants and cut off from labour. This will inevitably give rise to a certain number of bourgeois "intellectual aristocrats" who will ride high above the workers and peasants, and constitute a social basis engendering revisionism. We must regard the process of intellectuals making themselves, at the same time, manual workers as an indispensable part of our socialist revolution. We must firmly advance along the road pointed out by the Party and Chairman Mao, the road of integration with the workers and peasants.

Combining the Use of Pen and Gun

Chairman Mao has pointed out that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The educated youth of the colonies and semi-colonies who take part in the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle must combine the use of gun and pen.

After the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, in response to the call of the Chinese Communist Party, such slogans as "Go to the front" and "Go to the rear of the enemy" were put forward; they stirred the hearts of thousands upon thousands of educated youths. These young people flocked to join the revolutionary army and go to the countryside and, together with the broad masses of workers and peasants, waged the people's war in which they showed their revolutionary heroism.

In order to defeat imperialism and its lackeys, we should be versed in all forms of struggle: peaceful or armed, overt or covert, legal or illegal, and so on. All forms of struggle that help mobilize and educate the masses and isolate and attack the enemy must be used flexibly in accordance with the needs of the situation. But what is most fundamental in winning victory for the revolution is reliance on the barrel of a gun. No weapon of criticism can replace criticism by arms. One cannot defeat imperialism and its lackeys if one can only use a pen and relies solely on it. Armed struggle is the highest form of class struggle. The enemy stands sword in hand; the revolutionary people must take up sword too. The imperialists rely on violence to invade other countries and the reactionaries do the same to suppress the people. The revolutionary people therefore have no other alternative but to arm themselves and use violence in their resistance so as to overthrow the rule of the enemy. Proletarian revolution means the complete elimination of imperialism which is armed to the teeth. It means the abolition of all systems of exploitation of man by man and the emancipation of all mankind. How can such a great revolution, unprecedented in history, succeed without a fierce armed struggle?

*Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve,
Which dares to make the sun and moon
shine in new skies.*

To wage armed struggle, it is necessary to be unafraid either of hardship or of death and to promote an unyielding revolutionary spirit. While fighting and defeating the reactionary forces, the revolutionary forces undergo a process of growth, from small and weak to large and strong, and set-backs and sacrifices are unavoidable. Therefore, revolutionaries must be prepared for a protracted and arduous struggle. They must be completely optimistic about the future of the revolution, and at the same time show a stubborn fighting spirit. That a small number of people should sacrifice themselves for the nation's liberation and the happiness of the majority should be most highly valued and accounted most glorious.

To courageously take up arms to wage a people's war shows a high level of political consciousness among revolutionary educated youths. In a situation where imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man continue to exist in the world, the test of whether or not we want to engage in revolution and to win is whether or not we dare to wage armed struggle. Therefore, the educated youth of this generation should not only be skilful at manual labour, study hard, strive to be masters of culture and scientific knowledge and acquire the ability to build socialism, but also be able to use a gun as well as a pen, master the skills of armed combat, be prepared at any time to answer the call of the motherland and dedicate themselves to the defeat of U.S. imperialism.

(Excerpts from an editorial of "Zhongguo Qingnian Bao" [China Youth News], December 9, 1965.)

Strong Protest Against Indian Troops' Armed Provocation

- China censures the Indian Government for having frantically resorted to force to create tension on the border and oppose China in order to meet its present political needs.
- The Chinese Government warns the Indian Government that it must immediately stop intrusions and provocations against China, or else the Chinese side will mete out such punishment as it deserves.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a note to the Indian Embassy in China on December 12, lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government against the serious provocation by Indian troops of wantonly intruding into Chinese territory and launching an armed attack on Chinese frontier guards. The main text of the note is given below.—Ed.

AT 14:35 hours on December 12, 1965, a group of more than 30 Indian soldiers intruded into Chinese territory for more than 500 metres through the Tagi La on the China-Sikkim boundary. These Indian aggressor troops opened heavy fire with rifles and artillery on the Chinese frontier guards who were on patrol duty there, killing one of them, so that the Chinese frontier guards were compelled to fire back in self-defence. The Indian aggressor troops then fled back to Sikkim territory helter-skelter. The Chinese frontier guards caught three Indian soldiers alive (among whom two were wounded), killed five and captured a light machine-gun, five rifles and a tommy-gun. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this serious provocation in which

Indian troops wantonly intruded into Chinese territory and launched an armed attack on the Chinese frontier guards.

It is common knowledge that recently Prime Minister Shastri, Defence Minister Chavan and other leaders of the Indian Government have made continual outcries against China, slanderously charging Chinese troops with "intrusions" across the China-Sikkim and the Sino-Indian boundaries and calling for "the necessary steps" "to deal with the Chinese intruders in strength," etc. At the same time, Indian troops have incessantly perpetrated acts of intrusion and provocation against China by firing rifles and artillery on the China-Sikkim border and the Sino-Indian border. Now they have gone to the length of launching an armed attack after invading Chinese territory. All this clearly shows that the Indian Government, in order to meet its present political needs, has frantically resorted to force to create tension on the border and oppose China. The Chinese Government once again serves a stern warning to the Indian Government: It must immediately stop its intrusions and provocations against China, or else the Chinese side will give it such punishment as it deserves.

China Protests

Right-Wing Persecution of Chinese Nationals in Indonesia Intensifies

Following is the text of the December 9 note of the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry.—Ed.

THE Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Indonesia presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and,

with regard to the serious instances of persecution of Chinese nationals in various parts of Indonesia, which have recently come to knowledge, has the honour to state the following:

1. On the morning of November 22, 1965 in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, thousands of hooligans organized by the Right-wing forces, with the prior con-

sent of the *Dwikora* Administrator and the *Pantja Tunggal* of West Kalimantan, went into the streets in the name of "demonstrations," equipped with pistols, swords, hammers, clubs, etc., and frantically shouted anti-Chinese slogans. They first raided the Chung Hua Chung Hui and the Chung Hua Shang Hui in Pontianak, into whose offices they rushed after breaking the doors and then violently smashed up or carried off and burnt up the desks, chairs, electric appliances, files, stationery, etc. What makes one even more angry is that they burnt the national flag of the People's Republic of China and tore up portraits of China's state leaders. Then, they broke into the Chen Chiang and Chung Hua Schools, where they smashed up doors, windows and most of the classrooms, burnt up large quantities of teaching equipment and books, and damaged several hundred bicycles belonging to the teachers and students of the two schools. They also looted property of the teachers and students in the dormitories of the Chung Hua School and even a sum of money earmarked as salaries for the teachers.

In addition, the hooligans caused damage to some of the shops and residences of Chinese nationals in the city.

The losses resulting from the above are very heavy. What should be pointed out in particular is that, while the hooligans were carrying out these disruptive activities, large numbers of troops and police were on the scene, and at the office of the Chung Hua Chung Hui there were troops and policemen supposedly on guard, yet they did absolutely nothing to check the hooligans' illegal disruptive activities.

2. Since late October, Chinese nationals in the districts under the jurisdiction of Sumbawa have continuously suffered from serious organized persecution by the Indonesian Right-wing forces. On the night of October 21 in Alas, West Sumbawa, several hundred hooligans smashed up shops and residences of Chinese nationals, looted their property, insulted and beat them, with two of the Chinese nationals seriously wounded. What was particularly tragic was that the Chinese national Tan Che Gwan was dragged out of his house by hooligans and clubbed to death. On the same day in Taliwang, Sumbawa, several hundred hooligans armed with sharp weapons and shouting "Down with Chinamen!" hurled stones at shops and residences of Chinese nationals and broke doors with axes, and looted commodities for the market, family daily necessities and jewellery. They beat up Chinese nationals, without sparing women and the old.

On October 30 in Dompu, Sumbawa, about a thousand hooligans swarmed to the market and residential areas of Chinese nationals, where they carried out disruptive activities for as long as four hours, looting at will and beating up Chinese nationals. At Tanbangpu in the outskirts of Dompu, there were also over a thousand hooligans who, on the 30th and the 31st repeatedly raided, looted and burnt shops and homes of Chinese nationals, and committed atrocities endangering their

life. Many Chinese nationals were beaten up, among whom three were seriously injured and two suffered a nervous breakdown. Troops and police were also on the scene when the hooligans were carrying out the above outrages, but they remained indifferent and gave the hooligans a free hand. This fact cannot but impress on one the nature of the matter and the increasing gravity of the incidents.

3. According to preliminary information, first on October 28 in Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi, and then on November 14 in Makale, South Sulawesi, the schools, shops and homes of Chinese nationals were subjected to wild destruction by hooligans organized by the Right-wing forces, and Chinese nationals again suffered great losses. In Kendari a pregnant Chinese woman fell unconscious on the spot as a result of fright at the outrages, and on November 18 she had a miscarriage and died.

4. In Central and East Java, incidents in which Chinese nationals are persecuted and even murdered have continued to occur repeatedly. From November 13 to 26, more than ten Chinese nationals were taken into custody by the troops and police in Solo, Jogja, Bojolali, Purwodadi, Pemalang, Temanggoeng, Kendal County and Blora in Central Java; hooligans cruelly beat up Chinese nationals many times and even intruded into their homes to grab and illegally torture them during curfew in the Demak and Kendal Counties of the Semarang Prefecture and the Batang and Pemalang Counties of the Pekalongan Prefecture. On November 24 there appeared on the Djalan Petudungan Street of Semarang an eye-catching slogan reading "Wait for the day when the Chinese will be killed in Semarang!" Since the beginning of November, many Chinese nationals and leaders of organizations of Chinese nationals have been arrested in Malang, Madiun, Situbondo and Tulungagung of East Java. Besides, the Chinese national Tan Ju Tiauw of Gandu Village, Ponorogo County, was suddenly arrested by armymen on the evening of November 20; the Chinese national Hoo Siang Khoen of Pasuruan County was abducted by hooligans on November 22 and it has now been established that he was murdered; Tjia Boen Kiauw, secretary of the Chung Hua Chung Hui of Kependjen, Malang County, was suddenly stabbed to death before his shop by a hooligan on the afternoon of November 26; another Chinese national of Kependjen, Kang Min Hwa was murdered by hooligans on the afternoon of November 27, and his body was left on the outskirts of the town; and the Chinese national Tio Hwat Tho of Bodjonegoro County was suddenly murdered in sleep by a band of hooligans on November 22. After the occurrence of the above-mentioned atrocities, the local authorities actually paid no attention to any of the reasonable demands made by the bereaved families of Chinese nationals and organizations of Chinese nationals in their accusations.

