

PEKING REVIEW

47

November 22, 1963

Two Different Lines on Question Of War and Peace

Fifth article by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* commenting on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (p. 6).

GANEF0: New Wave in Sports And Friendship

The Games of the New Emerging Forces break new ground both in sports and international friendship (p. 16).

The Saigon Coup

The meaning behind Diem's downfall (p. 19).

Loyang Tractor Plant

北
京
周
報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

RADIO PEKING's

English Language Transmissions

	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
EUROPE	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.)	6210, 7080	48.3, 42.4
	21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	7230, 9457	41.5, 31.7
	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.)	6210, 6270	48.3, 47.9
	22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	7080, 7230 9457	42.4, 41.5 31.7
NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	7035, 9480 11945, 15095	42.6, 31.7 25.1, 19.9
	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	7035, 9480 11945, 15095	42.6, 31.7 25.1, 19.9
NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	7080, 9457 9755, 11820	42.4, 31.7 30.8, 25.4
	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	7080, 9457 9755, 11820	42.4, 31.7 30.8, 25.4
AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.)	9457, 11650	31.7, 25.8
	20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	15060, 17835	19.9, 16.8
	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.)	9457, 11650	31.7, 25.8
	21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	15060, 17835	19.9, 16.8
SOUTHEAST ASIA	19:30-20:30 (Djakarta, Singapore)	1190, 7035	252, 42.6
	20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila)	9650, 11800	31.1, 25.4
	19:00-20:00 (Bangkok)	15060	19.9
	18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)		
CEYLON, INDIA, NEPAL, and PAKISTAN	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	6025, 7315	49.8, 41.0
	19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan)	7350, 9480	40.8, 31.7
	20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan)	11740	25.6
	19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)		
	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	6025, 7350	49.8, 40.8
	20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan)	9480, 11740	31.7, 25.6
	21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan)		
	20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)		
	21:30-22:30 (Delhi)	1190	252
	21:00-22:00 (West Pakistan)		
22:00-23:00 (East Pakistan)			
21:40-22:40 (Kathmandu)			
AFRICA	19:00-20:00 (Dar Es Salaam)	6325, 7350	47.4, 40.8
	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	9860, 12055	30.4, 24.9
	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	6325, 7350	47.4, 40.8
	20:00-21:00 (Dar Es Salaam)	9860, 12055	30.4, 24.9
	17:15-18:15 (Monrovia)	6290, 7335	47.7, 40.9
	18:00-19:00 (Accra, Freetown)	9860, 12055	30.4, 24.9
	19:00-20:00 (Lagos)		
	20:00-21:00 (Cairo)		
	20:45-21:45 (Monrovia)	5950, 7370	50.4, 40.7
	21:30-22:30 (Freetown, Accra)	7480, 9570	40.1, 31.4
	22:30-23:30 (Lagos)		

SCHEDULE SINCE OCTOBER 31, 1963

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

November 22, 1963 Vol. VI No. 47

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace —The Editorial Depart- ments of <i>Renmin Ribao</i> and <i>Hongqi</i>	6
GANEF0: New Wave in Sports and Friendship	16
The Saigon Coup — What Does It Mean? —Kuan Ya-tung	19
Loyang Tractor Plant —Cheng Ting-li	22
ROUND THE WORLD	24
MEDICAL WORLD, CULTURE, ACROBATICS, EXHIBITION	26

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW

Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

November 22, 1963

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The fourth session of the Second National People's Congress and the fourth session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference both opened in Peking on November 17.

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi called a meeting of the Supreme State Conference on November 15 and 16.

- The editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* published an article entitled "Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace" — the fifth commentary on the July 14 open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

- The Agricultural Bank of China was established in Peking. It is an important step for extending further state aid to agriculture and for speeding the modernization of agricultural production.

- Continuing its wide coverage of the Djakarta Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0), the Chinese press reported that five world records and many national records were smashed during the first five days of competition.

- The situation in south Viet Nam after the military coup engineered by the United States continued to hold attention. Commenting on the new U.S. puppet regime, *Renmin Ribao* in its November 15 editorial declared that the U.S. aggressors could not avoid defeat in south Viet Nam.

- News of the attempt on the life of Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, aroused widespread indignation. *Renmin Ribao* published an article by Commentator, protesting against this new crime by U.S.-Japanese reactionaries.

- The Chinese press published the full texts of:

- an article from the latest issue of the *Malayan Monitor* commemorating the 46th anniversary of the October Revolution.

- an article by the editorial department of *Keunroja*, organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, entitled "Communist Education and Class Education." The article was published in the 20th issue of the journal.

- an article entitled "Man and Weapons" by Lieutenant-General Hoang Van Thai, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Viet Nam People's Army, which appeared in issue No. 9 of the Vietnamese journal *Hoc Tap*.

National People's Congress Opens

The fourth session of the Second National People's Congress opened in Peking's Great Hall of the People on November 17. Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu of the People's Republic of China, Chairman of the N.P.C.'s Standing Committee Chu Teh, Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council, General Secretary of the Chinese

Communist Party's Central Committee Teng Hsiao-ping and other leaders attended the opening ceremony. Their appearance on the rostrum was greeted by a standing ovation.

When Chairman Chu Teh declared the session open, the band played the national anthem. Then Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun made a report on behalf of the State Council on the implementation of the 1963 plan for the

national economy and the draft 1964 plan for the national economy.

Copies of a written report on the work of the N.P.C.'s Standing Committee were distributed to the Deputies.

On November 18, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien made a report on the 1963 draft state budget, an estimation of its implementation and the preliminary planning of the 1964 state budget.

Besides the People's Deputies, leading government officials and high-ranking officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Vice-Presidents of the Supreme People's Court and Vice-Chief Procurators of the Supreme People's Procuratorate and all members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference attending the current C.P.P.C.C. session in Peking also attended the session as observers.

The session began group discussions on November 19.

C.P.P.C.C. Plenary Session. On November 17 the fourth plenary session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference also opened in Peking. Chou En-lai, Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee, presided over the meeting which adopted the agenda of the session, elected the members of the motions committee and heard a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Third National Committee made by the Committee's Vice-Chairman Chen Shu-tung.

Supreme State Conference

Chairman Liu Shao-chi called a meeting of the Supreme State Conference which took place on November 15 and 16. One hundred and fifty-five people attended the meeting, including leaders of the state and of the Chinese Communist Party, leading members of democratic parties and people's organizations and personages prominent in various circles.



Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders shaking hands with Deputies to the National People's Congress

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai made important speeches at the meeting on the present international and domestic situation and on future tasks.

Peng Chen, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, gave a report on the major questions of the fourth session of the Second National People's Congress. Discussions on these questions were held at the meeting.

Chairman Mao Receives Albanian Guests

On November 15 Chairman Mao Tse-tung received Aranit Cela, Procurator-General of the Albanian People's Republic, and Sofokli Papavasili, an inspector of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and had a cordial and friendly talk with them.

The Albanian guests arrived in Peking on November 7 at the invitation of Chang Ting-cheng, Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate of China.

Agricultural Bank of China Inaugurated

The establishment in Peking on November 12 of the Agricultural

Bank of China is an important step in giving further state aid to agriculture. Speeches by Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-nien and Teng Tzu-hui at the inauguration ceremony pointed up the significance of the new bank.

In the past few years the state has annually appropriated several thousand million yuan to agriculture. These funds have played an important role in promoting agricultural production and consolidating and developing the collective economy of the rural people's communes. State appropriations have increased considerably since the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chi-

nese Communist Party in September last year when the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry the leading factor was made public.

The new bank is responsible for the unified administration of growing state investments and loans for agriculture. It will make more rational use of state funds for agriculture in accordance with the state plan and policy with a view to further accelerating agricultural growth and farm modernization.

In addition, the bank will give leadership to rural credit co-operatives and help with the accounting work of the people's communes and their production teams.

It is expected that branch offices of the bank will be established down to the district level throughout the country before the end of January 1964.

Modern Labs Spur Research

The Chinese Academy of Sciences today boasts many modern laboratories. Designed and set up by its own institutes, some of these laboratories have reached high technical

levels and are giving a big impetus to China's scientific research.

One of the more recent additions is the acoustics laboratory of the Electronics Institute which possesses a number of anechoic, reverberation and sound-isolating chambers. A small anechoic chamber has six walls, three of which give 100 per cent reflection of sound waves while the other three achieve 99 per cent absorption of the waves. A sound effect produced in the reverberation chamber lasts as long as 20 seconds without dispersing.

The big 20-ton vibration experimentation stand made by the anti-seismic laboratory of the Engineering Mechanics Institute is the first of its kind in China and a rare achievement anywhere. Successful vibration tests for brick buildings and blast furnaces have been made on it.

Other modern instruments include a paramagnetic resonator made by the Institute of Applied Chemistry, a capillary chromatograph made by the Institute of Chemico-Physics and a mass spectrometer made by the Academy's Peking Instruments Factory in co-operation with other local factories. A complex one with 29,000 parts, the mass spectrometer is a multi-purpose instrument for measuring isotopes. The highly sensitive capillary chromatograph accurately analyses light oils containing more than 20 compounds within 40 seconds.

As the scientific level of a country is determined in the first place by the level of its experimental sciences, the Chinese Academy of Sciences is giving high priority to the building of modern laboratories. Many were completed or re-equipped with modern instruments during the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) when state appropriations for this purpose were far greater than under the First Five-Year Plan.

Modern laboratories have already played a big part in developing certain newly established branches of science in China. The Semiconductor Institute, for example, has produced semiconductor materials of great purity with the aid of zone-melting equipment it has designed itself. It also turns out high-quality transistors,

using its own hot-press welding equipment.

China Protests at Nosavan's Slanders

On November 12, the Chinese Embassy in Laos delivered a note to the Laotian Foreign Ministry on behalf of the Chinese Government, protesting against Vice-Premier Phoumi Nosavan's slanders against China.

While the Savannakhet forces are intensifying their military attacks on the Laotian patriotic forces, the Laotian Vice-Premier Phoumi Nosavan, in his address to the Laotian officials on November 2, vilified China as "lacking sincerity" in implementing the Geneva agreements and in "respecting the sovereignty and freedom of Laos." This is the second unfriendly act against China committed by Nosavan in less than a month. On October 10, he toed the U.S. line of creating "two Chinas" and attended a so-called national day reception held by the Chiang Kai-shek elements in Laos.

Meanwhile *Xat Lao*, a Vientiane paper under Nosavan's control, published on November 1 a forged document maligning the Chinese Ambassador to Laos and falsely accusing China of interfering in Laos' internal affairs and engaging in subversive activities against the Laotian Government.

The Chinese Embassy solemnly declared in its note that the statements attacking and maligning China made by General Phoumi Nosavan and others who obviously had official support were absolutely groundless. Such statements, said the note, "do not impair in the least the prestige of the Chinese Government and its consistently impartial and firm stand, but merely show that the slanderers are totally unjustified and that they have ulterior motives in what they do." The note pointed out that such statements were bad enough, however, to impair the friendly relations between China and Laos. The Chinese Embassy could not but lodge a serious protest against them with the Government of the Kingdom of Laos.

The note reaffirmed that the Chinese Government had all along observed the Geneva agreements and respected the peace, neutrality and independence of Laos, was firmly opposed to any foreign interference in

Laos' internal affairs and had unwaveringly maintained and developed its friendship with Laos. It expressed the sincere wish that the Government of the Kingdom of Laos would treasure the friendship between the Chinese and Laotian peoples and take effective measures against the recurrence of similar incidents.

Castigating such slanderous attacks, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator pointed out that the present grave situation in Laos had been created by the U.S. alone. It had consistently sabotaged the Geneva agreements on the Laotian question and had shown no scruples in its attempt to retain its aggressive influence in Laos, to foster the reactionary forces and to try to liquidate the patriotic forces.

"The Chinese Government," Commentator declared, "has maintained and always will maintain that the Laotian question can be settled only by the Laotian people themselves and that the three parties in Laos will certainly be able to solve the problems of their own country through peaceful negotiations in accordance with the agreements of the three princes provided that an end is put to the U.S. imperialist intervention."

Soviet Press Steps Up Slander

Recently, the Soviet press has stepped up its barrage of slanders against China. In September and October, it published no fewer than 430 commentaries, articles and other items attacking the Chinese Communist Party. On October 31 and November 1, *Renmin Ribao* devoted a whole page each day to reprinting extracts from these anti-China articles, prefacing them with an editor's note which reads:

"Two months ago, we printed extracts from a number of anti-China articles which had appeared in the Soviet press. Since then, instead of exercising restraint, the Soviet press has been attacking China in a more aggressive and nasty way. Incomplete figures for the period September 1 to October 27 show that Soviet national newspapers and journals alone published 430 commentaries, articles and other items attacking the Chinese Communist Party. This, plus the 286 items published from July 15 to

(Continued on p.18.)

Two Different Lines on the Question Of War and Peace

— Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (5)

by the Editorial Departments of "Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi"

THE whole world is discussing the question of war and peace.

The criminal system of imperialism has brought upon the people of the world numerous wars, including two disastrous world wars. Wars launched by imperialism have caused the people heavy suffering, but have also educated them.

Since World War II, people everywhere have been vigorously demanding world peace. More and more people have come to understand that to defend world peace it is imperative to wage struggles against the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Marxist-Leninists throughout the world are duty-bound to treasure the peace sentiments of the people and to stand in the forefront of the struggle for world peace. They are duty-bound to struggle against the imperialists' policies of aggression and war, to expose their deceptions and defeat their plans for war. They are duty-bound to educate the people, raise their political consciousness and guide the struggle for world peace in the proper direction.

In contrast to the Marxist-Leninists, the modern revisionists help the imperialists to deceive the people, divert the people's attention, weaken and undermine their struggle against imperialism and cover up the imperialists' plans for a new world war, thus meeting the needs of imperialist policy.

The Marxist-Leninist line on the question of war and peace is diametrically opposed to the revisionist line.

The Marxist-Leninist line is the correct line conducive to the winning of world peace. It is the line consistently upheld by all Marxist-Leninist parties, including the Communist Party of China, and by all Marxist-Leninists.

The revisionist line is a wrong line which serves to increase the danger of a new war. It is the line gradually developed by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. since its 20th Congress.

On the question of war and peace many lies slandering the Chinese Communists have been fabricated in the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and in numerous statements by the leaders of the C.P.S.U., but these cannot conceal the essence of the differences.

In what follows we shall analyse the main differences between the Marxist-Leninist and the modern revisionist lines on the question of war and peace.

The Lessons of History

Ever since capitalism evolved into imperialism, the question of war and peace has been a vital one in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

Imperialism is the source of wars in modern times. The imperialists alternately use a deceptive policy of peace and a policy of war. They often cover their crimes of aggression and their preparations for a new war with lies about peace.

Lenin and Stalin tirelessly called upon the people of all countries to combat the peace frauds of the imperialists.

Lenin said that the imperialist governments "pay lip-service to peace and justice, but in fact wage annexationist and predatory wars." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p.332.)

Stalin said that the imperialists "have only one aim in resorting to pacifism: to dupe the masses with high-sounding phrases about peace in order to prepare for a new war." (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, p.297.) He also said:

Many think that imperialist pacifism is an instrument of peace. That is absolutely wrong. Imperialist pacifism is an instrument for the preparation of war and for disguising this preparation by hypocritical talk of peace. Without this pacifism and its instrument, the League of Nations, preparation for war in the conditions of today would be impossible. (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, p.209.)

In contrast to Lenin and Stalin, the revisionists of the Second International, who were renegades from the working class, helped the imperialists to deceive the people and became their accomplices in unleashing the two world wars.

Before World War I, the revisionists represented by Bernstein and Kautsky endeavoured by hypocritical talk about peace to paralyse the revolutionary fighting will of the people and cover up the imperialist plans for a world war.

As World War I was breaking out, the old revisionists speedily shed their peace masks, sided with their respective imperialist governments, supported the imperialist war for the redivision of the world, voted for military appropriations in parliament, and incited the working class of their own countries to plunge into the war and slaughter their class brothers in other countries under the hypocritical slogan of "defending the motherland."

When the imperialists needed an armistice in their own interests, the revisionists typified by Kautsky tried to poison people's minds and to oppose revolution by such glib talk as "nothing would make me happier than a conciliatory peace based on the principle, 'Live and let live.'"1

After World War I, the renegade Kautsky and his successors became still more brazen trumpeters of the imperialists' peace fraud.

The revisionists of the Second International spread a pack of lies on the question of war and peace.

1. They prettified imperialism and turned the minds of the people away from their struggles. Kautsky said, "... the danger to world peace from imperialism is only slight. The greater danger appears to come from the national strivings in the East and from the various dictatorships."2 Thus people were asked to believe that the source of war was not imperialism but the oppressed nations of the East and the Soviet state, the great bulwark of peace.

2. They helped the imperialists cover up the danger of a new war and blunted the fighting will of the people. Kautsky said in 1928, "If today you keep on talking loudly about the dangers of imperialist war, you are relying on a traditional formula and not on present-day considerations."3 Old revisionists of his brand described those believing in the inevitability of imperialist wars as "committed to a fatalistic conception of history."4

3. They intimidated the people with the notion that war would destroy mankind. Kautsky said, "... the next war will not only bring want and misery, but will basically put an end to civilization and, at least in Europe, will leave behind nothing but smoking ruins and putrefying corpses."5 These old revisionists said, "The last war brought the entire world to the brink of the precipice; the next one would destroy it completely. The mere preparation for a new war would ruin the world."6

4. They made no distinction between just and unjust wars and forbade revolution. Kautsky said in 1914:

... in present-day conditions, there is no such thing as a war which is not a misfortune for nations in general and for the proletariat in particular. What we discussed was the means by which we could prevent a threatening war, and not which wars are useful and which harmful.7 He also said:

The yearning for perpetual peace increasingly inspires the majority of cultured nations. It temporarily pushes the essentially great problem of our times into the background. . . .8

5. They propagated the theory that weapons decide everything and they opposed revolutionary armed struggle. Kautsky said:

As has been often stated, one of the reasons why the coming revolutionary struggles will more rarely be fought out by military means lies in the colossal superiority in armaments of the armies of modern states over the arms which are at the disposal of "civilians" and which usually render any resistance on the part of the latter hopeless from the very outset.9

6. They spread the absurd theory that world peace can be safeguarded and equality of nations achieved through disarmament. Bernstein said:

Peace on earth and good will to all men! We should not pause or rest and must attend to the unhindered advance of society towards prosperity in the interests of all, towards equality of rights among nations through international agreement and disarmament.10

7. They spread the fallacy that the money saved from disarmament can be used to assist backward countries. Kautsky said:

... the lighter the burden of military expenditures in Western Europe, the greater the means available for building railways in China, Persia, Turkey, South America, etc., and these public works are a far more effective means of promoting industrial development than the building of dreadnoughts.11

8. They submitted schemes for the "peace strategy" of the imperialists. Kautsky said:

The nations of civilized Europe (and likewise the Americans) can maintain peace in the Near and Far East more effectively through their economic and intellectual resources than through ironclads and planes.12

9. They extolled the League of Nations which was controlled by the imperialists. Kautsky said:

The mere existence of the League of Nations is itself already a great achievement for the cause of peace. It represents a lever for the preservation of peace such as no other institution can offer.13

10. They spread the illusion that reliance could be placed on U.S. imperialism to defend world peace. Kautsky said:

Today the United States is the strongest power in the world and will make the League of Nations irresistible as soon as it works inside it or with it to prevent war.14

Lenin ruthlessly exposed the ugly features of Kautsky and his ilk. He pointed out that the pacifist phrases of the revisionists of the Second International were only "a *solace* to the people, a means which makes it easier for the governments to bring about the docility of the people in further imperialist slaughter!" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. XXIII, p.224.)

Stalin pointed out:

And the most important thing in all this is that Social-Democracy is the main channel of imperialist pacifism within the working class—consequently, it is capitalism's main support among the working class in preparing for new wars and intervention. (Stalin, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p.210.)

Even a cursory comparison of Comrade Khrushchov's statements on the question of war and peace with those of Bernstein, Kautsky and others shows that there is nothing new in his views, which are a mere reproduction of the revisionism of the Second International.

On the question of war and peace, which has a vital bearing on the destiny of mankind, Khrushchov is following in the footsteps of Bernstein and Kautsky. As history shows, this is a road extremely dangerous to world peace.

In order effectively to defend world peace and prevent a new world war, Marxist-Leninists and peace-loving people all over the world must reject and oppose Khrushchov's erroneous line.

The Greatest Fraud

There is no bigger lie than the designation of the arch enemy of world peace as a peace-loving angel.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism, stepping into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, has been endeavouring to set up a vast world empire such as has never been known before. The "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism has been to grab and dominate the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp, put down the revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, proceed to destroy the socialist countries, and thus to dominate the whole world.

In the 18 years since the end of World War II, in order to realize its ambition of world domination, U.S. imperialism has been carrying on aggressive wars or counter-revolutionary armed interventions in various parts of the world and has been actively preparing for a new world war.

It is obvious that imperialism remains the source of modern wars and that U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war in the contemporary world. This has been clearly affirmed in both the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

Yet the leaders of the C.P.S.U. hold that the chief representatives of U.S. imperialism love peace. They say that a "reasonable" group has emerged capable of soberly assessing the situation. And Eisenhower and Kennedy are representatives of this "reasonable" group.

Khrushchov praised Eisenhower as one who "enjoys the absolute confidence of his people," who "has a sincere desire for peace" and who "also worries about ensuring peace just as we do."

Now Khrushchov praises Kennedy as even better qualified to shoulder the responsibility of preserving world peace than was Eisenhower. He showed "solicitude for the preservation of peace," and it is reasonable to expect him to "create reliable conditions for a peaceful life and creative labour on earth."

Khrushchov works as hard as the revisionists of the Second International at telling lies about imperialism and prettifying it.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. asks those who do not believe in these lies: "Do they really think that all bourgeois governments lack all reason in everything they do?"

Obviously, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. ignore the ABC of Marxism-Leninism. In a class society there is no reason that can transcend class. The proletariat has proletarian

reason and the bourgeoisie bourgeois reason. Reason connotes that one must be good at formulating policies in the fundamental interests of one's own class and at taking actions according to one's basic class stand. The reason of Kennedy and his like lies in acting according to the fundamental interests of U.S. monopoly capital, and it is imperialist reason.

At a time when the international balance of class forces is becoming increasingly unfavourable to imperialism and the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war are meeting with constant setbacks, the U.S. imperialists have to disguise themselves more frequently under the cloak of peace.

It is true that Kennedy is rather clever at spinning words about peace and employing peace tactics. But as with his war policy, Kennedy's deceptive peace policy serves the "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism.

Kennedy's "strategy of peace" aims at unifying the whole world into the "world community of free nations" rooted in U.S. imperialist "law and justice."

The main points of Kennedy's "strategy of peace" are:

To promote U.S. neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America by peaceful means;

To penetrate and dominate other imperialist and capitalist countries by peaceful means;

To encourage by peaceful means the socialist countries to take the Yugoslav road of "peaceful evolution";

To weaken and undermine by peaceful means the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism.

In his recent speech at the United Nations General Assembly, Kennedy arrogantly announced the following conditions for peace between the United States and the Soviet Union:

(1) The German Democratic Republic must be incorporated into West Germany.

(2) Socialist Cuba must not be allowed to exist.

(3) The socialist countries in Eastern Europe must be given "free choice," by which he means that capitalism must be restored in these countries.

(4) The socialist countries must not support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations.

To attain their aims by "peaceful means" wherever possible has been a customary tactic of imperialists and colonialists.

Reactionary classes always rely on two tactics to maintain their rule and to carry out foreign aggrandizement. One is the tactic of priest-like deception, the other that of butcher-like suppression. Imperialism always employs its deceptive policy of peace and its policy of war to reinforce each other, and they are complementary. The reason of Kennedy, who is the representative of U.S. monopoly capital, can express itself only in a more cunning use of these two tactics.

Violence is always the main tactic of reactionary ruling classes. Priest-like deception plays only a sup-

plementary role. Imperialists always rely on positions of strength to carve out their spheres of influence. Kennedy has made this point very clear. He said, "In the end, the only way to maintain the peace is to be prepared in the final extreme to fight for our country — and to mean it." Since Kennedy took office, he has followed the "strategy of flexible response," which requires the speedy building of "versatile military forces" and the strengthening of "all-round power" so that the United States will be able to fight any kind of war it pleases, whether a general war or a limited war, whether a nuclear war or a conventional war, and whether a large war or a small war. This mad plan of Kennedy's has pushed U.S. arms expansion and war preparations to an unprecedented peak. Let us look at the following facts published by official U.S. sources:

1. The military expenditures of the U.S. Government have increased from 46,700 million dollars in the fiscal year 1960 to an estimated 60,000 million dollars in the fiscal year 1964, the highest total ever in peace time and greater than during the Korean war.

2. Kennedy recently declared that in the past two years and more there has been a 100 per cent increase in the number of nuclear weapons of the U.S. strategic alert forces and a 45 per cent increase in the number of combat-ready army divisions, the procurement of airlift aircraft has been increased by 175 per cent and there has been an increase by nearly five times in the "special guerrilla and counter-insurgency forces."

3. The U.S. Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff has mapped out plans for nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Robert S. McNamara, the U.S. Secretary of Defence, declared at the beginning of this year:

... we have provided, throughout the period under consideration, a capability to destroy virtually all of the "soft" [above-ground] and "semi-hard" [semi-protected] military targets in the Soviet Union and a large number of their fully hardened missile sites, with an additional capability in the form of a protected force to be employed or held in reserve for use against urban and industrial areas.