The large number of facts mentioned above show that though the Chinese Embassy has delivered many stern notes and made many such representations to the

Indonesian Government over the outrageous persecution of Chinese nationals in various parts of Indonesia, incidents have continued to occur incessantly in which property of Chinese nationals was seriously damaged and their lives were endangered or lost. Moreover, at present in various places of Central and East Java, the number of Chinese nationals unwarrantedly arrested is daily increasing, the outrages of wantonly maltreating and murdering Chinese nationals by hooligans instigated by the Right-wing forces are growing more and more violent, and slogans reading "Kill the Chinese!" are being openly put up in the streets. All this cannot but arouse the gravest concern of the Chinese Embassy.

The Chinese Embassy expresses its great indignation at the persecution of Chinese nationals by the Indonesian Right-wing forces to such an extent in defiance of international law and practice, and lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government. The Embassy once again demands that the Indonesian Government take effective measures to check the atrocious persecution of Chinese nationals in various parts of Indonesia and truly safeguard the proper rights and

interests of the Chinese nationals and their lives and property; that it apologize for the incidents in which China's national flag and state leaders were insulted; that it severely punish those who master-minded the atrocities and the murderers of Chinese nationals and give relief to the bereaved families of the innocent Chinese victims; that it immediately release the Chinese nationals who have been illegally arrested and compensate for all the losses suffered by the Chinese nationals; and that it give relief to those Chinese nationals who have lost their means of livelihood because of the persecution.

Owing to the difficulties in communications, it is yet impossible to have full knowledge of the details about the persecution of Chinese nationals in various parts of Indonesia and their losses. The Embassy therefore reserves the right to put forward further demands in this connection.

The Embassy avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the assurances of its highest consideration.

Djakarta, December 9, 1965

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Why Johnson Administration Is Again Making "Peace Talks" Propaganda

THE Johnson Administration is busy cranking up its war machine and scheming to extend its aggressive war in Viet Nam once more.

Since U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara's visit to Saigon, Washington's top military and civilian officials have held one meeting after another. From what the American press has disclosed, one can see the rough outline of the U.S. plan for a new military venture. This is, 1), to continue to send reinforcements to south Viet Nam; 2), to intensify the bombing attacks on north Viet Nam; and 3), to carry the war in Viet Nam to Laos and Cambodia. Among U.S. ruling circles, there is much talk of fighting a local war in Indo-China on a scale similar to that of the Korean War. However, the Johnson Administration, while rattling its sabre, is again letting loose a propaganda barrage for "peace talks" on Viet Nam.

On November 28, Alexis Johnson, U.S. Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs and former "Deputy Ambassador" to Saigon, spoke of U.S. willingness to negotiate "any time, any place," without pre-conditions.

On November 30, Joseph Cisco, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, said that "the United States had not ruled out a halt

in the bombing of north Viet Nam if the Communists showed willingness to make a gesture in return."

On December 1, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk declared that "we will continue our efforts to bring the Viet Nam war from the battlefield to the conference table," and that the United States was "not excluding the possibility of another halt in the bombing as a step towards peace."

On December 2, Johnson himself declared: "This nation is ready to talk, unconditionally, anywhere. . . ."

On the same day, Rusk indicated that the proposal for the convocation of a Geneva conference to solve the Viet Nam question "would be very acceptable from our [U.S.] point of view." He said this right after British Foreign Secretary Stewart's visit to the Soviet Union.

On December 9, Rusk once again advertised Washington's "peace" wishes and openly called for a Geneva conference. He said, "A ceasefire could be a first order of business of such a conference or discussion."

"Peace Talks" to Hide Escalation

That officials in Washington should, within a fortnight, make so many repeated calls for the "peaceful" solution of the Viet Nam question has been something

unusual in recent months. Does this mean that the Johnson Administration will lay down its butcher's knife in regard to the Viet Nam question? No, a thousand times no! The word "peace" from the lips of Johnson and his like is but an overture to further expansion of the war. The Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* and the Viet Nam News Agency have recently published a series of commentaries, sharply exposing the U.S. imperialists' plot to cover up their scheme to expand the war with their "peace talks" hoax.

If we refresh our memories from the past, we shall know what is to come. If we look back to what the U.S. imperialists did yesterday, it will not be difficult to predict what they will do tomorrow. In May this year the Johnson Administration played once the trick of "a pause in the bombing." After that, it sent to south Viet Nam large reinforcements so that U.S. aggressive troops there increased from 60,000 men in May to 180,000 men now, and the bombing against north Viet Nam has been "escalated" again and again so that it today covers both industrial centres and residential areas. Now the Johnson Administration is again talking about "a pause in the bombing." Is it not clear what it is up to?

Continuing Defeats: Cause for U.S. "Peace" Hoax

Why at this moment are the American bandits, whose hands are dripping with blood, again so actively peddling their "peace talks"? Basically, it is because of their continuing defeats on the south Viet Nam battlefield. The U.S. imperialists would never have proposed "peace talks" if there had been no hitches in carrying out their plans of aggression or if they could have had their way on the battlefield. It is precisely because they have failed, even after 11 years, to annex south Viet Nam and have suffered ever harder blows that the Johnson Administration is now pressing its "peace" tactics in the vain hope of compelling the Vietnamese people to cease fighting. If the Vietnamese people turn this down, the Johnson Administration will say glibly: "Since you do not want peace, we have no choice but to fight."

From a long-term point of view, the "peace talks" scheme is a means which U.S. imperialism uses in carrying out its policy of aggression to attain an end it cannot attain by means of war. Right now, U.S. imperialism's propaganda of "peace talks" is merely a cover for its crime of widening the war in Viet Nam and Indo-China as a whole.

Rusk's message in May this year announcing "a pause in the bombing" is typical of the U.S. imperialists' "peace" trick. Rusk said in the message that the "only way" to bring a "permanent end" to U.S. air attacks on north Viet Nam was for the Vietnamese people to give up their armed struggle. If the Vietnamese people refused to submit, the United States would be "free to reverse its decision" on "a pause in the bombing."

Using as it does the language of bandits, this message is an out-and-out ultimatum and war blackmail.

The revolutionary people of the world have had enough experience of the U.S. imperialists' trick of "peace talks." Short of complete defeat, the U.S. imperialists will never give in, nor even enter into serious negotiation. The Korean War showed that even when the U.S. aggressors had their arrogance beaten out of them on the battlefield and had to sit down at the conference table, they still made threats by launching one large-scale offensive after another on the battlefield, vainly attempting to get from the conference table what they could not get on the battlefield.

However, against the revolutionary people, the U.S. imperialists can never achieve their aim either by war or by "peace" tricks. Recently the Vietnamese people justly exposed the Johnson Administration's fresh plot for another "pause in the bombing" and made it clear that they would never fall into the U.S. imperialist trap. President Ho Chi Minh, in his reply to questions put to him by a British correspondent, pointedly declared: "The truth is that Johnson wants neither peace nor peace negotiations. As a matter of fact, at the very moment he talks a lot about peace discussions, the U.S. imperialists are further expanding the war of aggression in south Viet Nam, massively sending there tens of thousands of U.S. troops and extending the 'escalation' in north Viet Nam." These words from President Ho Chi Minh have completely unmasked the Johnson Administration as the aggressor.

Vietnamese People Have Final Say

On the question as to what principle should be followed in solving the Viet Nam issue, it is not the U.S. imperialists but the Vietnamese people and they alone who have the final say. The four-point proposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the five-part statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation form the only correct basis for the solution of the Viet Nam question. As the Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* has pointed out: "The question is not one of 'a pause in the bombing' but of cessation of the U.S. imperialist bombing of north Viet Nam for ever, an end to the war of aggression against south Viet Nam, withdrawal of all U.S. troops from south Viet Nam, and allowing the Vietnamese people to settle their internal affairs themselves in accordance with the Geneva agreements." The Johnson Administration can never succeed in its quest to acquire the right for the U.S. aggressors to hang on in south Viet Nam in return for "a pause in the bombing."

The 650 million Chinese people firmly support the just struggle of their Vietnamese brothers to resist the U.S. aggressors and save their country. Rusk recently tried to intimidate the Chinese people by saying that they must face the problem of "confrontation" with the United States. Such bravado frightens no one. The Vietnamese people are at the forefront of the struggle

against U.S. imperialism, accepting sacrifices and fighting with unsurpassed valour. In this way they have greatly helped China and defended peace in Asia and the world. We Chinese people will give the Vietnamese

people as much support as they require for as long as they need it. We will spare no effort to support the Vietnamese people in defeating the U.S. aggressors.

(*"Renmin Ribao's"* editorial, December 14, 1965.)

The Indian-Canadian "Report"

Serving U.S. Imperialism in Laos

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE "report" of the Indian and Canadian members of the International Commission in Laos on the so-called "north Vietnamese prisoners of war captured in Laos" was made public by the British Government unilaterally on December 6. The Wilson government did this in its name as a Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference and, in addition, came to the absurd conclusion that "north Vietnamese troops are operating in Laos."

In a statement on December 9, a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam strongly protested and sternly condemned the slander by the British Government and the Indian and Canadian members of the International Commission, pointing out that the "report" was null and void. The Chinese Government and people fully support the D.R.V. Government's just stand.

Pliant Tool

The Indian and Canadian members of the International Commission have all along misrepresented the true situation in Laos and glossed over Washington's aggressive actions in that country. For more than three years, the U.S. imperialists have committed endless aggression and intervention in Laos in violation of the Geneva agreements. Yet the Indian and Canadian members have consistently turned down the repeated requests of the Neo Lao Haksat for investigation. They turned deaf and dumb and would not condemn Washington for such an obvious violation as direct U.S. air force participation in the Laotian war—a fact which Washington itself admitted. They even refused to question U.S. pilots captured in the Laotian liberated areas. On the other hand, a mere nod from U.S. imperialism is enough to send them scurrying on its errands, conjuring up all sorts of "evidence" to vilify the Laotian patriotic forces and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This so-called report once again brings home the fact that the International Commission in Laos, under the sway of its Indian and Canadian members, has become a pliant tool of U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in Laos.