The United States has strengthened its network of nuclear missile bases directed against the socialist camp and has greatly strengthened the disposition of its missile-equipped nuclear submarines abroad.

At the same time, the troops of the NATO bloc under U.S. command have pushed eastward this year and approached the borders of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

4. The Kennedy Administration has reinforced its military dispositions in Asia, Latin America and Africa and made great efforts to expand the "special forces" of its land, sea and air services in order to cope with the people's revolutionary movement in those areas. The United States has turned southern Viet Nam into a proving ground for "special warfare" and increased its troops there to more than 16,000.

5. It has strengthened its war commands. It has set up a "U.S. Strike Command" which controls a combined land and air force maintaining high combat readiness in

peace time, so that it can be readily sent to any place in the world to provoke wars. It has also set up national military command centres both above and below ground, and organized an Emergency Airborne Command Post operating from aircraft and an Emergency Sea Command Post operating from warships.

These facts demonstrate that the U.S. imperialists are the wildest militarists of modern times, the wildest plotters of a new world war, and the most ferocious enemy of world peace.

It is thus clear that the U.S. imperialists have not become beautiful angels in spite of Khrushchov's bible-reading and psalm-singing; they have not turned into compassionate Buddhas in spite of Khrushchov's prayers and incense-burning. However hard Khrushchov tries to serve the U.S. imperialists, they show not the slightest appreciation. They continue to expose their own peace camouflage by fresh and numerous activities of aggression and war, and thus they continue to slap Khrushchov in the face and reveal the bankruptcy of his ridiculous theories prettifying imperialism. The lot of the willing apologists of U.S. imperialism is indeed a sorry one.

The Question of the Possibility of Preventing a New World War

It is a fact that the imperialists headed by the United States are actively preparing a new world war and that the danger of such a war does exist. We should make this fact clear to the people.

But can a new world war be prevented?

The views of the Chinese Communists on this question have always been quite explicit.

After the conclusion of World War II, Comrade Mao Tse-tung scientifically analysed the postwar international situation and advanced the view that a new world war can be prevented.

Back in 1946, in his well-known talk with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong, he said:

But the fact that the U.S. reactionaries are now trumpeting so loudly about a U.S.-Soviet war and creating a foul atmosphere, so soon after the end of World War II, compels us to take a look at their real aims. It turns out that under the cover of anti-Soviet slogans they are frantically attacking the workers and democratic circles in the United States and turning all the countries which are the targets of U.S. external expansion into U.S. dependencies. I think the American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries. Only by victory in this struggle can a third world war be avoided; otherwise it is unavoidable. (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.100.)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's remarks were directed against a pessimistic appraisal of the international situation at the time. The imperialists headed by the United States, together with the reactionaries in various countries, were daily intensifying their anti-Soviet, anti-communist and anti-popular activities and trumpeting that

"war between the United States and the Soviet Union is inevitable" and that "the outbreak of a third world war is inevitable." The Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries gave this great publicity in order to intimidate the Chinese people. Frightened by such blackmail, some comrades became faint-hearted in the face of the armed attacks launched by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries with U.S. imperialist support and dared not firmly oppose the counter-revolutionary war with a revolutionary war. Comrade Mao Tse-tung held different views. He pointed out that a new world war could be prevented provided resolute and effective struggles were waged against world reaction.

His scientific proposition was confirmed by the great victory of the Chinese revolution.

The victory of the Chinese revolution brought about a tremendous change in the international balance of class forces. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in June 1950:

The menace of war by the imperialist camp still exists, the possibility of a third world war still exists. But the forces thwarting the danger of war and preventing a third world war are rapidly developing, and the political consciousness of the broad masses of the people of the world is rising. A new world war can be prevented provided the Communist Parties of the world keep on uniting and strengthening all the forces of peace and democracy that can be united. (*Renmin Ribao*, June 13, 1950.)

In November 1957, at the meeting of fraternal Parties, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a detailed analysis of the changes in international relations since the end of World War II and showed that the international situation had reached a new turning-point. He vividly depicted the situation with a metaphor from a classical Chinese novel—"The East wind prevails over the West wind." He said, "It is characteristic of the situation today, I believe, that the East wind is prevailing over the West wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism are overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism." (*On Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers*.)

He arrived at this conclusion by an analysis of international class relations. He explicitly placed on the side of "the East wind" the socialist camp, the international working class, the Communist Parties, the oppressed peoples and nations and the peace-loving people and countries, while confining "the West wind" to the war forces of imperialism and reaction. The political meaning of this metaphor is very lucid and definite. The fact that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and their followers are twisting this metaphor into a geographical or ethnical or meteorological concept only shows that they want to squeeze themselves into the ranks of the "West" in order to please the imperialists and to stir up chauvinism in Europe and North America.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's main aim in stating that "the East wind prevails over the West wind" was to point to the growing possibility that a new world war could be prevented and that the socialist countries would be able to carry on their construction in a peaceful environment.

These propositions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's have been and are the consistent views of the Communist Party of China.

It is thus clear that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are deliberately concocting a lie in alleging that the Chinese Communist Party does "not believe in the possibility of preventing a new world war."

Again, it is clear that the thesis on the possibility of preventing a third world war was advanced by Marxist-Leninists long ago; it was not first put forward at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., nor is it Khrushchov's "creation."

Is it then true that Khrushchov has created nothing at all? No. He has created something. Unfortunately, these "creations" are by no means Marxist-Leninist, but revisionist.

First, Khrushchov has wilfully interpreted the possibility of preventing a new world war as the only possibility, holding that there is no danger of a new world war.

Marxist-Leninists hold that while pointing to the possibility of preventing a new world war, we must also call attention to the possibility that imperialism may unleash a world war. Only by pointing to both possibilities, pursuing correct policies and preparing for both eventualities can we effectively mobilize the masses to wage struggles in defence of world peace. Only thus will the socialist countries and people and other peace-loving countries and people not be caught unawares and utterly unprepared should imperialism force a world war on the people of the world.

However, Khrushchov and others are against exposing the danger of a new war which the imperialists are plotting. According to them, imperialism has actually become peace-loving. This is helping the imperialists to lull the masses and sap their fighting will so that they will lose their vigilance against the danger of the new war the imperialists are plotting.

Second, Khrushchov has wilfully interpreted the possibility of preventing a new world war as the possibility of preventing all wars, holding that the Leninist axiom that war is inevitable so long as imperialism exists is outmoded.

The possibility of preventing a new world war is one thing; the possibility of preventing all wars, including revolutionary wars, is another. And it is completely wrong to confuse the two.

There is soil for wars so long as imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man exist. This is an objective law discovered by Lenin after abundant scientific study.

Stalin said in 1952 after indicating the possibility of preventing a new world war, "To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism." (Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, p.41.)

Lenin and Stalin are right and Khrushchov is wrong.

History shows that while the imperialists have succeeded in launching two world wars, they have waged numerous wars of other kinds. Since World War II, by their policies of aggression and war the imperialists

headed by the United States have brought about ceaseless local wars and armed conflicts of every description in many places, and especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is clear that national-liberation wars are inevitable when the imperialists, and the U.S. imperialists in particular, send their troops or use their lackeys to carry out sanguinary suppression of the oppressed nations and countries fighting for or upholding national independence.

Lenin said:

To deny all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and in practice is tantamount to European chauvinism. (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p.571.)

It is equally clear that revolutionary civil wars are inevitable when the bourgeois reactionaries suppress the people in their own countries by force of arms.

Lenin said:

... civil wars are also wars. Whoever recognizes the class struggle cannot fail to recognize civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions, inevitable continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. All the great revolutions prove this. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, would mean sinking into extreme opportunism and renouncing the socialist revolution. (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. I, Part 2, p.571.)

Nearly all the great revolutions in history were made through revolutionary wars. The American War of Independence and Civil War are cases in point. The French revolution is another example. The Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution are of course examples too. The revolutions in Viet Nam, Cuba, Algeria, etc., are also well-known examples.

In 1871, summing up the lessons of the Paris Commune in his speech commemorating the seventh anniversary of the founding of the First International, Marx mentioned the conditions for the elimination of class domination and class oppression. He said, "... before such a change can be consummated, a dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and its first premiss is an army of the proletariat. The working class must win the right to its emancipation on the battlefield." (Marx and Engels, *Works*, German ed., Verlag Dietz, Berlin, 1962, Vol. 17, p.433.)

In accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the celebrated thesis that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," when discussing the lessons of the Russian and Chinese revolutions in 1938. This thesis, too, has now become a target of attack by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. They say it is evidence of China's being "warlike."

Respected friends, slanders like yours were refuted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung as far back as 25 years ago:

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war." Yes, we are advocates of the omni-

tence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Military Writings*, F.L.P., Peking, 1963, p.273.)

What is wrong with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's remark? Only those who reject all the historical experience gained in the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions over the last few hundred years would reject this view of his.

With their guns, the Chinese people have created socialist political power. All except imperialists and their lackeys can readily understand that this is a fine thing and that it is an important factor in safeguarding world peace and preventing a third world war.

Marxist-Leninists never conceal their views. We wholeheartedly support every people's revolutionary war. As Lenin said of such revolutionary war, "Of all the wars known in history it is the only lawful, rightful, just, and truly great war." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. VIII, p.107.) If we are accused of being warlike simply because of this, it only goes to prove that we genuinely side with the oppressed peoples and nations and are true Marxist-Leninists.

The imperialists and revisionists always denounced the Bolsheviks and revolutionary leaders like Lenin and Stalin for being "warlike." The very fact that today we are likewise abused by imperialists and revisionists shows that we have been holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Khrushchov and others vigorously propagate the view that all wars can be prevented and "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" can be brought into being while imperialism still exists. This is nothing but Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism" which has long been bankrupt. Their purpose is all too clear; it is to make the people believe that permanent peace can be realized under imperialism and thereby to abolish revolution and national-liberation wars and revolutionary civil wars against imperialism and its lackeys, and in fact to help the imperialists in their preparations for a new war.

Nuclear Fetishism and Nuclear Blackmail Are the Theoretical Basis and Guiding Policy Of Modern Revisionism

The heart of the theory of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. on war and peace is their thesis that the emergence of nuclear weapons has changed everything including the laws of class struggle.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. says, "The nuclear rocket weapons that were created in the middle of our century changed the old notions about war." In what way were they changed?

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. hold that with the appearance of nuclear weapons there is no longer any difference between just and unjust wars. They say, "the atomic bomb does not adhere to the class principle" and that "the atomic bomb does not distinguish between the imperialists and working people, it hits big areas and therefore millions of workers would be destroyed per one monopolist."

They hold that with the appearance of nuclear weapons the oppressed peoples and nations must abandon revolution and refrain from waging just popular revolutionary wars and wars of national liberation, or else such wars would lead to the destruction of mankind. They say, "... any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war" and "Today, any sort of war, though it may break out as an ordinary non-nuclear war, is likely to develop into a destructive nuclear-missile conflagration." Thus, "We will destroy our Noah's Ark — the globe."

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. hold that the socialist countries must not resist but must yield to imperialist nuclear blackmail and war threats. Khrushchov said:

There can be no doubt that a world nuclear war, if started by the imperialist maniacs, would inevitably result in the downfall of the capitalist system, a system breeding wars. But would the socialist countries and the cause of socialism all over the world benefit from a world nuclear disaster? Only people who deliberately shut their eyes to the facts can think so. As regards Marxist-Leninists, they cannot propose to establish a communist civilization on the ruins of centres of world culture, on land laid waste and contaminated by nuclear fall-out. We need hardly add that in the case of many peoples, the question of socialism would be eliminated altogether because they would have disappeared bodily from our planet.

In short, according to the leaders of the C.P.S.U., with the emergence of nuclear weapons, the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, and the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism have all disappeared. The world no longer has any class contradictions. They regard the contradictions in the contemporary world as boiling down to a single contradiction, that is, their fictitious contradiction between the so-called common survival of imperialism and the oppressed classes and nations on the one hand and their total destruction on the other.

As far as the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are concerned, Marxism-Leninism, the Declaration and the Statement, and socialism and communism have all been cast to the winds.

How frankly *Pravda* puts it! "What is the use of principles if one's head is chopped off?"

This is tantamount to saying that the revolutionaries who died under the sabres of the reactionaries for the victory of the Russian revolutions and the October Revolution, the warriors who bravely gave up their lives in the anti-fascist war, the heroes who shed their blood in the struggle against imperialism and for national independence and the martyrs to the revolutionary cause through the ages were all fools. Why should they have given up their heads for adherence to principle?

This is the philosophy of out-and-out renegades. It is a shameless statement, to be found only in the confessions of renegades.

Guided by this theory of nuclear fetishism and nuclear blackmail, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. maintain that the way to defend world peace is not for all existing

peace forces to unite and form the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys but for the two nuclear powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, to co-operate in settling the world's problems.