Null and Void

The "report" submitted by the Indian and Canadian members in the name of the International Commission

and published by the British Government is completely illegal and therefore null and void. The "investigation" mentioned in the "report" was conducted at the unilateral request of the Laotian Rightists and in the absence of the Polish member of the commission. It directly violates Laotian sovereignty and contravenes both the letter and spirit of the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos.

The Wilson government is anxious to publish the Indian-Canadian "report" at this juncture because it is out to aid and abet U.S. imperialism in its criminal plan to extend the war in Indo-China. In an attempt to turn the tide in south Viet Nam, the U.S. aggressors are now manoeuvring to spread the war to Laos and Cambodia. American military advisers are assuming direct command of the Laotian Rightists' mobile forces and the Thai troops who have intruded into Laos, in massive attacks on the liberated areas in Cammon and Savannakhet Provinces, with a view to linking Central and Lower Laos with Thailand and the south Viet Nam theatre of war. American journals have reported that the Johnson Administration is planning to send U.S. ground forces into Laos to cut off what they call the "Ho Chi Minh trail." The false conclusion drawn by the British Government on the basis of the report of the Indian and Canadian members that "north Vietnamese troops are operating in Laos" is specifically designed to provide a pretext for Washington to carry out its sinister scheme.

Warning

We wish to warn the Indian and Canadian members of the International Commission in Laos that they must immediately cease all their illegal activities. We also want to warn the British Government against abusing the name of the Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference and continuing to act as a cat's-paw. The two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the International Commission in Laos are duty bound to uphold the Geneva agreements; they have no right to help U.S. imperialism torpedo the agreements and expand its aggressive war.

(*"Renmin Ribao,"* December 12, 1965.)

Japanese Militarism on the Road Back*

by Jen Ku-ping

THE foreign policy of militarism is expressed in war-like action and wild aggression, and its domestic policy in undisguised rule by violence and oppression of the people.

Fascist Rule

To hasten Japanese militarism's revival, the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries are saddling fascist rule on Japan by drawing up various kinds of reactionary legislation, strengthening police and spy agencies and fostering fascist organizations. At the same time they are redoubling their efforts to carry out militarist propaganda and education among the Japanese people, and inject the virus of militarism into their minds to prepare the conditions ideologically for the stepped-up revival of militarism.

Quite a number of fascist bureaucrats and other militarist elements are now holding important posts and wielding immense power in the state apparatus and the ruling political party. These militarists are carrying out an extremely reactionary policy on the orders of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

To put down the resistance of the progressive forces and the masses of the people, the Japanese rulers have drawn up a long list of reactionary laws and regulations to rob the people of their democratic rights. To strengthen the means for rule by violence, they have also constantly enhanced police powers, expanded police ranks, and set up more spy organizations. To date, the police force has been raised to more than 100,000, double the prewar figure. Officials responsible for police affairs have disclosed that the national police force will be boosted to 200,000.

Why Do They Want to Amend the Constitution? What calls for special attention is the fact that the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries have been scheming to amend the Japanese Constitution so as to remove the obstacles which hamper the Japanese militarist forces from doing what they like. By attempting to amend the constitution, they are plotting to increase the power of the emperor, introduce conscription and enact laws to proclaim state of emergencies, in order to set up and strengthen the militarist system. According to "Opera-

tion Three Arrows" which was exposed in the Japanese Diet in February this year, the Japanese militarist forces are ready, when a war is launched abroad, to introduce a "system of general national mobilization" at home, enact war legislation, suppress progressive forces by every possible means and place the country completely under fascist rule.

Nurtured by U.S.-Japanese reaction, large numbers of fascist and Right-wing organizations have raised their heads. These include the "All-Japan Council of Patriots' Organizations," "New Japan Association," "Japan National Council," and the "All-Japan Patriots' Council." Aided and abetted by Japan's ruling circles and financed by various monopoly capitalist groups, these fascist organizations have been running amuck, and behaving more arrogantly than ever. They are openly engaging in militarist propaganda and going in for assassination and disruptive and other outrageous activities.

Emperor-Worship and Glorification of Aggressive Wars. In recent years the Japanese militarists' reactionary propaganda has become more rampant. They have done their utmost to preach the "big nation doctrine" and "patriotism" to fan reactionary nationalism and revanchist sentiment. They have also vigorously publicized the idea of emperor-worship, even to the extent of demanding the resumption of *Kigensetsu* (the festival commemorating the founding of the nation by the legendary emperor Jinmu) and *Tenchosetsu* (emperor Hirohito's birthday). By every possible means, the militarists are trying to restore the emperor's "prestige" and make him worshipped again by the Japanese people.

The ruling circles have even tried to whitewash the Japanese militarist forces for their wars of aggression. They have erected monuments and statues to honour the memory of the notorious aggressors in Japanese history, exalted military men of the past and through films, newspapers and magazines advertised the "great exploits" of Japan's aggressive troops. The successive wars of aggression launched by the militarists are described as "self-defensive." Tremendous efforts have been made to affirm the "righteousness" of the "Great East Asia War" and to boast that the aggressive wars against the various Asian countries 20 years ago were, in essence, "wars of liberation." Foreign Minister Etsusaburo Shiina, in his book *Fables and Politics*, bragged about how "glorious" Japanese imperialism was. The exaltation of Japanese militarism was pushed to a

*This is the second of two instalments of the article. The first appeared in our last issue (No. 50). — Ed.

new height during the 20th anniversary of Japan's surrender in World War II. Many volumes of "war history" distorting facts were published along with the memoirs of war criminals, some of whom were given the opportunity to speak on the air. Documentary films praising aggressive wars were shown to the public. There were all kinds of exhibitions lauding the Imperial Army's "splendid war deeds" and "heroic fighting spirit." A "memorial service for the war dead," which "was unparalleled in magnitude," took place. Prime Minister Sato declared that "in sponsoring the memorial service, the government wishes to honour the memory of and expresses gratitude to those who had laid down their lives on the battlefield for Japan at a critical juncture in the nation's history."

Militarist Education for Younger Generation. Japan's ruling circles attach special importance to "ethical education" among military men and the youth. Members of the "Self-Defence Forces" are instilled with the Bushido spirit: "obedience," "loyalty" and "gallantry." In order to plant militarist ideas in the minds of the younger generation, the Japanese rulers are tightening their control over school education. "Respect for the emperor means love of Japan." This was stated in a document on political education the Central Education Commission of the Japanese Government issued to the youth last January. The youth and students are compelled by the authorities to visit and receive training by the "Self-Defence Forces," the purpose being to give them more "defence consciousness." The government has also revised primary and middle school textbooks, deleted all lessons which are regarded as unfavourable to the revival of militarism and inserted much reactionary teaching material.

All this reactionary propaganda and educational programme set up by the ruling circles are calculated to cover up the aggressive nature of the wars that the Japanese militarists launched 20 years ago as well as the towering crimes they committed. But their aim goes much further. It is to preach the resurgence of Japanese militarism and to try to arouse the Japanese people to make sacrifices for new aggressive wars to be launched by the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries.

Out to Seize Asian Hegemony

The recovery and expansion of Japan's economic and military strength have whetted the aggressive ambitions of the militarists to dominate Asia again. Tokyo bigwigs long ago were making various kinds of noises that Japan should be the "leader of the Asian nations," that "the 38th Parallel in Korea is Japan's forward post and alert area," that Japan cannot allow China "to be swayed by communism and turn a blind eye to it," and that Southeast Asia is Japan's "lifeline," and so on. Whereas a few years ago the militarist forces merely revealed their ambitions for realizing their old dream of a "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere," these rabid revanchists have been readying themselves in recent years to put their criminal designs into practice.

Japan's ruling circles make no bones about the strategic goals of their expansion and aggression. They are to seize the leadership of the "camp of freedom" in Asia, and bring about a situation in which "the United States rules North and South America, Europe rules Africa, and Japan rules Asia." They openly propagate the idea of forming an Asian bloc in which "Korea, the Philippines, [China's territory of] Taiwan, and Southeast Asia are united under Japan's leadership." To realize this strategic objective, they are vigorously attempting to make inroads into Korea again, stick their finger in our Taiwan and step up all-round expansion in Southeast Asia. In further colluding with U.S. imperialism, they actively support its aggressive policy in Asia, and take every opportunity to expand their own power in preparation for launching aggressive wars.

Aggressive Designs on Korea. As the Japanese militarists see it, Korea is an indispensable stepping-stone for their aggression abroad. They have arrogantly declared that Korea is "the first line of Japan's national defence." In last June, the Sato government signed the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" with the puppet regime in Seoul, and recently it railroaded this treaty through the Japanese House of Representatives. This is not only designed to block the peaceful reunification of Korea and pave the way for renewed infiltration of Japanese monopoly capital. It actually amounts to the formation of a "Northeast Asia military alliance," in which south Korea is made a spring-board for attacking the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and China as well. The Japanese militarists are tightening their control over south Korea and redoubling their efforts to carry out their plan of making the 38th Parallel in Korea the "forward position" for aggression.

Collaboration With Chiang Gang. The Japanese militarists have always been trying to thrust their aggressive tentacles once more into our Taiwan Province. Trailing behind the United States in its plot to create "two Chinas," Japanese ruling circles assert that "the status of Taiwan has not yet been determined," and applaud the ideas about "self-determination for Taiwan" and "placing Taiwan under trusteeship" which have been concocted by U.S. imperialism. In the last few years Japan has stepped up efforts to carry out economic expansion in Taiwan, and now controls Taiwan's import and export trade to a large extent. Military collaboration between the Japanese Government and the Chiang Kai-shek gang has also been intensified step by step in order to build a so-called "Japan-south Korea-Taiwan defence system" as part of the crescent-shaped encirclement of the Chinese mainland.