Khrushchov has said:

We [the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.] are the strongest countries in the world and if we unite for peace there can be no war. Then if any madman wanted war, we would but have to shake our fingers to warn him off.

It is thus apparent to everybody how far the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have gone in regarding the enemy as their friend.

In order to cover up their error, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have not hesitated to attack the correct line of the C.P.C. by lies and slanders. They assert that by advocating support for the peoples' wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars the Communist Party of China wants to provoke a nuclear world war.

This is a curious lie.

The Communist Party of China has always held that the socialist countries should actively support the peoples' revolutionary struggles, including wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars. To fail to do so would be to renounce their proletarian internationalist duty. At the same time, we hold that the oppressed peoples and nations can achieve liberation only by their own resolute revolutionary struggle and that no one else can do it for them.

We have always maintained that socialist countries must not use nuclear weapons to support the peoples' wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars and have no need to do so.

We have always maintained that the socialist countries must achieve and maintain nuclear superiority. Only this can prevent the imperialists from launching a nuclear war and help bring about the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

We consistently hold that in the hands of a socialist country, nuclear weapons must always be defensive weapons for resisting imperialist nuclear threats. A socialist country absolutely must not be the first to use nuclear weapons, nor should it in any circumstances play with them or engage in nuclear blackmail and nuclear gambling.

We are opposed both to the wrong practice on the part of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. of withholding support from the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and to their wrong approach to nuclear weapons. Instead of examining their own errors, they accuse us of hoping for a "head-on clash" between the Soviet Union and the United States and trying to push them into a nuclear war.

Our answer is: No, friends. You had better cut out your sensation-mongering calumny. The Chinese Communist Party is firmly opposed to a "head-on clash" between the Soviet Union and the United States, and not in words only. In deeds too it has worked hard to avert direct armed conflict between them. Examples of this are the Korean war against U.S. aggression in

which we fought side by side with the Korean comrades and our struggle against the United States in the Taiwan Straits. We ourselves preferred to shoulder the heavy sacrifices necessary and stood in the first line of defence of the socialist camp so that the Soviet Union might stay in the second line. Have the leaders of the C.P.S.U. any sense of proletarian morality when they concoct such lies?

In fact, it is not we but the leaders of the C.P.S.U. who have frequently boasted that they would use nuclear weapons to help the anti-imperialist struggle of one country or another.

As everyone knows, the oppressed peoples and nations have no nuclear weapons and they cannot use them to make revolutions, nor is there any need for them to do so. The leaders of the C.P.S.U. admit that there is often no clear battle line between the two sides in national-liberation wars and civil wars, and therefore the use of nuclear weapons is out of the question. We should then like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: What need is there for a socialist country to support the peoples' revolutionary struggles by nuclear weapons?

We should also like to ask them: How would a socialist country use nuclear weapons to support the revolutionary struggle of an oppressed people or nation? Would it use nuclear weapons on an area where a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war was in progress, thereby subjecting both the revolutionary people and the imperialists to a nuclear strike? Or would it be the first to use nuclear weapons against an imperialist country which was waging a conventional war of aggression elsewhere? Obviously, in either case it is absolutely impermissible for a socialist country to use nuclear weapons.

The fact is that when the leaders of the C.P.S.U. brandish their nuclear weapons, it is not really to support the people's anti-imperialist struggles.

Sometimes, in order to gain cheap prestige, they just publish empty statements which they never intend to honour.

At other times, during the Caribbean crisis for instance, they engage in speculative, opportunistic and irresponsible nuclear gambling for ulterior motives.

As soon as their nuclear blackmail is seen through and is countered in kind, they retreat one step after another, switch from adventurism to capitulationism and lose all by their nuclear gambling.

We wish to point out that the great Soviet people and Red Army have been and remain a great force safeguarding world peace. But Khrushchov's military ideas based on nuclear fetishism and nuclear blackmail are entirely wrong.

Khrushchov sees only nuclear weapons. According to him, "The present level of military technique being what it is, the air force and the navy have lost their former importance. These arms are being replaced and not reduced."

Of course, those units and men having combat duties on the ground are even less significant. According to him, "In our time, a country's defensive capacity is not

determined by the number of men under arms, of men in uniform. . . . a country's defence potential depends in decisive measure on the firepower and the means of delivery that country commands."

As for the militia and the people, they are still more inconsequential. Khrushchov has made the well-known remark that for those now having modern weapons at their disposal, the militia is not an army but just human flesh.

Khrushchov's whole set of military theories runs completely counter to Marxist-Leninist teachings on war and the army. To follow his wrong theories will necessarily involve disintegrating the army and disarming oneself morally.

Obviously, if any socialist country should accept Khrushchov's erroneous military strategy, it would inevitably place itself in a most dangerous position.

Khrushchov may confer on himself such titles as "a great peace champion," award himself a peace prize and pin heroes' medals on himself, but no matter how much he may praise himself, he will not be able to cover up his dangerous practice of recklessly playing with nuclear weapons or his fawning before imperialist nuclear blackmail.

Fight or Capitulate?

World peace can be won only through struggle by the people of all countries and not by begging the imperialists for it. Peace can be effectively safeguarded only by relying on the masses of the people and waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. This is the correct policy.

Tit-for-tat struggle is an important conclusion drawn by the Chinese people from their prolonged struggle against imperialism and its lackeys.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

Chiang Kai-shek always tries to wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land. We act after his fashion. (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.14.)

He added:

He always tries to impose war on the people, one sword in his left hand and another in his right. We take up swords, too, following his example. (ibid.)

Analysing the domestic political situation in 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

How to give "tit for tat" depends on the situation. Sometimes, not going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and sometimes, going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat. . . . If they start fighting, we fight back, fight to win peace. Peace will not come unless we strike hard blows at the reactionaries who dare to attack the Liberated Areas. (ibid., p.56.)

He drew the following historical lesson from the failure of China's revolution of 1924-27:

Confronted by counter-revolutionary attacks against the people, Chen Tu-hsiu did not adopt the policy of giving tit for tat and fighting for every inch of land; as

a result, in 1927, within the space of a few months, the people lost all the rights they had won. (ibid., p.16.)

The Chinese Communists understand and adhere to the policy of giving tit for tat. We oppose both capitulationism and adventurism. This correct policy ensured the victory of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese people's subsequent great successes in their struggle against imperialism.

All revolutionary people approve and welcome this correct fighting policy put forward by the Chinese Communists. All imperialists and reactionaries fear and hate it.

The policy of giving tit for tat as put forward by the C.P.C. is virulently attacked by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. This only goes to show that they do not in the least want to oppose imperialism. Their sole purpose in attacking and smearing the policy of tit for tat is to cover up their wrong line of catering to the needs of imperialism and surrendering to it.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. assert that a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism will lead to international tension. How terrible!

According to their logic, the imperialists are allowed to commit aggression and make threats against others but the victims of imperialist aggression are not allowed to fight, the imperialists are allowed to oppress others but the oppressed are not allowed to resist. This is a naked attempt to absolve the imperialists of their crimes of aggression. This is a philosophy of the jungle, pure and simple.

International tension is the product of the imperialist policies of aggression and war. The peoples should of course wage a firm struggle against imperialist aggression and threats. Facts have shown that only through struggle can imperialism be compelled to retreat and a genuine relaxation of international tension be achieved. Constant retreat before the imperialists cannot lead to genuine relaxation but will only encourage their aggression.

We have always opposed the creation of international tension by imperialism and stood for the relaxation of such tension. But the imperialists are bent on committing aggression and creating tension everywhere, and that can only lead to the opposite of what they desire.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

The U.S. imperialists believe that they will always benefit from tense situations, but the fact is that tension created by the United States has led to the opposite of what they desire. It serves to mobilize the people of the whole world against the U.S. aggressors. (*Renmin Ribao*, Sept. 9, 1958.)

Further, "If the U.S. monopoly groups persist in their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when the people of the world will hang them by the neck." (ibid.)

The Declaration of 1957 rightly says, "By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are court- ing their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers."

This is the dialectic of history. Those who revere the imperialists can hardly understand this truth.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. assert that by advocating a tit-for-tat struggle the Chinese Communist Party has rejected negotiations. This again is nonsense.

We consistently maintain that those who refuse negotiations under all circumstances are definitely not Marxist-Leninists.

The Chinese Communists conducted negotiations with the Kuomintang many times during the revolutionary civil wars. They did not refuse to negotiate even on the eve of nationwide liberation.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in March 1949:

Whether the peace negotiations are overall or local, we should be prepared for such an eventuality. We should not refuse to enter into negotiations because we are afraid of trouble and want to avoid complications, nor should we enter into negotiations with our minds in a haze. We should be firm in principle; we should also have all the flexibility permissible and necessary for carrying out our principles. (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.372.)

Internationally, in struggling against imperialism and reaction, the Chinese Communists take the same correct attitude towards negotiations.

In October 1951, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had this to say about the Korean armistice negotiations:

We have long said that the Korean question should be settled by peaceful means. This still holds good now. So long as the U.S. Government is willing to settle the question on a just and reasonable basis, and will stop using every shameless means possible to wreck and obstruct the progress of the negotiations, as it has done in the past, success in the Korean armistice negotiation is possible; otherwise it is impossible. (*Renmin Ribao*, Oct. 24, 1951.)

Resolute struggle against the U.S. imperialists compelled them to accept the Korean armistice agreement in the course of negotiations.

We took an active part in the 1954 Geneva Conference and contributed to the restoration of peace in Indo-China.

We are in favour of negotiations even with the United States, which has occupied our territory of Taiwan. The Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks have been going on for more than eight years now.

We took an active part in the 1961 Geneva Conference on the Laotian question and promoted the signing of the Geneva agreements respecting the independence and neutrality of Laos.

Do the Chinese Communists allow themselves alone to negotiate with imperialist countries while opposing negotiations by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. with the leaders of the imperialist countries?

No, of course not.

In fact, we have always actively supported all such negotiations by the Soviet Government with imperialist countries as are beneficial and not detrimental to the defence of world peace.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said on May 14, 1960:

We support the holding of the summit conference whether or not this sort of conference yields achievements, or whether the achievements are big or small. But the winning of world peace should depend primarily on resolute struggle by the people of all countries. (*Ren-min Ribao*, May 15, 1960.)

We favour negotiations with imperialist countries. But it is absolutely impermissible to pin hopes for world peace on negotiations, spread illusions about them and thereby paralyse the fighting will of the peoples, as Khrushchov has done.

Actually, Khrushchov's wrong approach to negotiations is itself harmful to negotiations. The more Khrushchov retreats before the imperialists and the more he begs, the more the appetite of the imperialists will grow. Khrushchov, who poses as the greatest devotee of negotiations in history, is always an unrequited lover and too often a laughing stock. Countless historical facts have shown that the imperialists and reactionaries never care to save the face of the capitulationists.

The Road in Defence of Peace and the Road Leading to War

To sum up, our difference with the leaders of the C.P.S.U. on the question of war and peace is one between two different lines—whether or not to oppose imperialism, whether or not to support revolutionary struggles, whether or not to mobilize the people of the world against the imperialist war plots and whether or not to adhere to Marxism-Leninism.

Like all other genuine revolutionary parties, the Communist Party of China has always been in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and for world peace. We hold that to defend world peace it is necessary constantly to expose imperialism and to arouse and organize the people in struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States, and it is necessary to place reliance on the growth of the strength of the socialist camp, on the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all countries, on the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations, on the struggles of all peace-loving peoples and countries and on the broad united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

This line of ours is in keeping with the common line for all Communist Parties laid down in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

With this line, it is possible ceaselessly to raise the political consciousness of the people and to expand the struggle for world peace in the right direction.

With this line, it is possible constantly to strengthen the forces for world peace with the socialist camp as their core and strike at and weaken the imperialist forces for war.

With this line, it is possible constantly to expand the peoples' revolutions and manacle imperialism.

With this line, it is possible to turn to account all available factors, including the contradictions between

U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist powers, and to isolate U.S. imperialism to the fullest extent.

With this line, it is possible to smash the nuclear blackmail practised by U.S. imperialism and defeat its plan for launching a new world war.

This is the line for the people of all countries to win both victory in revolution and world peace. It is the sure and effective road in defence of world peace.

But the line pursued by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. is diametrically opposed to our line, to the common line of all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. direct the edge of their struggle not at the enemy of world peace but at the socialist camp, thus weakening and undermining the very core of strength which defends world peace.

They use nuclear blackmail to intimidate the people of the socialist countries and forbid them to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, thus helping U.S. imperialism to isolate the socialist camp and suppress peoples' revolutions.

They use nuclear blackmail to intimidate the oppressed peoples and nations and to prohibit them from making revolution, and they collaborate with U.S. imperialism in stamping out the "sparks" of revolution, thus enabling it freely to carry on its policies of aggression and war in the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp.

They also intimidate the allies of the United States and forbid them to struggle against the control it has imposed on them, thus helping U.S. imperialism to enslave these countries and consolidate its position.