Increased Hostility to China. The Japanese militarists have always regarded China as the greatest stumbling-block to the realization of their aggressive ambitions. They shout themselves hoarse that "the future of Asia is to be decided by a trial of strength between China and Japan" and that "the day is bound to come when

Japan will have a showdown with China." The Japanese Government is following an increasingly hostile policy to China. When Japan signed the "Security Treaty" with the United States five years ago, Aichihiro Fujiyama, then Japanese Foreign Minister, arrogantly declared that the scope of the application of this aggressive military treaty would cover "areas north of the Philippines, the China coast and the Maritime Territory of the Soviet Union." "Operation Three Arrows" and "Operation Flying Dragon," which were successively revealed in the Japanese Diet this year and which take China and Korea as hypothetical enemies indicate that the Japanese militarists' aggressive designs have been put in a concrete form. These "operation plans," formulated by the Japanese "Defence Agency" after careful planning in accordance with the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," provide that when the United States is at war with China and Korea, Japan will fight jointly with U.S. troops, and send its own troops overseas whenever necessary. The Japanese army's spheres of operation will include northeast China in addition to the northern part of Korea. It is also provided that the Itazuke air base in Kyushu "shall be made a front-line strongpoint for attacking China proper." This is in effect Japan's "combat blueprint" for launching aggressive wars against China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in conjunction with the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique.

Supporting U.S. Aggression in Viet Nam. A hallmark of Japanese militarism's drive for expansion and aggression is that Japan's ruling circles are actively supporting the U.S. policy of aggression in Viet Nam and are eager to act as an accomplice in U.S. imperialism's aggression. They hold that to keep Japan's vested interests in Southeast Asia intact and then to gradually build its spheres of influence there, it is necessary to help the United States "defend south Viet Nam," "roll back communism" in Indo-China and prevent "Southeast Asia from going communist." At present, as Japanese public opinion has pointed out, the Sato government's aid to U.S. imperialism in its aggression against Viet Nam is on a much wider scale than that given by Thailand, a member of the SEATO bloc and the puppet regime in south Korea.

Speaking of Japan's support to U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam, Japanese Foreign Minister Etsusaburo Shiina said: "Japan is waiting for the opportunity. It is willing to do anything on request." It seems that the Japanese rulers are bent on loyally serving the United States in its aggression against Viet Nam and also make a good profit out of it for themselves.

This Road Is Impassable

Massive facts illustrate that U.S. imperialism is step by step bringing the Japanese militarist forces to their feet, and that Japan's ruling circles, harbouring wild aggressive ambitions and relying on the power of U.S. im-

perialism, are vainly hoping to take the road they took 20 years ago. But this road will get them nowhere.

Japanese People's Growing Power. Japan today is not what it was in the 1930s. The political consciousness of the Japanese people has been greatly heightened. The Japanese Communist Party has grown stronger in struggle. Having experienced the calamity the Japanese militarists brought down on them and the agonies inflicted by the U.S. occupation authorities, the Japanese people will never allow the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries to push the nation once again into the abyss of darkness; they are determined to fight for the realization of a new Japan, one which is independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous. The contradictions between the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and the Japanese people are becoming sharper. A national-democratic united front comprising all patriotic and democratic forces in Japan is being formed and developed. The growing power of the Japanese people is the main obstacle to the policy of oppression, aggression and war pursued by the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. All of the Japanese militarists' schemes for expansion and aggression will be repudiated by the Japanese people.

Likewise, the Asia of today is not the Asia of the 1930s. China, Korea and Viet Nam have become great socialist countries with strong national defences. The Southeast Asian people's movement against U.S.-led imperialism and to win and safeguard national independence is surging forward vigorously. No matter how hard they are trying to regain their lost power, the Japanese militarists can never alter the balance of forces which are most unfavourable to them.

Regarding U.S. imperialism as their protector, Japanese ruling circles hope that it will really act as the "guardian" of Japanese militarism, and help realize their old dream of a "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere." But can U.S. imperialism actually be relied upon as a protector? Already in a serious predicament, it cannot even save itself. How then is it able to protect the Japanese reactionaries? Moreover, it fosters Japanese militarism not because it wants to protect the "security" of Japan but because it attaches importance to the latter's strategic position in the Far East and the fighting capability of the Japanese troops, and wants to drag it into a new major war by using its bases and cannon-fodder. The process of the accelerated revival of Japanese militarism in the postwar period is actually the process of tightened U.S. control over Japan. The so-called Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" is nothing but the instrument for a sell-out by which Japan is incorporated into the U.S. imperialist system of nuclear strategy and the United States is enabled to hold it down relentlessly. In point of fact, Japan is being fastened more and more tightly to the war chariot of U.S. imperialism. The part that Japanese ruling circles can play is simply to snatch Washington's chestnuts out of the fire. In the last analysis, the road of militarism which Japanese ruling circles are again taking under the aegis of U.S. imperialism can only lead to self-destruction.

Combat Imperialism and Revisionism

Joint Statement of New Zealand C.P. and Australian C.P. (M-L)

- The two main tasks for the two Parties are jointly to carry out with full vigour the fight against imperialism, headed by the United States, and the fight against revisionism.
- The Soviet revisionists are not only betraying the socialist achievements of the great Soviet people and opening the way for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, but are trying to impose their betrayal on the whole international communist movement.

THE Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of New Zealand in a joint statement expressed the determination to carry through to the end the struggle against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism, an ally of imperialism in its dying era.

Representatives of the two Parties held talks in Auckland, New Zealand in August. The joint statement was signed on behalf of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) by its Chairman E.F. Hill and on behalf of the Communist Party of New Zealand by its General Secretary V.G. Wilcox.

The statement says: "The delegations of the two Parties were in complete agreement on all matters. They particularly concerned themselves with the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and with the present situation in the international communist movement."

They point out that the main enemy of mankind is U.S. imperialism. The struggle against U.S. imperialism must be carried through to the end.

"The two Parties recognize that the main enemy in the world communist movement remains modern revisionism. Everywhere revisionism is attempting to stultify the all-out fight against imperialism and is thereby an ally of imperialism in this, its dying era," the statement says.

The two main tasks for the Parties are jointly to carry out with full vigour the fight against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and the fight against revisionism. At the same time the two Parties do not overlook the need to combat tendencies to dogmatism, it says.

The statement stresses: "Each Party repudiates the decisions of the so-called Moscow Conference of March 1965, and the whole of the divisive activities of the Soviet revisionists.

"The present Soviet Party leaders attempt to carry out Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov.

"The Soviet revisionists are not only betraying the socialist achievements of the great Soviet people and opening the way for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, but are trying to impose their betrayal on the whole international communist movement.

"The two Parties affirm their opposition to the holding of any world meeting of Communist Parties until there have been full discussions, bilaterally and multilaterally, amongst Parties which have ideological differences."

It says: "Certainly the opinion of the two Parties, is that no meeting should be held without the prior agreement of the Parties of all socialist countries.

"Consideration must be given to the attendance of any future world meeting of representatives of new Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups in a somewhat similar way to that adopted by Lenin in the early days of the Communist International."

It points out: "An admission of errors committed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union leadership at their 22nd Congress in relation to the Albanian Party of Labour is an essential preliminary condition of the resolution of the differences."

The statement exposes the fact that "under Soviet revisionist influence the Australian revisionist leadership is attempting to create a revisionist 'Communist' Party in New Zealand.

"This reveals the bankruptcy of these people. Such attempts are doomed to failure."

Referring to the situation in Southeast Asia, the statement says: "The two Parties note the increasing urgency of the situation in Southeast Asia with both

U.S. imperialism and British imperialism engaged in an attempt by armed aggression to suppress the national-liberation movements of that area.

"The struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia is also the struggle of the people of Australia and New Zealand. Australian and New Zealand people will stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of Viet Nam, the peoples of the so-called Malaysia, the people of Laos, Cambodia, and so forth, in the struggle for freedom.

"At these storm-centres, and in Africa and in Latin America, the greatest possible chance of further revolutionary advance immediately presents itself. Therefore, it is the duty of all Marxist-Leninists to give full assistance to those struggles."

The two Parties affirm their adherence to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of 81 Parties, the statement says.

Peruvian C.P. Organ :

Unity Impossible With Revisionists

THERE can be and there should be no unity between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists, declared an article in the September 20 issue of *Bandera Roja*, organ of the Communist Party of Peru. It emphasized that the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement could be built only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The article, signed "Observer," is entitled "Always Be Firm in the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism." It said: "Modern revisionism, unable to answer Marxism-Leninism with principled arguments, strives to cover up its treachery and defection with empty talk about 'revolution' which can only fool the ignorant. . . . Khrushchov's successors, badly beaten in the historic polemics with the Marxist-Leninists, try to disguise themselves as Marxist-Leninists and cunningly repeat certain theses advanced by those Communist Parties which adhere to the scientific theory of Marx and Lenin."

"But in practice, they remain faithful to their policy of U.S.S.R.-U.S. co-operation. Marxist-Leninists, therefore, must not be deceived by nonsense about 'ending the public polemics' and 'solidarity of the international communist movement.'"

Stressing that, in the ideological controversy in the present-day international communist movement, one should not shun debate by using the need for "unity" as a pretext, the article adds: "There can be no third stand or a stand in between those of Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists."

It said: "Khrushchov and his followers are the only splitters and secessionists in the international com-

It says: "The modern revisionist concepts of peaceful coexistence, the great possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism, world disarmament while imperialism exists, of tolerance to developments of a neo-colonialist nature, of building full Communism while imperialism remains, are incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and with full action in the struggle against imperialism on a world scale."

The two Parties declare in the statement their joint opposition to the policies of the Menzies and Holyoake governments. The policies of these two governments demonstrate the puppet role assigned to the two countries by U.S. imperialism, it says. The two Parties call on the working class and working people and all opposed to monopoly and all patriotic people in Australia and New Zealand to join in the struggle for national independence, against U.S. and British imperialism.

munist movement. One of the reasons for Khrushchov's downfall is precisely that he pursued an infamous and crudely divisive policy which was violently anti-China and anti-Albania."