By this line of action the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have altogether relinquished the struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

This line of action denies the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and in defence of world peace.

It tries to impose the greatest isolation not on the arch enemy of world peace but on the peace forces.

It means the liquidation of the fighting task of defending world peace.

This is a line that serves the "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism.

It is not the road to world peace but the road leading to greater danger of war and to war itself.

Today the world is no longer what it was on the eve of World War II. There is the powerful socialist camp. The national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is surging forward. The political consciousness of the people of the world has been very much raised. The strength of the revolutionary peoples has been very much enhanced. The people of the Soviet Union, of the socialist countries and of the whole world will never allow their own destiny to be manipulated by the imperialist forces for war and their trumpeters.

The aggression and war activities of the imperialists and reactionaries are teaching the people of the world

gradually to raise their political consciousness. Social practice is the sole criterion of truth. We are confident that as a result of such teaching by the imperialists and reactionaries, many people now holding wrong views on the question of war and peace will change their minds. We have high hopes on this score.

We firmly believe that the Communists and the people of the world will surely smash the imperialist plan for launching a new world war and safeguard world peace provided they expose the imperialist frauds, see through the revisionist lies and shoulder the task of defending world peace.

Notes

¹ Kautsky, *National Problems*, Russian ed.

² Kautsky, *The Question of Defence and Social-Democracy*, in German.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Haase's speech on the question of imperialism at the Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in Chemnitz,

1912, published in the *Handbook of the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in 1910-1913*, Vol. II, in German.

⁵ Kautsky, "Preface to *War and Democracy*," in German.

⁶ Resolution on the League of Nations, adopted by the Berne Conference of the Socialist International in 1919, Russian ed.

⁷ Kautsky, *Social-Democracy in War*, in German.

⁸ Kautsky, "Preface to *War and Democracy*," in German.

⁹ Kautsky, "A Catechism of Social-Democracy," in German.

¹⁰ Bernstein's speech on the question of disarmament at the Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in Chemnitz, 1912, published in the *Handbook of the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in 1910-1913*, Vol. II, in German.

¹¹ Kautsky, "Once More on Disarmament," in German.

¹² Kautsky, *The Question of Defence and Social-Democracy*, in German.

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ Kautsky, *Socialists and War*, in German.



GANEF0: New Wave in Sports And Friendship

DJAKARTA has been witnessing this November a new wave in sports and international friendship. The world sports meet taking place in the Indonesian capital not only has been the scene of sterling performances on the field but it has been the common meeting ground for men and women from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

By the time the halfway point had been reached five world records had already been toppled in the Nov. 10-22 first Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0). In addition, many national records of the teams from the 51 participating nations had also gone by the board.

Brilliant Achievements

Of the five world records chalked up in the first week of the games in Djakarta three were set by athletes from the Korean Democratic People's Republic and two by Chinese entries. For Korea, speedy Sin Kim Dan set new world records in the women's 400- and 800-metre events with a time of 51.4 secs. and 1 min. 59.1 secs. respectively while weightlifter Li Heung Chun set a new mark at 141 kgs. for the jerk in the bantamweight class. For China, new world records were set by weightlifter Li Chi-yuan when he snatched 108 kgs. in the bantam-

weight class and by archer Li Shu-lan who scored 628 points in the women's 30-metre double round event.

More than 200 athletes representing 23 countries took part in track and field events in which a number of national records were smashed. In this category China collected 20 gold medals (11 for men and 9 for women), the Korean and United Arab Republic teams each took four gold medals and the host team, the Indonesians, carried off 3 gold, 6 silver and 10 bronze medals. The Algerians, Moroccans, Tunisians, Guineans and Malians also won medals in these events.

The finals in badminton, one of Indonesia's most popular sports, was a thriller between Indonesia and China. The Indonesian men's team, which twice won the Thomas Cup, took the championship by turning back the Chinese squad 3 to 2 before a capacity crowd of 10,000. Earlier, the Chinese women's badminton team had prevailed over the Indonesians 3 to 1, thereby taking the women's title.

In table tennis Chinese men and women carried the day by taking the measure of Korea and Japan respectively in the finals. The U.S.S.R. teams carried off both the men's and women's gymnastics championships with China the runner-up. A highlight of the gymnastics was

the eye-opening performance by the youthful Wang Wei-chien of the Chinese squad who was making her international debut. The 17-year-old girl came away with four gold medals, finishing first in the all-round individual championship as well as in the free exercises, the vaulting horse and the balance beam events.

Added Significance Of GANEFO

In the light of the dirty pool being played by the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) and other international sports organizations, the holding of and the success of GANEFO take on added significance.

The successes in Djakarta are not on the sports field alone. The enthusiasm on the part of the athletes and spectators speaks well for the spirit and aim of the new world sports meet. It is matched by the gaily coloured bunting and slogans decorating the tree-lined streets and public places in the Indonesian capital, the Kemajoran airport and the port of Tandjung Priok. All this has produced an atmosphere of determination, unity and friendship in the midst of a festive mood. Among the slogans to be seen everywhere are: "GANEF0 is a challenge to imperialism and neo-colonialism!" "GANEF0 strengthens the friendship and unity of the new emerging forces!" "Onward, No Retreat!"

Who Does GANEFO Belong To? is the title of the catchy tune which is being sung and played in Djakarta:



China's Li Chi-yuan



Korea's Li Heung Chun

Who does GANEFO belong to?

Who does GANEFO belong to?

It belongs to the people of the world!

It belongs to the people of the world!

The words of this song reflect the make-up of GANEFO. There are teams from the socialist countries and from Asia, Africa and Latin America where the flame against imperialism and for national liberation is burning bright. There also are teams sent by non-government organizations in the capitalist countries such as Japan.

Second only to the Indonesian team is the Chinese team which numbers more than 200. Another big contingent is the more than 100-strong U.A.R. team. There are also squads from Cuba, the anti-imperialist outpost in the Caribbean; Algeria, which has just celebrated its 9th revolutionary anniversary; Albania, which is the sentinel of the socialist camp's southwestern flank; and Cambodia, which refuses to be bullied by the imperialists in both world politics and sports and has recently withdrawn from the International Amateur Athletic Federation. Besides the mammoth Bung Karno sports complex, the International Village where the various teams live has witnessed numerous friendly get-togethers by men and women from many parts of the world. At these gatherings, they swapped experiences on the field and learnt from each other for common progress; this also helped promote understanding and friendship among peoples of all lands.

The new emerging forces represent something new and progressive that has great vitality and a promising future. The results of the many GANEFO competitions have borne this out. Heads of sports delegations, coaches and noted sports figures from many countries have hailed the games as a great victory over the imperialist-controlled international sports organizations. The great achieve-



Korea's Sin Kim Dan



China's Li Shu-lan

ments of the first GANEFO have given people greater confidence in its future development.

The Men Who Look Like Ostriches

Even though first-rate performances have highlighted the sports events at GANEFO there are those who would pooh-pooh this new era in world sports by ignoring world records and pretending that nothing new has taken place.

The prime example of burying his head in the sand was the American head of the I.O.C., Avery Brundage. Long known for hauling Washington's foreign policy into the international sports arena, Brundage, on November 13, once again waved the threat of barring GANEFO participants from taking part in next year's Olympics in Tokyo. Queried by an Indonesian correspondent, Brundage asserted that he knew nothing about the Djakarta meet which had opened on November 10. Reminded that newspapers everywhere had carried news about GANEFO, Brundage sputtered: "I haven't read them yet."

Although this Olympic manipulator claimed ignorance of GANEFO, millions of people round the world were busy keeping up with it. In fact, millions had even read reports from Djakarta on the eve of the opening about the unearthing of a secret meeting which was hatching a plot to physically sabotage the games.

As GANEFO got under way the new emerging forces were demonstrating their great potential in the cultural as well as on the athletic field. In Djakarta a GANEFO art exhibition opened on November 11 with more than

600 exhibits provided by a number of participating countries. Included were sculptures, sports building models, graphic arts and embroidery. In addition, seven countries were represented at cultural performances in the Indonesian capital.



He Who Buries His Head Longest Wins
Cartoon by Hua Chun-wu

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

August 31, brings the total to 716. These articles, however, do not include reprints by the Soviet press of the resolutions and articles of other fraternal Parties attacking the Chinese Communist Party.

"The latest anti-China outbursts in the Soviet press are varied in form, ranging from editorials, articles by editorial departments, special articles, essays and cartoons to readers' letters and what not. Their arguments have become even more absurd and lame. Apart from abuses and lies, there is no substance in them. The language they use has become still more venomous and scurrilous. They have attacked the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, in a more wanton manner than ever and lashed out at the Marxist-Leninist theories Comrade Mao Tse-tung has expounded, China's line for building socialism and China's domestic and foreign policies. They allege that the Chinese

Communist Party has shown 'paternalism' towards fraternal Parties and followed 'a splittist platform,' that the Chinese Communist Party's ideology 'agrees with Trotskyite concepts,' that China is guilty of 'warlike subjectivism' and is 'engrossed in its desire for hegemony,' and that 'the Chinese statesmen have a slogan: Down With the Whites!' They even use such abusive language as 'the Peking renegades' and 'wild duellists,' and 'the conscience of China's leaders is like sewage,' and so on and so forth.

"These unique anti-China articles are so badly written and the lies they fabricate are so ridiculous that they make repulsive reading. But they are rare material for teaching by negative example in the international communist movement. We hope our readers — comrades and friends — will read them patiently and make a study of them. They will, no doubt, profit from them.

"We have never begrudged space in reprinting extracts from anti-China articles in the Soviet press, nor have we ever charged a single penny for

it. Unfortunately, these articles are so numerous and are so sickeningly long that it is beyond our limited space to cope with them all. In order that these unique anti-China articles in the Soviet press may not sink into oblivion, we shall compile them into special collections and issue them in book form. Here, we can only reprint extracts from the articles in instalments."

Since October 27, the Soviet press has given great publicity to Khrushchov's so-called appeal to China to discontinue open polemics. But, after the "appeal" was made, it carried on as usual its wanton attacks against China. Incomplete returns show that from October 28 to November 10, the Soviet press published over 80 editorials, articles by Soviet and foreign writers, readers' letters, cartoons and other items attacking the Chinese leaders and the Chinese people. From these malicious attacks, one can easily see that the so-called appeal by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. for the cessation of open polemics is nothing but a trick to cover up its still more frenzied anti-Chinese activities.

The Saigon Coup — What Does It Mean?

by KUAN YA-TUNG

U.S. IMPERIALISM has staged a show of changing horses in south Viet Nam, that is, replacing the old puppet with a new. The U.S. hireling Diem regime fell in a military coup engineered by its own masters. A troupe of new manikins picked by Washington has come on to the Saigon stage, and been formally "recognized" by the Kennedy Administration.

The coup is another Washington-directed farce of puppet replacing puppet in Asia following the ousting of Syngman Rhee from south Korea. The difference is that the end of Diem is still more wretched than that of the Korean hangman. Though kicked away by his masters, Syngman Rhee still manages to keep body and soul together, while Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu could not even save their skins. The downfall of Diem is a warning which must alarm all stooges of the United States.

Serving U.S. Imperialism Submissively

Having made up its mind to get rid of Diem, Washington spared no words to brand him. He was chided as unpopular and brutal and accused of imposing family rule like a tyrant. But, acclaimed by U.S. President Kennedy as an anti-communist "hero," Diem was once Washington's darling boy and his coming to power as "President" of south Viet Nam was wholly due to U.S. backing. As a matter of fact, from the time Diem was helped to power in June 1954 (on the eve of the signing of the Geneva agreements) he did everything he could to serve U.S. imperialism submissively.

In the first days of Diem's rule, pro-French factions still exerted considerable political influence in south Viet Nam. Ngo Dinh Diem helped U.S. imperialism to oust these pro-French influences from the puppet regime and crushed his opponents—the Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and Binh Xuyen sects. South Viet Nam's military, political and financial powers were wholly surrendered to the United States and the way was thus paved for complete U.S. occupation and transformation of south Viet Nam into a U.S. colony and springboard for military aggression. Taking the cue from Washington, Diem carried on aggressive provocations against Cambodia and Laos and threatened their security in order to compel them to abandon their policy of peace and neutrality. He did everything in his power to wreck the 1954 Geneva agreements and was a willing tool of U.S. imperialism in waging "special warfare" against the south Vietnamese people and allowing the United States to perpetuate its occupation. In an effort to help the United States to suppress the mounting national-liberation movement in

Southeast Asia and prevent the realization of the south Vietnamese people's desire for the unification of the country, he was prepared to serve as a butcher to the United States in murdering the south Vietnamese people. He ruthlessly suppressed their struggle against the regime's tyrannical rule, and the United States both directed and participated in this suppression.

Scapegoat for Failure of U.S. Aggressive Policy

Why then did Washington find it necessary to change one stooge for another?