The article emphasized: "There cannot be and there should not be unity between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists, simply because the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement can only be built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

"What is being debated within the international communist movement today is precisely the general line of struggle of all Communists of the world. Therefore, the correctness or erroneousness of all political, military and organizational lines depends on whether they are based on Marxism-Leninism and proceed from concrete and objective reality.

"We stand for a vigorous and profound ideological struggle not only within the international communist movement, but also at all levels of our Party. Only those who have been bogged in the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism would call for an unprincipled peace in the name of 'unity.' Unprincipled peace means degeneration and decay, and has nothing in common with solidarity and unity.

"We Marxist-Leninists demand that Khrushchovites of all brands make open self-criticisms and admit the errors of their general line and the damage their sectarian and divisive activities have brought to the world socialist revolution. Apart from this there is no other way to achieve unity in the international communist movement."

Denouncing the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for turning their backs on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, for following in the footsteps of Tito, and for tampering with the

universally applicable theory of Marxism-Leninism under the pretext of proceeding from "new historical conditions," the article concluded with a call for struggle in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Pen Probes

Light? Moderate? Heavy?

— Those U.S. Casualties

WITH U.S. forces in south Viet Nam edging towards the 200,000 mark and losses mounting at an ever faster rate, Washington has for months past now been using such cryptic expressions as "light," "moderate" or "heavy" to describe American casualties. A whole company wiped out? *Light*. Another battalion chopped up? *Moderate*. . . . This immoderate use of the word "moderate" became so ridiculously unrealistic that even American and other Western bourgeois papers began to voice their doubts. Now we are getting an inkling of what these terms really mean.

"'Light,' 'moderate' and 'heavy' mean whatever U.S. military spokesmen want them to mean," acknowledged *Newsweek* (December 6, 1965). "The adjective chosen to describe losses in a particular action," according to this U.S. magazine, "is always used in relation to the total force engaged; thus, an entire platoon might be virtually wiped out, but if the battalion to which it belonged lost only 1 or 2 per cent of its overall strength, the casualties would be described as 'light.' What's more, two successive actions may produce the same percentage of casualties, yet be characterized differently. Losses that would be described as 'moderate' in a unit on the defensive might be called 'light' in a unit on the attack since troops on the offensive are expected to suffer heavier casualties.

"When are casualties officially 'heavy'? 'When the unit involved can no longer fight as a unit,' answers a [U.S.] Saigon information officer. Thus a unit might lose 40 per cent of its strength, but if it still has most of its officers and N.C.O.'s left, its casualties would be called 'moderate.'"

The military correspondent of the Australian evening paper *Herald* who was lately in south Viet Nam also told about this unique American practice. In an article published on December 4, he wrote: "The rules stipulate that losses be diluted by measuring the casualty rate against the total force engaged.

"A company may be wiped out in an ambush, for example. If it formed part of a two battalion force, then the casualties will be described as light or, at worst, moderate, even though the rest of the force took no part in any fighting.

"On one occasion recently, an Australian battalion was thrown into the picture, so extremely heavy casual-

ties suffered by two companies in an American battalion were minimized."

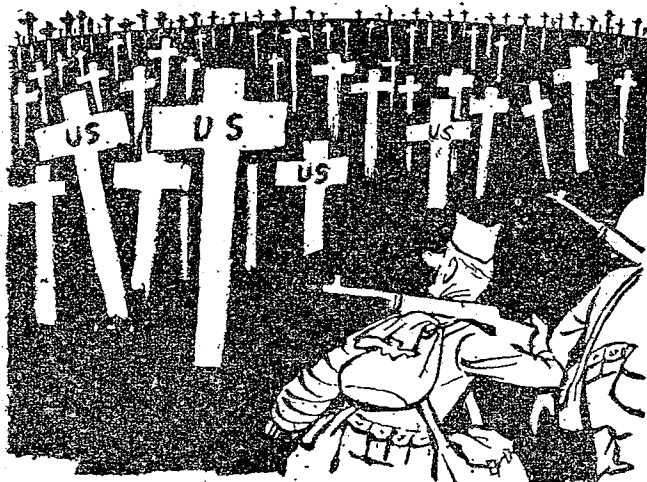
And Those Mythical Bodies

Nor is misinformation merely limited to American casualties. In a Saigon dispatch published in the *New York Times* on November 26, Charles Mohr admitted that "a steady stream of misinformation about the war in Viet Nam is reaching the American reading and voting public." Among the examples he cited was the following:

"When the American Special Forces camp at Pleime came under intense and prolonged siege last month the military spokesmen reported early in the fight that 90 enemy bodies had been counted and some of them were hanging on the camp's barbed wire. This report was featured prominently in several papers, including the *New York Times*.

"When a reporter later reached the besieged camp, still under fire, and said he wanted to photograph the bodies on the barbed wire the grimy, bearded, exhausted defenders broke into bitter laughter. They said there had never been any bodies on the wire and that they had never made the original count of 90 enemy dead."

No wonder that the Australian mentioned above ridiculed the U.S. military as trying to win the war "by pretence." He wrote: "American public relations in Saigon are the worst I have known in any war anywhere. Even at the worst periods of the Indo-China War, the French only concealed. . . . But the current crop of American public relations officers . . . are engaged in the business of turning defeats into victory."



G.I.: "Was it light or moderate for them?"
Cartoon by Ying Tao

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. Reverses in S. Viet Nam

More Men, Greater Losses

This Christmas, because of the Johnson Administration's policy of escalating the war in Viet Nam, many American families will have to spend their holiday without husband, father, son, or brother — a large number having lost their dear ones for ever. *Newsweek* (Dec. 6) reported that in Columbus, Georgia, where many First Cavalry Division families lived, the Western Union messengers have kept door-bells ringing to deliver bad news, and people could hear 21-gun salutes several times a day. It was a grim picture indeed. In the meantime, Johnson continues sending soldiers to faraway south Viet Nam to kill and get killed.

Battered by the south Vietnamese liberation armed forces during the rainy season, the U.S. aggressors fondly hoped "to win back" the lost war in the dry season by pouring in more men, especially into the strate-

gic Central Highlands. In the last few months, the number of American troops in south Viet Nam has gone up from 82,000 in July to 169,770 by November. It is only natural that American death tolls have kept soaring — 19 enemy battalions were put out of action in October and November alone, eight U.S. battalions among them. The airmobile First Cavalry Division has thus far lost two battalions while the First Infantry Division has lost nearly half of its nine battalions.

In the battle of Plei Me on the Central Highlands, which began on October 19 and lasted nearly one month, 1,700 Americans were wiped out. Between November 14 and 17, men of the First Cavalry Division were badly mauled from the moment they landed from helicopters in Ya Drang Valley.

Further up in the north, on October 27, the people's armed forces penetrated deep into the heavily guarded U.S. airfields at Da Nang and Chu Lai, where, in half an hour or so, they destroyed 127 enemy planes, causing 600 American casualties.

Down in the south, one American battalion of paratroopers lured into a valley in the battle of Dat Cuoc (November 5-9), was knocked out; American casualties ran to 500. On November 12, one brigade of the U.S. First Infantry Division was first cut into segments and then encircled in the battle of Bau Bang: the brigade command was destroyed and 2,000 men, including two American battalions, were put out of action within three hours. This was followed by the battle of Cam Xe (November 20) which inflicted another 500 casualties on the First Infantry Division.

The people's armed forces are not only active in the fields but in Saigon as well. On December 4, they mounted a surprise attack on the 7-storey Metropole Hotel army billet of the aggressors, killing and wounding more than 200 American jet pilots. On the following day, in the Dau Tieng area in Thu Dau Mot Province north of Saigon, one battalion of the First Infantry Division was chewed up and another routed.

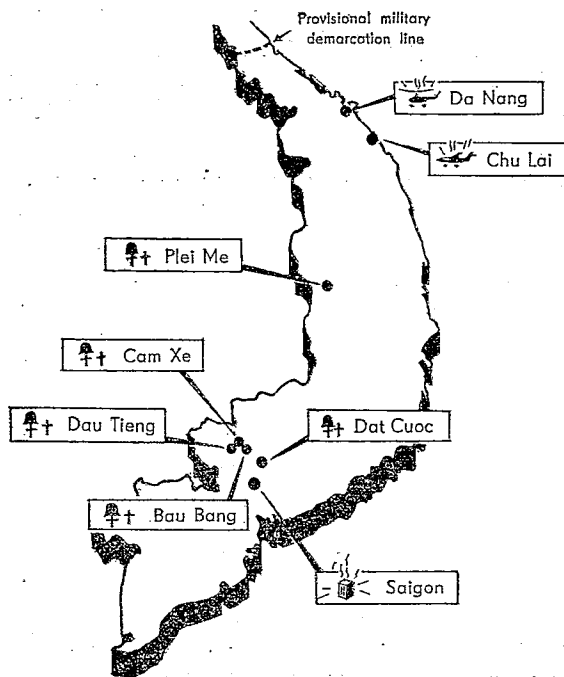
All these victories were won in hand-to-hand fighting which the aggressors, in spite of their superiority in weapons and equipment, are afraid of. The reason is simple: in the last analysis, "the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of the ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of the men, by their courage and spirit of sacrifice. Here the weak points of U.S. imperialism will be completely laid bare, while the superiority of the revolutionary people will be brought into full play." (Lin Piao: *Long Live the Victory of People's War!*)

U.S.-U.S.S.R. Collaboration

"Peaceful Coexistence" Enters "New Era"

Not long after the mid November meeting of the Soviet leaders with U.S. Senator Mansfield and his party, British Foreign Secretary Stewart's five-day Moscow visit wound up in an atmosphere much warmer than he had anticipated. His reception, described by Stewart to Moscow newsmen as "a good deal more cordial" than some persons had predicted it would be, was welcomed by official Washington.

TASS published on December 3 an Anglo-Soviet communique saying that the two sides "emphasized the danger which the events in Viet Nam represent for the cause of peace." Stewart, speaking over Moscow television on the night of December 2 following his talks with the Soviet leaders, openly asked the Soviet leadership to work together with



Sketch map by Su Li



Trio

by Fang Cheng

Britain to "arrange as speedily as possible a ceasefire" in Viet Nam.

Both the Soviet Union and Britain, said the joint communique, also "agreed to continue their efforts to solve the pressing questions of European security and achieve the further normalization of relations between Eastern and Western European countries."

Meanwhile, U.S. Army headquarters in Europe announced that as the "Berlin crisis" had come to an end, U.S. troops stationed in West Berlin would be reduced by 1,500 in January next year. The West German paper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, commenting on the U.S. decision, noted that without the "tacit agreement" of Moscow, the U.S. could not have taken such a measure.

Thus, the U.S. is now able to transfer its troops from Europe to south Viet Nam for the escalation of its aggressive war there. The U.S. Seventh Army announced on December 7 that so far this year, 7,000 men and officers had "volunteered" for reassignment to south Viet Nam. On the same day the U.S. Army Office in Heidelberg revealed that by the end of November, 4,000 men and

officers of the U.S. infantry in Europe had been "approved" for service in south Viet Nam. The West German paper *Die Welt* reported on November 24 that 200 American military personnel had lately left West Germany for the same destination. Before long, another 1,880 men and 360 officers of the U.S. Seventh Army in West Germany would follow them.

Washington is grateful to Moscow for having made it possible for the U.S. to shift these troops from Europe to south Viet Nam. Asked in a TV interview (December 7) if, because during the Kashmir crisis the Soviet Union had tried to get a ceasefire along with the Western allies, "a new era" had been ushered in, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk gave a favourable evaluation of the Soviet line of "peaceful coexistence." Of U.S.-Soviet relations, he said, "a certain prudence has entered into their [the Soviet] thinking and ours and others . . . we can take seriously the discussion of peaceful coexistence by the Soviet Union."

This U.S.-Soviet line-up against the people of the world in general and the Vietnamese people in particular is now clear to all. An article in the Cambodian paper *Sochivathor* (Dec. 4) stated that the Soviet attitude had encouraged U.S. imperialism "to become increasingly violent in its aggression against north Viet Nam." Soviet aid to Viet Nam, the paper added, which was so little if one considered it a friend of Viet Nam and a great power, was designed to fool the people of the world into thinking that the Soviet Union was also supporting Viet Nam.

Exposing the Soviet "attacks" on the U.S. imperialists, the paper dismissed them as mere verbiage which were accompanied by a whisper in the ear: "Friend, don't be angry with

us, we attack you so as to 'secretly support you!'"

U.S. Economic Predicament

More Cannon, Less Butter

The expenditure of the U.S. Government in the current fiscal year (July 1, 1965-June 30, 1966) is expected to top the \$107,000 million mark for the first time in American history. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Charles Schultze, in a report to the U.S. President, gave this expenditure against revenue of \$96,500 million, leaving a deficit of \$10,500 million, about double the earlier estimated figure. Since Johnson is reported to be asking Congress for an emergency appropriation of another \$14,000 million, the deficit will most likely be even more serious than the budget bureau predicts.

The Schultze report indicates that the sharp increase in the cost of the war in Viet Nam is the main factor in pushing expenditure to an all-time high. A UPI report quoted Representative William E. Minshall (Rep.) as saying that the war was costing the U.S. \$750 million a month, an average of \$25 million a day, and the cost was still rising.

This huge military spending has brought about monetary inflation at home. In the face of the situation, the Federal Reserve Board has announced a rise in the discount rate (rate of interest that banks have to pay when borrowing from the Federal Reserve) from 4 to 4.5 per cent. It has done so even at the risk, when credit is tightened, of affecting the economic "boom" which the U.S. has been enjoying for the past five years. Plainly, it is a case of "you can't have your cake and eat it."

The New York Stock Exchange reacted immediately. Heavy selling caused a slump in the stock market. The Dow-Jones average of 30 leading industrials dropped 17.60 points in the first hour after opening on the day the Federal Reserve Board decision went into effect. At his Texas ranch home, Johnson had an emergency consultation about the

NEWS NOTES

Indonesia: Anti-Communist Acts.

•Army Commander Suharto announced in late November the reorganization of the Supreme Operational Command (KOTI). Compared with the former KOTI, in the reorganized command all the groups are now headed by militarymen and none by government ministers, and its activities have been extended to cover the military, political and socio-economic fields. The reorganized KOTI has decided to set up a "special military tribunal" to "try" persons alleged to be involved in the September 30 movement. •The Executive Administrator for Greater Djakarta and Commander of the 5th Military District has banned the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) organizations in the area and all affiliated bodies. The Commander of the 3rd Naval Regional Command has also proclaimed a ban on the P.K.I. and its affiliated organizations in the areas under his jurisdiction in South Sumatra, Djambi, Lampung, West Java and West Sumatra. Before these measures were taken, activities of the P.K.I. and its mass organizations had been officially "suspended temporarily" in a number of regions including Djakarta. This was followed in succession by official dissolution of the P.K.I. and its mass organizations in West Java, Maluku, South and Southeast Sulawesi and West Kalimantan. •Minister Co-ordinator for Defence and Security Nasution

declared on December 3 that the dissolution of the P.K.I. organizations in various areas by the local *Dwikora* executive administrators "was within their authority." •On December 6, reported the Indonesian paper *The Armed Forces*, Nasution, when speaking of ways to deal with the P.K.I., said: "Indeed, we cannot exterminate a trend of thought. This is why we should take practical steps to dissolve its organization and ban its activity. . . ."

U.S.A.: To Draft Is To Punish.

•Lewis B. Hershey, head of the U.S. National Selective Service System, has announced that local draft boards have the authority to draft demonstrators against the war of aggression in south Viet Nam as people "who violate the law." He was speaking of the Ann Arbor case in which demonstrators in the city were convicted of "trespassing." The procedure in such a case was to declare a person "delinquent," which meant he was reclassified to 1-A and was available for immediate induction, Lewis said. •Los Angeles District Judge Pierson Hall recently sentenced a man, "as a conscientious objector," to three years imprisonment, denying him the legal right of probation, which, Hall argued, "might somewhat discourage American men fighting in Viet Nam."

G.I.s in S. Viet Nam: Sooner Die Than Fight. •An American officer shot himself in the stomach with a pistol

in Ba Ria Province, south Viet Nam, in protest against the war. A few days before his suicide, his wife, coming from the U.S., appealed to the U.S. commanders in Saigon to repatriate him because she and her family did not want him to take part in the dirty war. The U.S. authorities instead threatened to take legal action against the couple. •Marines in Da Nang and Chu Lai areas and American servicemen elsewhere in south Viet Nam have been receiving printed leaflets from home calling on them to join the movement against this "nightmare war." The leaflet says: "As a soldier, you have been trained to obey orders, but as a human being you must take responsibility for your own acts. . . ."

Soviet Delegations Rub Shoulders With Imperialist Stooges.

A Soviet delegation attended the ECAFE conference on Asian industrialization in Manila. This is the Soviet Union's fourth attendance in less than two months at U.N.-sponsored conferences in Southeast Asia together with the puppet cliques of south Viet Nam and south Korea. This and two other conferences—the Bangkok preparatory conference of the "Asian Development Bank" and the Bangkok "conference of Asian Education Ministers"—were also attended by representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The fourth was the regional study group meeting of the International Atomic Energy Agency held also in Bangkok.

situation with William McChesney Martin, Board Chairman; Charles Schultze, Budget Director; Henry Fowler, Treasury Secretary; and Gardner Ackley, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

And who will be the victims of the heavy budget expenditure, the tightening of credit, etc.? Treasury Secretary Fowler has a ready answer. He announced on November 28 that "in the darkening shadows of intensifying battle in Viet Nam," the American working peo-

ple must exercise "responsible restraint" in making wage demands "contrary to the national interest." Meanwhile, since the beginning of this year the rate at which prices are increasing has picked up.

Nuclear Contradictions

Three Birds, One Stone

Called together at the insistence of U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara, the defence ministers of the NATO

countries attended a special one-day session in Paris recently. With the organization riven by contradictions, the ministers present failed to make any real progress on the issue facing them, that of nuclear control. France openly boycotted the meeting; Denmark, Portugal, Iceland and Luxembourg did not send representatives. West Germany alone expressed a degree of satisfaction with the outcome because, said the Bonn Defence Ministry spokesman, it shows that there is "some chance of [West] Germany being able to participate

in the nuclear planning and targeting of the Atlantic alliance."

A communique issued after the session declares that three working groups, which would map out NATO's nuclear programme and discuss the U.S. M.L.F. plan, were established "under the guidance of a steering committee consisting of the permanent representatives of the participating countries." West Germany, it was reported, would take part in some of this work.

The communique, however, fails to mention either the establishment of a "special nuclear committee" as Washington originally planned, or the "permanent nuclear committee" agreed upon by the U.S. and Britain on the eve of the meeting. According to the U.S. plan, this machinery would allow NATO member states, West Germany in particular, to have more say in nuclear strategy and tactics.

Desperately trying to hold on to its hegemony in Western Europe, Washington has been pushing a policy which, it hopes, would kill three birds with one stone, namely, deal a blow at the French who insist on nuclear independence; wean Britain away from its independent nuclear force; and pave the way for giving West Germany a share in nuclear weapons. In the eyes of U.S. imperialism, West Germany has become its principal lieutenant in the NATO bloc and can be used to deal with France and weaken Britain.

THE PASSING SHOW

Beauty & Cancer Specialist

With officials of the Ministry of Education and the wives of government ministers as promoters, a movement is under way in Japan to get rice-eaters to consume more American wheat and less Japanese rice. "Flour-eating beautifies," says an advertising campaign boasting the benefits of American wheat, "it helps the growth of the brain . . . can prevent cancer. . . ."

To give teeth to this advice to buy surplus U.S. wheat, the Sato government has increased its tax on rice by an added three yen on every 60-kilogramme bag. The extra revenue is used to finance the eat-American-wheat campaign.

Despite this hard, hard sell, the Japanese public, unconvinced, cold-shoulders the "mixed rice and flour" foods prepared by the promoters.



"It's good for my brains and beauty."

France keeps firmly to its position that Western Europe must not take orders from Washington; further, Paris is opposed to the idea of letting Bonn have a finger in the nuclear pie.