In his Statement on Opposing Aggression Against Southern Viet Nam and Slaughter of Its People by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem Clique issued on August 29, 1963, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Ngo Dinh Diem is a faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism. However, once a lackey has outlived his usefulness, and is becoming an encumbrance to the carrying out of the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression, the U.S. imperialists will not hesitate to replace him with another lackey. The downfall of Syngman Rhee of south Korea is a case in point. A flunkey who servilely allows himself to be led by the nose by U.S. imperialism will only end up as a sacrifice and be buried along with it."

The fact that Ngo Dinh Diem was killed by his masters fully confirms Chairman Mao Tse-tung's wise judgment.

In order to carry out its policy of aggression in south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has wagered big stakes there. Over the past nine years, it has spent more than U.S.\$3,000 million on Ngo Dinh Diem. Since Kennedy came to power, the United States has been stepping up its aggressive activities there. The Kennedy Administration regards south Viet Nam as an important sector in its aggressive global strategy and a proving ground for "special warfare." Between October 1961, when Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Taylor made his first "inspection" tour and September 1963, some 25,000 U.S. military personnel had taken part in this "undeclared war." More than 16,000 U.S. troops are now fighting there and Washington spends U.S.\$1.5 million a day in supporting the war.

All this, however, cannot save the United States from defeat. The people's armed forces of south Viet Nam are growing stronger. They are able now to shatter the enemy's "mopping-up" operations, big and small, and they can take the initiative in mounting powerful offensives. Under the hard blows dealt by the south Viet-

namese people, the Staley-Taylor plan—a plan put forward in the latter part of 1961 and designed to “pacify” south Viet Nam in 18 months—has been smashed. The new strategy and tactics invented by “guerrilla warfare” experts of every description have foundered. The *Wall Street Journal*, mouthpiece of U.S. monopoly capital, cried: “Despite hundreds of millions of dollars of U.S. military aid to the government here [south Viet Nam], the power of south Viet Nam’s communist adversaries has grown even more menacing in the past two years.” It admitted that the people’s armed forces have equipped themselves mainly with large quantities of U.S.-made weapons captured from the Diem troops. At the same time, the south Vietnamese people have formed a broader united front against the U.S.-Diem group. The masses of people—workers, peasants, intellectuals and members of religious faiths—have joined in the struggle. Like an abandoned boat tossed by angry waves, the U.S.-Diem regime was in danger of being overturned at any time.

All this caused grave anxiety in Washington. The United States urgently needed a scapegoat to save itself from this plight and to prevent its colonial rule in south Viet Nam from being liquidated. It blamed its failure in south Viet Nam on the Diem regime’s corruption and incompetence, and calculated that his continued rule would only accelerate the collapse of U.S. policy in south Viet Nam. In these circumstances, more and more people within the U.S. ruling circles favoured the overthrow of the Diem regime and its replacement by a new bunch of lackeys able to give better “service.” With the U.S. policy of aggression and war in south Viet Nam coming

to a dead end, the conflict between U.S. imperialism and its stooge was thus aggravated.

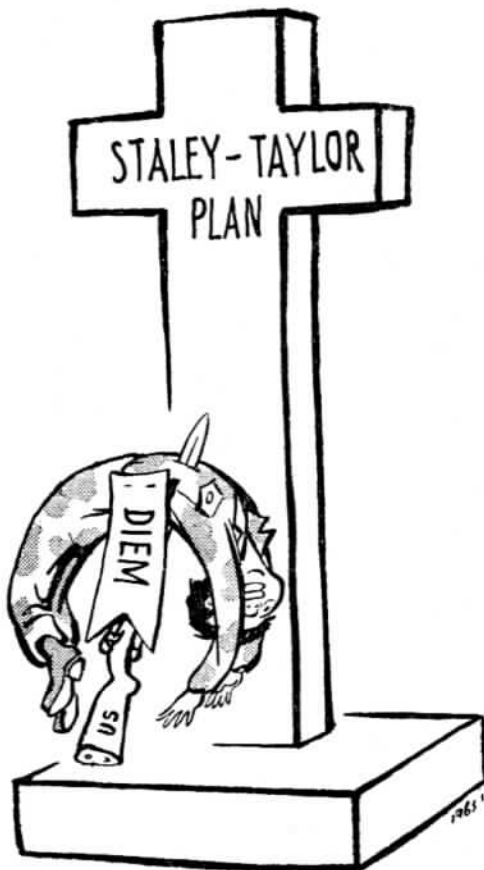
Master Turned Into Killer

The last few years saw the United States more than once attempting to mount a coup to chuck out the Diem family. There were two abortive military coups. One was in November 1960, when pro-U.S. army units laid siege to the “presidential palace,” and fighting lasted two days. The other was in February 1962, when the “presidential palace” was bombed and strafed by three or four planes of Diem’s own air force. During the 1960 abortive coup, no sooner had the insurgent troops surrounded Diem’s residence than the State Department announced that the Diem regime was apparently overthrown. However, both attempts failed. The conflict between U.S. imperialism and the Diem regime was still further widened.

The U.S.-Diem wrangle reached a climax last summer. In August, by exploiting the struggle of the Buddhists and others against the U.S.-Diem tyranny, Washington touched off an “anti-Diem” campaign. It set in motion its machinery of subversion in south Viet Nam, openly instigating army officers to throw Diem out. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency even offered them a reward of U.S.\$250,000 for doing so. The Diem regime, however, took drastic counter-measures. Trusted troops were called in to strengthen the defence of Saigon; martial law was proclaimed; cars entering and leaving the office of the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group were searched; the U.S. Embassy was watched; the office of the U.S. Information Service was surrounded; and subversive activities of the Central Intelligence Agency were exposed. In face of the Diem family’s desperate resistance this U.S.-engineered “anti-Diem” campaign failed.

The Kennedy Administration naturally did not want to take this lying down. A more cunning double-faced tactic was introduced. While feigning conciliation, the U.S. went ahead secretly with its plot for a new coup. In the wake of the “on-the-spot inspection” by U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Taylor, Washington manoeuvred to lull Diem’s vigilance by hypocritically asserting that the United States did not favour a coup and would continue to support him. Meanwhile, Washington kept pressing for “reforms.” To this end, it temporarily suspended its “aid” appropriations under the “commercial import programme.” On the pretext that the C.I.A.-paid “special forces” of south Viet Nam did not go to the front to fight, it discontinued its annual subsidy of \$3 million. Washington also let it be known that the U.S. Government was considering cutting the supply of surplus food. These measures, ostensibly calculated to press Diem to initiate certain “reforms,” were actually, as the U.S. press admitted, “a green light” for a new coup.

As a matter of fact, Washington moved even before the coup. Ten hours and more earlier, the U.S. Seventh Fleet began to sail towards south Viet Nam. Two days previously, the United States had compelled Diem to order the transfer elsewhere of his most trusted “special forces” stationed in Saigon, thus facilitating the insurgents’ attack on the “presidential palace.” The



Wreath: U.S.-Style Cartoon by Ying Tao

interesting thing is that one day before the coup, commander-in-chief of the U.S. armed forces in the Pacific Admiral Harry Felt flew to Saigon for a one-day "lightning visit." On the morning of November 1, the day of the coup, Felt and U.S. Ambassador Lodge called on Diem and had a seemingly cordial talk with him. Scarcely one hour after Felt left Saigon, the shooting started.

Inevitable Fate of U.S. Stooges

The collapse of the Diem regime was inevitable because it pursued a pro-U.S. and traitorous policy and failed in its attempted suppression of the people. The fate of this south Vietnamese traitor is deserved and his death cannot redeem his crime. What is dramatic is that his killers are none others than his American masters who were responsible for his rise to power. The situation, as the *Wall Street Journal* put it, marked "a total turn-about." The patron of yesterday becomes a mortal enemy today. Diem and his brother Nhu, who toed Washington's line for nine years, could not in the end save their skins. Their fate must inevitably send a shudder down the spines of all American stooges, big and small. No wonder that the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan hurriedly called an "emergency meeting" and expressed "regret" over the happenings in south Viet Nam, while the south Korean ruling circles shrieked that the Saigon coup posed a "challenging question."

Washington is now beside itself with joy over the success of the Saigon coup, acclaiming it as "well-organized" and lavishly praising Duong Van Minh's ability. The U.S. ruling circles hope, with the assistance of their new hirelings, to gain "greater successes" in their policy of aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam. The Kennedy Administration has announced that economic "aid" to the new puppet regime will continue, and has blatantly demanded that it make "new efforts" to suppress the south Vietnamese people. A spokesman of the U.S. high command in south Viet Nam has declared that the United States will establish a more direct and exclusive chain of command without interference from politicians and that the insurgent group will be pressed for new approaches to the war in various fields, particularly effective civil action by armed forces.

U.S. Defeat Cannot Be Averted

Cunning and malicious as these tactics are, U.S. imperialism cannot possibly save itself from defeat in south Viet Nam by installing new stooges there. Nor can these flunkys save themselves from the fate of Ngo Dinh Diem.

In the first place, the ignominious end of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique cannot cancel out the debt of blood owed by U.S. imperialism to the people of south Viet Nam. Washington has tried to make the south Vietnamese people believe that Diem was removed because he ruthlessly suppressed the Buddhists and that the United States Government is therefore their saviour. However, the overthrow of Diem shows that south Viet Nam is completely in the clutches of U.S. imperialism and that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the south Vietnamese people and is the source of their utter misery. Neither Ngo Dinh Diem nor any other puppets installed in his

place can hold on for a single day without the support of American bayonets. They are merely the tools of U.S. imperialism in enslaving and killing the south Vietnamese people. The debt of blood owed by U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam must be repaid.

Secondly, the new puppet regime, no matter how Washington decks it out, cannot fool the long suffering south Vietnamese people. The regime is hostile to the people and stubbornly clings to the anti-communist stand. It has announced that it will respect the traitorous treaties and agreements signed between the United States and Ngo Dinh Diem; it has proclaimed martial law throughout the country and banned all assemblies and demonstrations. Duong Van Minh, head of the insurgent group, declared on November 8 that co-operation between U.S. and south Vietnamese officers would be strengthened, that the "military policy" opposed by the United States would be "reconsidered." A large part of the puppet south Vietnamese troops stationed in Saigon have been moved out to wage "special warfare" for the United States. U.S. instructions on "strategic villages" plan would be carried out. These new puppets of Washington have exposed themselves for what they really are—anti-communist, anti-popular, traitorous and dictatorial. How can they hope to fool the south Vietnamese people who have had such a long experience of struggle?

Thirdly, U.S. imperialism helped Diem to power and then killed him. This, instead of removing the conflict between the American masters and their lackeys, can only arouse apprehension among all those reactionary cliques and individuals who, as the eager tools of the United States, imagine that their position can be propped up by U.S. bayonets and dollars and persistently stand opposed to the people. Who can guarantee that Duong Van Minh, Washington's new puppet in south Viet Nam, will not end up as did its old puppet Ngo Dinh Diem? The cloak and dagger tactics of U.S. imperialism will doubtless exacerbate the contradictions between masters and flunkys; they certainly cannot stabilize U.S. rule.

Fourthly, no matter what schemes and stratagems are used, U.S. imperialism cannot improve its worsening position in south Viet Nam. The U.S.-Diem clique's bloody rule has driven the south Vietnamese people to the revolutionary road of patriotic and just struggle. Under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front they have become an invincible force.

South Vietnamese People's Six Demands

At present the south Vietnamese people are facing a situation which is favourable to their struggle. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are panic-stricken, deeply in trouble and beset with contradictions. On the other hand, the south Vietnamese people are displaying a determined fighting will and stronger revolutionary power. In its statement on the Saigon coup, the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front pointed out that if the leaders of the coup stubbornly toe the U.S. line and go on betraying the people they will certainly meet with strong resistance. After the neo-colonialists

are driven out, the statement reiterated, the problem of south Viet Nam can be solved entirely by the Vietnamese people through consultation.

The South Viet Nam National Liberation Front also put forward six urgent demands for eliminating the present dangerous situation in south Viet Nam. They are: 1) complete and unconditional abolition of Ngo Dinh Diem's fascist dictatorial system; 2) realization of a genuine and broader democracy; 3) withdrawal of all U.S. troops, personnel, arms and war materials from south Viet Nam and stopping U.S. aggression and intervention; 4) implementing an independent, democratic and reasonable economic policy; 5) immediately stopping "mopping-up" operations, disruptive and military activities and 6) holding consultations among south Viet Nam's political parties about a ceasefire and other important

national questions so as to form a national union government, and following a policy of neutrality, ready to join with Cambodia and Laos in forming a neutral zone in Indo-China.

Whether the war in south Viet Nam can be stopped, its people can return to a normal life and foreign enslavement can be ended, the statement added, hinge on whether the six demands will be met. At present south Viet Nam is facing the threat of the war being further extended through intensified U.S. intervention and aggression and the crisis of U.S. imperialism using the new puppets to maintain their dictatorial rule. Will the insurgent group learn a useful lesson from Ngo Dinh Diem's downfall or will its members slither down the same road as did Diem? People are watching to see how the drama in Saigon develops.