Nor does Britain intend to give up the nuclear force which it has taken pains to build. The U.S. planners, according to the British *Sunday Times*, had thought up two ways of "facilitating" Britain's surrender of its independent deterrent: either to internationalize the future British Polaris submarine force by putting mixed crews aboard or for the U.S. to buy these British-made subs. The aim is to find a solution for "the current stalemate over the sharing of nuclear weapons [within NATO]."

The U.S. suggestions have met with British resistance but the British Government has, nevertheless, supported McNamara's idea of setting up a "special committee" to satisfy to a certain extent West Germany's nuclear ambitions and, by so doing, to exclude the possibility of Bonn making a "bilateral arrangement" with the U.S.

But even such a "special committee" will not reduce the acute disagreement among the Western countries on the nuclear issue, for this contradiction is a hydra-headed one among the imperialist countries, a contradiction between a country bent on controlling others and those opposed to such a control.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 9.)

pionage agencies. Many others were tricked into joining these agencies to earn a living. They told of the vicious slanders about the mainland regularly put out in Taiwan by U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang. Their personal experience on the mainland, they said, had given the lie to these slanders. They had come to understand that their attempts at sabotage on the mainland were serious crimes against the people of the country and that a U.S.-

Chiang agent had no other alternative than to give himself up to the people.

U.S. Seaman Released

Seaman Edwin R. Armstrong of the U.S. navy was detained by the civil police after he entered Paoan County in Kwangtung Province by mistake on December 1. He admitted his error, and was released on December 10.

Remnant Chiang Troops Return

During the last three months, 12 officers and 129 men of the Chiang

Kai-shek gang gave themselves up to People's Liberation Army frontier guards stationed in Yunnan Province. They brought with them one radio set, one light machine-gun, 20 pistols and rifles and more than 600 rounds of ammunition.

Members of the remnant Chiang forces which fled across the Chinese border at the time of liberation, the men said they had returned because they bitterly resented the oppression to which they had been subjected and no longer wanted to act as cannon-fodder for U.S. imperialism and the Chiang gang.

ACROSS THE LAND

For the Farm Front

Shanghai Trade Fair

WITH a good harvest behind them, rural people's communes have begun distributing to members the results of their year's work, and the busiest shopping season has begun for the nation's 500 million peasants.

With rural sales of consumer and other manufactured goods expected to reach high levels this year, trade organizations made early preparations. At the early autumn trade fair held in Shanghai, China's biggest industrial centre, 2,000 representatives of general goods trading organizations from all over the country placed orders for more than 500 million yuan worth of merchandise over and above earlier arrangements. Most of the 51,000 items on display at the fair were specifically designed for rural consumers.

Among contracts placed at the fair were orders for 5.5 million fountain pens and 250 million pencils. The demand for additional writing materials also went up, reflecting the growing numbers of educated young people in the rural areas. Bigger orders for musical instruments and sports equipment were registered, most of which will go to the numerous village cultural clubs.

Getting the Goods to The Farms

IN preparation for the big late-autumn buying season, consignments of industrial goods began going out as early as midsummer. In July-September, 22 per cent more goods were moved out of Shanghai than in the third quarter of last year. By the first week of November shipments out of Shanghai alone had soared to over 1,000 tons a day.

With other manufacturing centres also stepping up deliveries, transport workers are working hard to get goods to their destinations. In Canton, stevedores were working in three shifts round the clock in

October, loading up fleets of river-craft with consumer goods and farm machines, seeds, cement and chemical fertilizer.

"Peasants' trains" that have been running in many parts of the country since 1963 are busier than ever shuttling goods out from the towns and bringing in farm produce.

The "peasants' train" operating between coastal Shanghai and Yingtan in Kiangsi Province, for example, is made up of assorted types of waggons—some to carry perishables like fish and fruit, others for farm chemicals, and poultry.

A new fleet of tugs and barges has been launched on Tungting Lake in central China to bring in farm produce quicker and take manufactured goods out from the towns. The fleet has been a big help in developing agriculture and side-occupations in the communes around the lake and along the surrounding waterways.

Flourishing Rural Markets

THERE is a plentiful supply of consumer goods in the Chinese countryside, more than ever in history, and prices are lower. Light industry

has produced nearly 10,000 good-quality, inexpensive and durable goods of the type commune farmers want. Iridium-nib fountain pens, sweets, biscuits and good-quality toilet soap are some of many items now on shopping lists of villagers who could only dream of such purchases before liberation.

Szechuan. Commune members in Szechuan, China's most populous province, reaped an even better harvest than last year. With side-line production up as well, they have much more spending money. In the first nine months, sales of manufactured goods were up 13 per cent compared with the same period last year, and the upward trend is steeper since October.

Bustling trade fairs are being held in many parts of the province. More writing materials, electric fittings and other electrical goods, carpenters' tools and hand tools are being sold.

Inner Mongolia. Up north, in Inner Mongolia, 20,000 supply and marketing co-op personnel have fanned out over the pastures in mobile teams. In the first nine months they sold 10 million yuan worth of goods to herdsmen and farmers and bought 7,600,000 yuan worth of local side-line agricultural and livestock products. Now they are busier than ever organizing market-fairs, calling on herdsmen's settlements and camps and on the groups out pasturing the



Market-fair in Shengping People's Commune, Szechuan Province

herds. In this way, mobile trading teams this year saved one banner (county) 300,000 work-days which would otherwise have been lost on shopping and selling expeditions.

Kwangtung Province. Similar teams are operating down south in Kwangtung. With baskets of consumer goods swinging from either end of shoulder poles, some call on remote mountain villages, while others trade from boats along the waterways.

Kwangtung evenings being warmer and longer than in most parts of China, evening fairs are popular. Generally, these fairs sell daily necessities like pots and pans, thread, clothing, cloth, footwear, toilet articles, small hand tools, fruit and confectionery, stationery and medicines, running into a couple of thousand items. Barbers, tailors, tinkers and other service trade workers also set up their booths.

More Mechanical Muscles For Rural Communes

OVER the past few years, more and more tractors, irrigation and drainage equipment, semi-mechanized farm tools and implements have been sent to the rural communes, state farms and the 1,400 agricultural machinery stations set up by the state to serve the communes and act as bases for promoting agricultural mechanization.

The recent national farm tools exhibition in Peking showed 500 new kinds of semi-mechanized and improved farm tools designed to suit varied farm conditions. Semi-mechanized tools are particularly stressed at this stage of modernizing agriculture as they can be turned out in large numbers by small local plants to meet local needs in China's vast countryside, and their generally low cost puts them within reach of all communes.

They range from seeders, cultivators, harvesters, threshers, fodder cutters and crushers and equipment for distributing ammonia water to tools for rural construction work.

The farm machinery industry is putting out 200 types of sturdy processing equipment. In biggest demand are inexpensive and efficient flour

mills, huskers, fodder crushers and cutters, hand-operated oil presses, and cotton gins. Twenty research departments are engaged in designing and developing such machines.

Rice paddies account for a large part of the country's total cultivated area and transplanting rice seedlings is a particularly highly skilled and laborious job. A factory in Nanning is now making in bulk a transplanter — the Kwangsi-65.

For Mobile Medical and Cinema Teams

WITH medical and health organizations orientating their work to give better service to the rural population, medical apparatus makers have turned out a number of new products specially for the countryside. They include: a lightweight refrigerator for county hospitals and mobile medical teams; a utility model dental chair; a new surgical device for cataract operations; and a portable miniature X-ray machine made in Shenyang. It weighs 19 kilogrammes, is shockproof and adjustable to various voltages. It can be used for fluoroscopy and also to take X-ray photos.

The film equipment industry is producing for the rural mobile cinema teams smaller and lighter equipment that is easier to operate and costs less. The new projector unit being made is only a third the weight of the old model. A new 750-watt generator weighing 27.8 kilogrammes is being produced to replace the 70-120-kg. types that the hard-working teams bringing film shows to villagers in the mountains and other less accessible regions are toting around.

Rural Rediffusion Networks

IF on passing a peasant's house one hears the well-known voice of a Peking radio announcer, one doesn't jump to the conclusion that that peasant owns a wireless set. Maybe he does, for radios are becoming less rare in the countryside, what with the increasing supply of electric power to the communes and the prices of radios dropping lower and lower. But the chances are that the voice is coming over a line broadcast,

something which has become very widespread since 1958 when people's communes were set up.

All the 186 counties of rice-rich Szechuan Province have their own line broadcasting stations to transmit national news bulletins and matters of local interest, as well as popular entertainment. These programmes are piped out to some 110,000 loudspeakers in peasant homes, village schools and various rural commune centres.

These loudspeakers are cheap, yet meet the needs of the peasant and his family almost as well as a radio. Listeners get daily weather forecasts, relays of county, national and international news, and music programmes. And there is plenty of local news, for many communes make use of this wired system to speak directly to all their members.

When the Longxi commune's annual production plan had been decided on at a conference attended by all production team leaders, it was immediately announced over the commune's rediffusion system. The commune chairman also gave detailed explanations, so that when the team leaders returned home members already knew about the plan and were ready to discuss it.

Briefs

People in Canton, Kwangtung Province, can visit the zoo there any day of the week, but villagers seldom if ever got a chance to see its exotic animals from other lands. So Canton zoo-keepers have started taking sections of the zoo out to the villages and mountain areas to the huge delight of villagers, young and old.

* * *

Mobile "aid agriculture" teams of workers and technicians organized by farm machinery plants of Taiyuan are touring the surrounding countryside helping rural communes to install newly bought equipment, repair farm implements and machinery and to train mechanics.

* * *

In the last few years two out of three graduates from Szechuan Medical College have gone to work in rural hospitals in areas inhabited mainly by national minorities.

PUBLISHING

More Books for the Peasants

A remarkable feature of the current cultural revolution in China is the soaring demand for books in the countryside. Writers, editors, publishers and booksellers are energetically tackling this problem of producing and supplying the many kinds of books which the peasants of today demand.

With more and more farmers young and old becoming literate and eager for modern knowledge and more and more educated youths from the city going out to the rural people's communes and state farms, the rural book market is changing radically both in scope and character. Peasant readers of today want books at prices they can afford and in good format and on the most varied topics. They want Chairman Mao Tse-tung's writings and other books on politics, books on agriculture, science, medicine; they want literature and more textbooks on many subjects. Just to show how books are being bought up: in the first nine months of this year some 5.4 million books and booklets were sold in the rural areas of the north-east province of Liaoning alone.

In supplying this vast and expanding market, publishers are making big efforts to produce books which exactly suit the needs of rural readers.

The Chekiang People's Publishing House of Hangchow cut to the heart of the problem by sending its editors themselves to find out how the land lies. They went to the villages, worked and lived with the peasants and got to know their needs at first hand. They often go over and revise drafts of forthcoming publications with their peasant friends. (Not a few excellent books, by the way, have also come out of such collaboration with the peasants themselves doing the writing and editors helping to polish their work.) The series of technical booklets produced in this way has been a big success. They answer 742 questions on farming, afforestation, animal husbandry, fishing and so on in just the style the peasants like. Layout, cover design and price too are pleasing. "They suit our pocket; they are easy to understand, remember and apply," is the peasants' verdict.

The Shanghai Cultural Publishing House uses similar methods. In the last three years its editorial staff has made 10 extended visits to the countryside in north and east China to prepare its *Practical Handbook for the Countryside*. This painstaking work has proved to be most rewarding. The handbook has sold 600,000 copies since publication in September 1964.

Another extremely useful series produced in a similar way and pub-

lished in Shanghai is the *Farm-Study Primary School Teacher*, a series for teachers of the new part-time farming, part-time study primary schools which are being set up in large numbers in the countryside. In other parts of the country, popular books on medicine and hygiene, books giving guidance on the prevention and treatment of common ailments have been published. These are proving very useful to the current campaign to train more rural medical workers.

Political and Ideological Works

Publishers have also made a special effort to satisfy the enormous rural demand for Chairman Mao's works. Some of the more widely read texts have been printed with large, easy-to-read type. More than 57 million copies of *Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works (Collections A and B)*, the latter being specially compiled for peasants, workers and young intellectuals, have been distributed in the rural areas this year.

Keeping well abreast of current developments, Peking's China Youth Publishing House has been publishing a popular series of books specially designed for the educated youths who have gone out to the countryside in recent years. Not a few such youngsters have become valued local cadres and, in taking on their new responsibilities, come up against many common problems. Based on over 800 letters from young readers and first-hand investigations in the villages, the C.Y.P.H. has published *Ideological Cultivation of the Youth*, a book series on correct methods of work and a good working style in the countryside.

Novels and Picture-Story Books

Novelists and short story writers have also turned their attention to rural readers and, with a sensitive ear, are learning its needs and preferences. Rural readers praised Hao Jan's novel, *Bright, Sunny Sky*, but took exception to its length. He studied their comments and went over his work again. In the preface to the new rural edition, the author said that he wrote this fiction in order to record the lesson of the anti-Rightist struggle in 1957, and



Bringing Books to a Mountain Village

Woodcut by Yang I-hsien, a Kwangtung peasant

never to forget class struggle. Heeding the criticism of his readers, he added that for this edition he has cut out certain details which little concerned the main characters and also certain parts relating to minor characters. The "flashbacks" in the story line, a form which rural readers are least accustomed to, have been straightened out and subheads have been added to each chapter. He has also polished up the language. The new edition of 400,000 copies is now going out to rural readers.

Picture-story books, profusely illustrated condensations of well-known works, are a popular form in which modern literature is being introduced to the villages. The novel *Red Crag* and the stories *The White-Haired Girl*, *After the Harvest* and *Tachai Heroes*, all produced by the Shanghai People's Art Publishing House in this form, are especially popular in the countryside.

The final stage of getting the new books out to the villages is also being looked after. Bookshops are expanding their network of country branches and mobilizing for better distribution the services of the supply and marketing co-ops and post offices. City bookstores in Shensi, Szechuan, Hunan, Anhwei and other provinces are sending mobile groups to serve the countryside. By bicycle, cart or shoulder pole, they are getting books out to the remotest mountain villages.

In mountainous southwest Szechuan Province, the provincial chain of Hsinhua bookshops has 400 employees whose special job it is to get books to the peasants. Their mobile "bookshops" also serve as travelling libraries, lending books for a small fee.

China's villages in the old days were hungry—for the bare necessities of life. Today they have another kind of hunger. They are book hungry and happy about it.

ARCHAEOLOGY

New Light on Porcelain

Archaeological finds in north and south China in the last 16 years have

provided a wealth of new material for the study of ancient Chinese porcelain. In a recent article in *Wenwu* (*Cultural Relics*, No 9, 1965) summing up work in this field to date, Feng Hsien-ming, an expert on this subject, gives a chronological list and detailed description of the most important porcelain finds unearthed from ancient kiln sites and tombs since the establishment of New China.

These finds, he points out, have helped materially to fill out the general outlines of Chinese porcelain history. Some of them show that the earliest true porcelain was made in Kiangsu and Chekiang Provinces on China's east coast. It was here too that the famous green-glazed ware known as celadon was first produced. During the 3rd to 6th centuries A.D., the northern part of Chekiang and southern part of Kiangsu in the lower Yangtse valley became noted centres for the making of celadon. But excavations in tombs of the 6th century A.D. in Shansi and Hopei, north China, have yielded new samples of early celadons made in north China with characteristics different from those made in the south.

White porcelain is esteemed next to celadon in the history of Chinese porcelain. White porcelains have often been found in north China, in tombs of the Sui Dynasty (581-618 A.D.) and kiln sites of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.). The *Ting* ware (white porcelain) was very popular in the north in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.). But since liberation white porcelain wares of the Five Dynasties (907-960 A.D.) and the Sung Dynasty have also been found in kilns in the southern provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien. These discoveries belie the belief formerly held that "celadon was made exclusively in the south and white porcelain exclusively in the north."

The study of pale blue *ying ching* wares, blue-and-white, black glazed porcelains as well as white porcelain with painted black decorations has also been enriched by new finds.

All these finds provide a general picture of the distribution of the main porcelain production centres in an-

cient China. Except for a very few, the kilns discovered since liberation are located mainly on the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow and Yangtse Rivers or along the east and south coasts. The new picture of the distribution of kilns lays a better foundation for the further study of the types and varieties of Chinese porcelain.

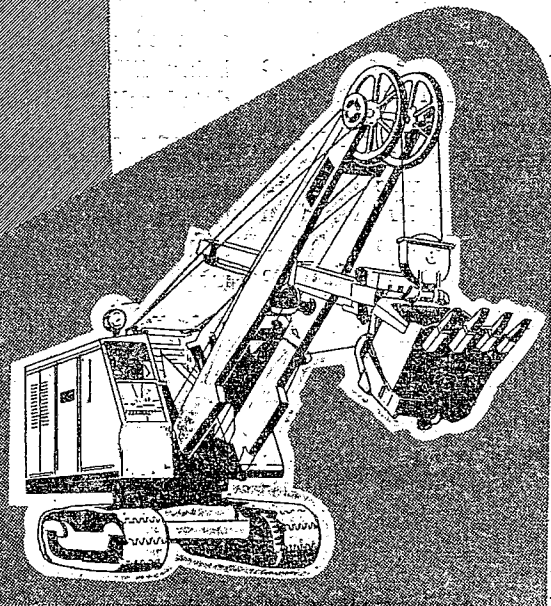
A number of blanks in our knowledge of porcelain history are thus being filled up. The discovery of dated relics found in tombs of the 3rd to 6th centuries shed light on the changes in Chinese porcelain which took place in that transitional period between the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) and Sui Dynasties leading to the magnificent products of Tang and Sung times. Thanks to new finds, many Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368 A.D.) porcelains which were formerly ascribed to the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) or Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) can now be restored to their true place in history.

The new discoveries also provide data for an understanding of the influence exerted on each other by kilns of different areas and for the more accurate identification of the place of manufacture of certain porcelain wares. Samples found in kilns in various districts show that the influence of the larger kilns—their techniques and artistic styles, was very extensive.

SHORT NOTES

"Watch the Waterfall Pavilion." A "Pavilion to Watch the Waterfall," resplendent in crimson and yellow paint and upturned eaves, and with tea and rest rooms for visitors has been built to give a magnificent view of China's biggest waterfall, the Huangguoshu Falls in Kweichow Province. The falls are located near the Kweichow-Yunnan Highway 15 kms. west of the Chenning Autonomous County of the Puyi and Miao Peoples. Bus passengers speeding along the highway used to hear the tantalizing thunder of the falls in the past; now they can make a short detour and see them in all their majesty from the vantage point of the new pavilion.

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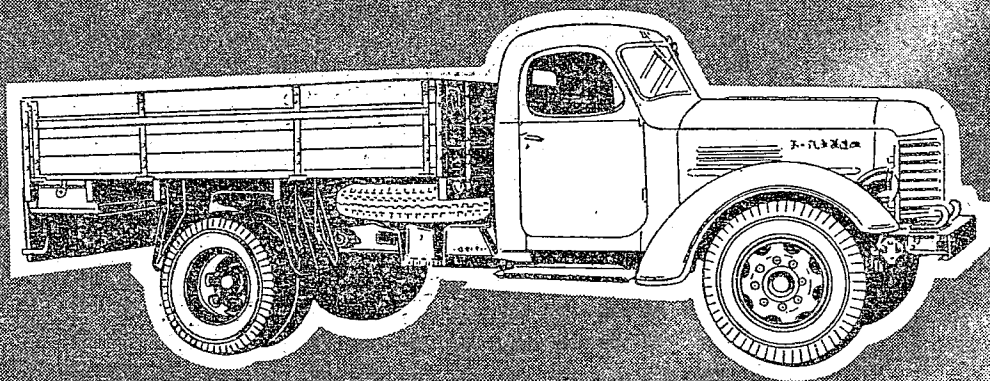
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Max. speed with load	65 km/hour
Nett weight	3.8 tons
Load capacity	5 tons



CHINA NATIONAL MACHINERY IMPORT & EXPORT CORPORATION

Dairen Branch

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