Loyang Tractor Plant

Pioneer of China's Farm Machine-Building Industry

by CHENG TING-LI

DONGFANGHONG (The East Is Red) tractors are rolling off the assembly line of the big modern Loyang Tractor Plant in increasing numbers. The mass campaign to boost production and practise economy now in full swing at the plant has yielded excellent results. Comparative figures for the first half of this year and last show that tractor output increased by 34.2 per cent and production of parts and accessories by 53.8 per cent. Costs were down 13.4 per cent and labour productivity up 47 per cent. Production is going full steam ahead.

First Modern Tractor Plant

Located on the outskirts of the famed ancient city of Loyang in Honan Province on the middle reaches of the Yellow River, the works are China's first modern tractor plant. Their completion and commissioning four years ago in November 1959 marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of China's farm machine-building industry. Since then, the plant has turned out tens of thousands of Dongfanghong 54 h.p. crawler tractors, contributing to the technical reform of China's agriculture. As the backbone and an important technical base of China's farm machine-building industry, it is also giving effective assistance to other tractor plants now being built.

The first tractors were introduced into China in 1915. In the 34 years between then and liberation in 1949, the number increased to a mere 1,200. All these tractors were imported and by the time of liberation they were in bad shape owing to lack of parts and poor maintenance. The Chinese peasants' long-cherished dream of "ploughing without oxen" only began gradually to come true with the establishment of China's own tractor industry. Loyang-made Dongfanghong tractors now constitute the main working force of China's fleet of 100,000 tractors (in 15 h.p. units). They are spread over 29 provinces, subur-

ban areas and autonomous regions with the biggest concentrations in Heilungkiang Province which, with its vast tracts of land and relatively sparse population, needs mechanization most urgently, and in Honan Province, where the plant is located. For proper maintenance of the machines, the Loyang plant supplies the state and commune farms and tractor stations with large quantities of parts and accessories. Over 800,000 such items left Loyang in the first six months of this year.

The Loyang Tractor Plant is so well run that one can hardly believe that only a few years back its administrators and technical personnel were quite inexperienced. During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) when the plant was still under construction, many Communist Party and government workers got their assignment as future administrators of the big modern plant. The technical personnel then were either fresh college graduates or technicians transferred from other industrial enterprises; even these latter technicians lacked experience in modern large-scale machine-building. Most rank-and-file workers were young peasants from the surrounding countryside. When the plant went into operation, the average age of all its employees was 22.

Mastering Production Techniques

In the four years since, this young, inexperienced force, undaunted by the many difficulties encountered, has completely mastered the technique for mass producing tractors. Steel-smelting used to be one of the crucial problems, for crawler tractors require large quantities of cast steel parts and these have to be made from high grade steel. The chief metallurgist, other leading cadres and technicians, in close co-operation with veteran workers, made repeated experiments and eventually mastered the technique for making high quality cast steel parts in suffi-

cient quantities to meet all the plant's needs. They succeeded in doubling the service life of tractor shoes — from 2,000 to more than 4,000 hours. In a similar manner, technicians and workers successfully tackled the precision machining of high pressure oil pump parts and gears, the casting of complex iron parts and the designing and processing of precision tools. To ensure the specified performance of their tractors and the interchangeability of parts, they have similarly worked out a complete set of technological procedures based on their own experience and incorporating advanced foreign techniques where possible. All tractors are thoroughly checked before delivery. Parts, if found defective, may be replaced without charge during the first 2,500 hours of use.

In an effort to serve agriculture still better, work groups were sent to the countryside to study the actual performance of Dongfanghong tractors on the farms. In 1961-62 more than 1,000 technicians and skilled workers made these field trips. They serviced tractors in nine provinces and autonomous regions in north, northeast, northwest and central China while canvassing users' opinions. These opinions and suggestions proved most helpful in improving the quality of the machines.

A system of scientific management has been worked out at the plant with clearly defined division of labour as well as close co-ordination among all departments and personnel. In conscientiously implementing the Communist Party's policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards," the plant has further streamlined its management in the past three years. The administration of technical work, planning, production, finance, labour and raw materials supply has been reviewed and placed on a sounder foundation. The system of collective leadership by the Communist Party committee with the director of the plant assuming responsibility has been instituted and the initiative of the rank and file has been brought into full play. And the result is that tractors come off the assembly line in an even flow. This testifies to the fact that the erstwhile local Party workers have become efficient administrators of large-scale modern industry.

The Peasants Like Dongfanghong

Dongfanghong is the most popular tractor with state farm workers and people's commune members in China. Even when the Loyang plant was still being built, its products were eagerly awaited and quite a number of peasants sent their sons and daughters to work in the plant.

Their expectations have not been in vain. The Dongfanghong tractor has proved to be a versatile machine well suited to China's specific conditions. Its engine generally develops 57 horsepower — 3 h.p. above rated capacity; it consumes relatively little fuel; it is sturdy, easy to operate and maintain. A Dongfanghong tractor can plough more than 150 *mu* per day — roughly equivalent to a day's work for 40 teams of oxen and men. With the necessary implements, it can plough, hoe, sow, and harvest, and its engine can be used to drive water pumps and farm products processing machines.

The Tafanho brigade on the Sungari-Liao plain in the northeast has been using Dongfanghongs to plough 80

per cent of its land since 1961. Last year, average grain production for each able-bodied member of the brigade was 5,300 *jin*. The happy peasants attribute their success first to the policy of the Communist Party and also to the tractors.

The Hsiaomen Village on the north China plain with its saline and alkaline soil was hard hit, first by drought in 1960 and then by flood in 1961. It was in real difficulties during the 1962 spring ploughing season when two Dongfanghong tractors from a nearby state tractor station came to its aid. In three days and nights the tractors — their services paid for from a state loan — ploughed up all the village fields and also helped to reclaim a large area of wasteland. That year the villagers harvested 60,000 *jin* more than in 1961 and 18 per cent more than in the peak year of 1957.

A Technical Base

The Loyang Tractor Plant has done more than consistently fulfil its state plan for tractor production; it has become a technical base for China's growing tractor industry, giving systematic aid to other tractor plants in the country.

In the past few years, it has trained 7,600 skilled workers for, and given technical assistance to, tractor plants and farm machinery factories in northeast, east and north China. With other organizations it is helping to design a new north China tractor plant comparable in size to itself.

The successful development of the Loyang plant marks the beginning of a new stage in China's tractor industry — that of independently designing and building tractor plants and producing tractors, all by Chinese personnel themselves. In this the experience accumulated by The Loyang plant plays an invaluable role.

Nationwide Support

The Loyang plant has also received help from all over the country. This has been especially true following the announcement by the Communist Party in September 1962 of the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry the leading factor. All factories give top priority to orders from Loyang as part of the national effort.

More than 130 factories in all parts of the country have supplied equipment to the Loyang Tractor Plant. Hundreds of factories are today providing it with metals, auxiliary materials and parts. Last year, under the auspices of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, a dozen steel mills jointly sent special groups to Loyang to study the specifications of the forgings and rolled stock needed for tractor building. Four years ago when the plant went into production, it had to depend on imports for quite a number of metals. Today, thanks to efforts made by the steel mills, by far the greatest part of the plant's need for metals is met from within the country.

The Dongfanghong tractor is the pride of the Chinese people, and particularly of the 500 million peasants. In it they see the steady progress of China's farm machine-building industry.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. Imperialism

Worldwide War Preparations

When the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty was signed three months ago, this column pointed out that U.S. imperialism had not relaxed its war preparations and world tension had not been eased because of the nuclear fraud. Further events have confirmed this analysis:

—The Nevada underground nuclear tests are continuing. On November 15 there was another bang, the 11th such explosion since the Moscow treaty on August 5. What's more, Kennedy has asked for additional funds to enlarge the Nevada test site.

—Pushing ahead its "multilateral nuclear force" scheme, Washington is sending additional nuclear-carrying missiles and other new weapons to Western Europe and the Pacific. The nuclear-tipped, solid-fuelled Sergeants have already arrived in Europe, while Pershings which have a still longer range are due there early in 1964. Next year, too, Polaris submarines will be cruising in the Pacific in force. Also, the Kennedy Administration has browbeaten Ottawa into agreeing to store U.S. nuclear warheads on Canadian soil.

—Washington has set up a new "Middle East-Africa-South Asia Command" to handle "brush fire emergencies" in the Middle East, Southern Asia including India and Pakistan and Africa south of the Sahara. It embraces all U.S. forces in these areas as well as the U.S. naval units in the Red Sea.

—To keep its aggressive troops "in fighting trim," Washington has time and again flexed its muscles in war games around the world. Besides the joint air exercise in India, there have been the big airlift and military manoeuvres in West Germany, the joint U.S.-Chiang paratroop exercises in the Taiwan Straits, war games in south Korea and the CENTO maritime exercise.

In a speech on November 15, Kennedy himself boasted about the war-mongering feats of his Administration: "We have doubled the number of nuclear weapons available in our strategic alert forces and increased by 45

per cent the number of combat-ready army divisions. We increased by nearly 600 per cent our special counter-insurgency forces, increased by 175 per cent our procurement of airlift aircraft, and nearly doubled our Polaris and Minuteman missile programmes."

These are hard facts. It would be a good thing if those who still live in a fool's paradise and prattle about Kennedy's "peaceful" intentions would wake up and take a hard look at the real world around them.

U.S.-Soviet Relations

Barghoorn — and the Backdown

Professor Barghoorn who was arrested by the Soviet security police for his extramural activities as a James Bond boy of the Kennedy Administration has been released. So ended a melodrama which in mid-November threatened to sweep away the euphoria which the Soviet leaders have assiduously been trying to establish between the Kremlin and the White House. The Yale professor, according to TASS, had been spying for the United States. "Investigations confirmed that he had been engaged in intelligence activities against the U.S.S.R. Thus the Soviet organs had every ground to put F.C. "Barghoorn on trial." But in view of the concern of high U.S. officials over Barghoorn's fate, TASS explained, the Soviet Government decided merely to expel him.

Barghoorn was picked at the end of October. On November 12 the Soviet authorities notified the U.S. Embassy in Moscow of his arrest. American officials bluffed and blustered, lodging seven protests with the Soviet Government in a matter of days and threatening that unless Barghoorn was set free U.S.-Soviet relations would be "seriously" impaired. President Kennedy himself took a strong line and expressed "personal concern" at his press conference on November 14. The following day the Soviet Government climbed down, announcing the release of this American spy. And on November 16 Barghoorn was flown out of the country, to the "gratification" of the American President. The speed with which the Soviet

Government acted in the case is recognized in the West as due to Khrushchov's fears that American displeasure over *Affaire Barghoorn* might wreck his efforts to reach an understanding with that country.

To help the Soviet leaders come to this conclusion, the U.S. backed up talk with action. A meeting especially organized in Moscow on November 15 to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, with Nina Khrushchova, Vice-President of the Institute of Soviet-American Relations, and Vice-Foreign Minister Zorin participating, was boycotted by all members of the U.S. Embassy. The 25 seats reserved for the guests of honour remained "conspicuously" unoccupied, said UPI, and the whole affair was over in less than an hour. Then there was the snub administered to the Soviet delegation led by Blokhin, President of the Institute of Soviet-American Relations. The inhospitable Americans cut the delegation cold from the moment of its arrival in the United States which had been timed to coincide with the anniversary of the establishment of Soviet-American diplomatic relations. Nor was this all. Washington is studiously delaying the dispatch of a delegation to Moscow to negotiate a renewal of the Soviet-American cultural agreement.

On this 30th anniversary the Soviet leaders had gone out of their way to demonstrate their fellowship with the America of Kennedy. Soviet publishing houses put out commemorative monographs advocating Soviet-American co-operation in the anti-China campaign and settlement of international issues by the "two giants." Yet, because of one little spy, official Washington chose to spurn these precious efforts to foster Soviet-American accord. The appeasers are finding Kennedy hard to please. The more they give, the more he wants.

Cambodia

Some Pertinent Questions

While the "free Khmer" traitors headed by Son Ngoc Thanh and Sam Sary plot in neighbouring south Viet Nam and Thailand, their masters' master, U.S. imperialism, hides behind Saigon and Bangkok, trying to plead innocence. To expose this nauseating intrigue, Prince Si-

hanouk posed a few pertinent questions to Washington. He did so in a public speech the day after his country celebrated the 10th anniversary of its complete independence.

"How can one fail to see the cause and effect between the numerous attacks on our neutrality and the existence of an active and interested patronage by certain circles of the free world?" asked the Prince.

"How can one explain Sam Sary's escape to Saigon if hospitality and help were not given to the fugitive by the embassy of a country of the free world?"

"Could the extraordinarily powerful bomb which blew up the massive reinforced concrete slab in the Hall of the Throne in the Royal Palace be manufactured in Cambodia or south Viet Nam by ordinary methods?"

"Could Diem, Sarit and their ilk be able to engage Dap Chhuon [accomplice of Son Ngoc Thanh and Sam Sary] in treason by offering him gold ingots in cases so heavy that five or six persons could not carry them — ingots which bear the marks of a London bank?"

"Have they themselves the means to buy over Son Ngoc Thanh, Sam Sary and the like and engage them in treason, and for years provide them with funds needed for their subversive activities and the setting up of their mercenary army?"

"Would not Saigon and Bangkok, which owe their survival to American assistance, comply if they were ordered by those providing them with funds to break off relations with the 'free Khmers'?"

"We don't any longer," concluded Prince Sihanouk, "want to have somebody giving us food with one hand and stabbing us with the other."

The day after this bombshell, the Cambodian National Assembly unanimously passed a resolution warning the imperialists that they must cease their anti-Cambodian propaganda and constant menace of the country's independence and neutrality. It backed up Sihanouk's decision to nationalize Cambodia's import and export trade beginning from January 1, 1964, and private banks beginning July 1, 1964, with the following statement: "Political independence can only be developed and consolidated through increasing production and by protecting national trade."

Africa

Militant Journalism

Journalists are fighters. There must be the closest collaboration between the press and the cause of freedom in Africa. Journalists will give the fullest support to the national-liberation movements on the continent. This is the message of the African Journalists Conference just concluded in Accra. More than 160 delegates from 36 countries attended the meeting convened by the Pan-African Journalists Union.

A resolution on basic objectives declares:

*The African press must regard wars of liberation as real wars and must find means to penetrate into areas where the fight is hottest, reporting news like war correspondents.

*There is no short-cut for Africa's revolution. The profits of colonialism are still too large for the imperialists to give them up without a struggle.

*The NATO powers, particularly the U.S., threaten African independence. U.S. agents pretend to show sympathy for the peoples groaning under colonialism, but as the Congo experience shows, U.S. imperialism is a great danger and constant vigilance is required.

*"A 'non-political' attitude is often the greatest menace to our progress. This 'non-political' attitude is nothing more nor less than imperialist politics with which our universities, civil service and intellectual workers have been seduced away from our revolution."

A separate resolution on imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism condemns the maintaining of military bases by foreign countries in African states; it warns against neo-colonialism in the guise of economic and technical aid, and through the agency of non-African countries which are tools of international imperialism.

Argentina

Oil Consortium's Big Squeeze

No one who has had any experience with Washington need be surprised by its current bullying tactics vis-a-vis Argentina. Following the principle that what's good for the monopolies is good for the United States and what's good for the United States

is good for the world, the Kennedy Administration has exerted crude pressure on Buenos Aires to stop it from scrapping the malodorous oil contracts forced on Argentina during yesman Frondizi's rule.

The Argentine people have long demanded the annulment of the traitorous oil agreements under which an international consortium (11 American monopolies, one British and one Italian) grabbed their country's best oil deposits — 15 million hectares — charged exorbitant prices for the oil produced and refused to pay any tax. The bonanza brought them \$376 million in profits on a \$211 million investment, but it ruined Argentina's national oil industry and impoverished the country still further. This is why, along with the International Monetary Fund-imposed financial policies which played havoc with Argentina's economy, the oil agreements were the chief targets of public criticism during the recent presidential elections — criticism in which President Illia joined and about which he promised to do something effective once he took office.

Under public pressure the Illia Administration has done the least any self-respecting government could be expected to do to uphold its national sovereignty and interests. Its decrees affect only the agreements with the consortium and not the earlier Standard Oil and the Royal Dutch Shell leases. Illia himself has stressed that he has no intention of expelling the foreign oil firms which would be compensated. Still, Washington's answer to all these half-way measures has throughout been a loud no. It promptly dispatched millionaire-cum-diplomat Harriman to tell Illia unceremoniously that "discrimination against private U.S. capital" would make it impossible to "arrange the emergency aid under the Alliance for Progress programme." Earlier the U.S. Senate rushed through a Hickenlooper amendment calling for suspension of all financial aid to countries which annul contracts with U.S. companies. Kennedy himself joined in the browbeating when he declared on November 14 that "if action is taken there will be adequate machinery for compensation, and fair compensation."

Brash as this arm-twisting may be, it is not the worst Illia will have to endure from Kennedy.

MEDICAL WORLD

Artificial Hands for Fisherman's Boy

Successes in difficult cases have not been infrequent in New China's swiftly developing medical world: a high note was the recent operation which restored a Shanghai worker's completely severed hand. Now and then there is news of other cases which, although not as spectacular, are moving and extraordinary in their implications.

What happened to the 14-year-old son of a fisherman and the way in which Shanghai's medical circles and society at large combined to give him a pair of artificial hands is only one of many stirring stories.

Eight years ago on a small island off the coast of Chekiang Province six-year-old Lien Chin-fa came upon a land mine which had been left behind and buried by fleeing Kuomintang troops on their way to Taiwan at the time of liberation. It exploded, blowing off both his hands.

The tragedy of the small boy took place in 1955. Grown solemn and moody beyond his years, Lien Chin-fa would sit in front of his door watching other children at play. It was on one of these occasions that the vice-head of the local fishermen's co-op, a Communist, found him and succeeded in sowing the seeds of life

and hope back into his heart. "Why, I've heard of dozens of cases of heroic P.L.A. uncles who lost their hands but learnt to write and to operate machines," he told Lien Chin-fa.

Four years later the boy, now 10, enrolled in primary school. Long days of practice had enabled him to write with his wrists, at what cost in pain and perseverance only he himself knew.

At school, Lien Chin-fa was given every care and extra coaching; he was told stories of revolutionary heroes to encourage him to overcome his handicap. Gradually he rose to the top of his class and did well in sports and labour. He developed a variety of interests including doing intricate papercuts and making toys and models of machines. For his excellent marks and all-round good conduct, Lien Chin-fa was selected honour student every year and elected head of the school's Young Pioneers.

On the morning of June 1, Children's Day this year, Dr. Chang Ti-sheng, Director of the Plastic Surgery Department of the Shanghai Guangci Hospital, stopped short as he scanned his daily paper. He drew out a sheet of letter paper and wrote to the editors of the *Jiefang Ribao*: "The hospital will be most happy to try to do something for the plucky little boy. . . ." That same morning at another hospital, the Shanghai No. 1 People's Hospital, the same news about Lien Chin-fa was noted. Personnel

of the artificial limbs research department were soon heatedly discussing how best they could help. That morning, too, a plant specializing in making artificial limbs received a telephone call. "Have you read the papers? You ought to do something for the boy," said an unknown voice at the other end. Another warm-hearted citizen followed this up with a letter: "Can you not do something?"

This was only some of the immediate response to the news report about Lien Chin-fa and his progress in school. In all 6,000 letters reached him from all parts of the country.

Lien Chin-fa arrived in Shanghai. By late October he had been outfitted with a new pair of light, flexible aluminium-coated hands made out of plastic and steel—expense-free. He is already using them to write, eat, hold weights up to 5 kgs., and learning to do more difficult tasks such as striking a match or reaching into his pockets to get things.

CULTURE

After-Harvest Fun

On the fertile western plains of Szechuan Province—China's "Rice Bowl"—commune peasants are all out to celebrate a good autumn harvest for the second year running. Hundreds of mobile cinema teams, opera and drama companies, song and dance ensembles, acrobatic troupes, and groups of ballad singers and local entertainers are now touring the villages there.

Practically every township in western Szechuan has a spacious old temple with an open-air stage where performances were given on major holidays or religious occasions before liberation. But attendance was more of a pain than a pleasure then, as local officials and landlords always used these shows as an excuse to impose some new tax or other upon the peasants. These temples have now been turned into



Lien Chin-fa (centre) doing homework with his wrists



Writing with his new artificial hand

village cultural centres, and admission to their frequent shows costs at most 10 fen. The temple stages are used by local amateur talent as well as by professionals.

The people's communes' recreational clubs have been most active here this autumn. The Hexing People's Commune in Kwanghan County has increased its club membership to over 200 since the autumn harvest, drawing in teenagers as well as sexagenarians. One of their recent shows had a dozen song and dance numbers, one-act plays and other items based on local events and composed by the peasants themselves. The Taixing People's Commune amateur song and dance troupe often takes its shows right into the fields, where it has recruited quite a few new members.

Art exhibitions, ball games, chess contests, and folk instrumental concerts are no less flourishing. A recent flute concert in the Wenchiang County seat had old and young players coming in from miles around. And an art exhibition of over 100 works by local peasant-artists as well as famous visiting artists drew record crowds in Kwanghan County town.

Fans of Szechuan opera — there is no lack of them here — are not satisfied with being mere spectators. Everybody and anybody can join in the impromptu free-for-all Szechuan opera performances. The sound of the opening drums and cymbals at the local teahouse after work is the signal for a packed house, and the teahouses, scattered throughout the plains, become warm and glowing centres of popular entertainment after dark.

ACROBATICS

Shanghai Acrobats in Djakarta

The Chinese Acrobatics Troupe from Shanghai is having the double pleasure of watching the GANEFO in Djakarta while performing for audiences there.

From the spool-like Chinese toy, the diabolo, which climbs a 30-foot vertical string under its own power, to the girl who bends herself without ruffling a hair until her head — with 10 fragile porcelain bowls balanced on it — is between her legs, the programme has never a dull moment.

The Shanghai troupe has taken some of the nation's finest artistes on the tour as well as a 12-man Chinese-style band. Sun Tai the mimic does not merely reproduce the sounds of nature and work; he turns each into a little drama of its own: the deafening wail of the cicada at the moment of capture, its silence as it feigns death, and its sudden triumphant cry as it escapes to freedom; the steady, singing hum of the saw as it fells a giant tree; and, of course, the chug and drone of industrial life in socialist China. After 40 years on the stage, the master mimic is not only China's foremost artist in this field but also a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of Shanghai and of the Chinese Dramatists' Union.

It is on record that in 108 B.C. rope-walking was already a favourite fair-ground show. Charming 20-year-old Yang Huei-fang shows this age-old art has been brought up-to-date. Light and graceful, she skips, romps, dances and tumbles on the single taut wire, climaxing with a backward handspring somersault of great difficulty and beauty. Lanky Chang Lien-huei astounds audiences with the help of a 3-foot-high wooden keg open at both ends and only one foot in diameter. Whether he plunges into the mouth of the keg head first or with himself folded into two, he always emerges blithely from the other end of the seemingly impassable keg. It is not hard to understand the popularity of the young performer in his recent tour in Japan.

In these and other feats of juggling, tumbling, gymnastics or conjuring, the Shanghai troupe gives one a good idea of new developments in this country. Great efforts are being made to enrich and perfect the art in all its aspects. Not least among them has been the modernizing of traditional numbers first known 2,000 years ago, some of which were once lost, and the creation of new ones from them. The 500 or so acrobatic troupes in the country are always exchanging new ideas and techniques. Only this summer the Shanghai troupe met three other top-notch companies in Peking for demonstrations and discussions. New numbers are presented for approval and criticism to their best and most numerous judges — the factory workers, commune peasants and P.L.A. men — on whose stages the troupes regularly appear. In frequent trips



Papercut by Shen Pei-nung

abroad the Chinese troupes not only exchange goodwill with artists of other countries but also learn new routines for their shows.

While bringing the GANEFO the best wishes of 650 million people for its success, the Shanghai troupe has also brought Indonesian friends a little of the national art of New China.

EXHIBITION

Educational Exhibition

Lucky young people who have been brought up in new, modern, industrialized Shanghai can hardly understand what imperialism, class oppression and class exploitation really meant to their elders. An exhibition, sponsored by the Shanghai Workers' Cultural Palace, on the sufferings of the Shanghai working people from the Opium War in 1840 to the city's liberation in May 1949 gives them a substantial lesson on this. The slaughter of Shanghai working people by foreign imperialists and domestic rulers during strikes, big unemployment caused by the closing down of large numbers of Chinese factories owing to U.S. dumping after World War II, leather-covered iron rods used by foreign foremen to beat Chinese workers for the slightest offence, the tattered rags the textile women workers used to wear, dismissal notices, child labourers' long working hours, . . . all this and more is seen through a host of photographs and exhibits or explained by old worker-guides at the exhibition. More than 2 million people have visited it since it opened.

WORLD-CLASS GOLD CUP



SOCCER BALLS



BASKETBALLS



VOLLEYBALLS



WATER-POLO BALLS

GOLD CUP 18-panel laceless sports balls are individually hand-sewn from finest cowhide

We also make leather balls of other types and sizes to order

GOLD CUP—the international choice for competitions

For trade particulars:

CHINA NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS IMPORT & EXPORT CORP.

172 Liaoning Road, Tientsin, China

Tientsin Branch

Cable Address: "INDUSTRY" Tientsin

北京周报第四十七期(一九六三年十一月二十二日出版)由政代号二一九二二