

# PEKING REVIEW

22

May 28, 1965

## Chairman Mao Greet 45th Anniversary of Indonesian C.P.

(p. 6).

## For Succeeding Generations of Staunch Revolutionaries

by Soong Ching Ling

(p. 7).

## "Temporary Suspension" of Bombing— A Form of U.S. War Blackmail

Chinese Foreign Ministry statement (p. 10).

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*Storm Brewing in Latin America*

## **A GREAT VICTORY FOR LENINISM**

—In Commemoration of the 95th Anniversary of the Birth of Lenin

The text of an editorial published in "Hongqi" (Red Flag), No. 4, 1965, commemorating the birth of V.I. Lenin — the great teacher of the proletarian revolution. It deals with three questions: the nature of imperialism, so-called "peaceful coexistence," and the national-liberation movement.

20 pages

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## **The Historical Experience of the War Against Fascism**

by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao"

This article, written by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao" and published on May 9, 1965, commemorates the 20th anniversary of victory in the war against fascism.

32 pages

18.5 × 13 cm.

paper cover

## **Commemorate the Victory Over German Fascism! Carry the Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism Through to the End!**

Published in "Hongqi" No. 5, 1965, this article, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the victory over German fascism, was written by Lo Jui-ching, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

May 28, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 22

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in a message to the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, warmly congratulated the Indonesian Communist Party on its 45th anniversary.

The Chinese Communist Party delegation led by Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, arrived in Djakarta to attend the anniversary celebrations.

• Premier Chou En-lai, in his May 20 telegram to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, praised the Cambodian people's heroic spirit in despising U.S. imperialism and pledged firm support for their anti-U.S. struggle.

• The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement on May 21 denouncing the Johnson Administration's "temporary suspension of air attacks" against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as another form of war blackmail.

• Premier Chou En-lai has accepted President Julius Nyerere's invitation to visit Tanzania early next month.

• In a note to the Indian Embassy in Peking on May 17, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs categorically rejected India's protests and refuted Indian slanders in connection with the signing of the China-Pakistan boundary protocol.

• The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress has decided to abolish the system of military rank in the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

• The Chinese press published:  
— the text of the resolution "Modern Revisionism Is Still the Main Danger in the International Communist Movement" adopted at the fourth plenary session (enlarged) of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party.

— extracts from the resolution "The Domestic Situation in Brazil and the Tasks of the Communist Party of Brazil" adopted last August by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil.

### Chinese C.P. and N.P.C. Delegations in Djakarta

The Chinese Communist Party delegation attending the 45th anniversary celebrations of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party arrived in Djakarta on May 21. Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee, led the delegation.

Peng Chen, who is a Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, also headed an N.P.C. delegation invited

by D.N. Aidit, Vice-Chairman of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress of Indonesia, to pay a friendship visit to Indonesia.

On May 23, with Indonesian President Sukarno present, the Chinese Party delegation took part in a mammoth rally attended by 100,000 people at Djakarta's Bung Karno Stadium to celebrate the anniversary.

On May 25, when the Chinese Party delegation visited the "Aliar-cham" Social Science Academy, Peng Chen gave a speech to the teachers and students. He was warmly ap-

plauded by everyone present, including leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party.

### **System of Rank in P.L.A. Abolished**

A decision to abolish the system of military rank in the Chinese People's Liberation Army was made by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on May 22. Chairman Liu Shao-chi issued an order promulgating this decision the same day.

New hat and collar insignia and some changes in the P.L.A. uniform—all identical for the three services and for officers and men—were decided on by the State Council. These changes have been made to give full expression to the revolutionary spirit and glorious tradition of the P.L.A.—a great army led by the Chinese Communist Party and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Hailing the N.P.C. decision as an important measure promoting the revolutionization of our army, *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) said in its May 25 editorial that "it has the enthusiastic support of all the commanders and fighters of the P.L.A." Recalling that the P.L.A. had no system of rank during the protracted revolutionary wars and that this system came into effect in 1955, the editorial said: "Ten years of practice has proved that it is not in conformity with our army's glorious tradition or with the close relations that exist between the officers and men, between the higher and lower levels and between the army and the people. Most fundamental in the building of our army is, taking Mao Tse-tung's thinking as the guide, to strengthen the political and ideological work, raise the class consciousness of all the commanders and fighters, foster a good style of work, enhance the military quality of the armed forces, thereby making our army still more proletarian and militant. The abolition of the rank system, therefore, is completely correct and necessary."

The editorial went on to say that the new decision would also promote the revolutionization of the ideology

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## **Premier Chou's Message to Prince Sihanouk**

— Pledges Support for Cambodia's Anti-U.S. Struggle —

"I read with admiration Your Royal Highness' speech of May 17 opening the Second Session of the National Assembly and the Royal Council of Cambodia. This was a just and stirring speech. It penetratingly exposed the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and demonstrated the heroic spirit of the Cambodian people who despise U.S. imperialism and their determination to carry through the struggle against U.S. imperialism to the end." These words were contained in a telegraphed message from Premier Chou En-lai to Prince Sihanouk on May 20. The message pledged that if U.S. imperialism should dare to spread the flames of its aggressive war to the peace-loving Kingdom of Cambodia, the Chinese people would absolutely not stand idly by.

Premier Chou expressed the Chinese people's indignation against the vicious American attacks on Cambodia. Praising the resolute action taken by Prince Sihanouk in breaking off diplomatic relations with the United States, he said: "This bold decision has dampened the arrogance of the U.S. imperialist aggressor and upheld the sovereignty and national dignity of the Kingdom of Cambodia; it has won widespread praise and admiration throughout the world. The Chinese Government and people firmly support this just action of the Kingdom of Cambodia."

Premier Chou noted that U.S. control, interference, subversion and

aggression everywhere in the world had enraged the people of all countries and compelled them to unite and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against their common enemy. However, he said, "some people claim that they oppose U.S. imperialism, but they dare not wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it and, instead, are trying by all means to reach a compromise with it. Your Royal Highness has rightly said that 'it is impossible to defeat imperialism' by such a course of action. As a matter of fact, these people cannot genuinely join the anti-imperialist ranks."

Referring to the United Nations which had become a tool of U.S. imperialism, Premier Chou declared that it must be thoroughly reorganized. The Premier also expressed agreement with Prince Sihanouk's proposal that the U.N. headquarters be moved from the United States to Geneva so as to free U.N. members from U.S. racist discrimination and insults.

Stressing that China and Cambodia are close neighbours and that the people of the two countries have always closely co-operated and supported each other in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, Premier Chou declared: "The 650 million Chinese people will for ever be loyal comrades-in-arms of the Cambodian people in their just struggle to defend their state sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity."

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of the commanders and fighters, help everyone concerned to place himself more consciously in the position of an ordinary soldier and to give wholehearted service to the people.

### **Albanian Comrades Visit Tachai**

May 21 was a red-letter day for the peasants of Tachai, a village tucked away in the hills of eastern Shansi Province. Carrying banners and beating gongs and drums, the peasants gathered at the entrance to the

village to welcome members of the visiting Albanian government economic delegation headed by Spiro Koleka, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Koco Theodhosi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, the distinguished guests had travelled from

Peking to visit the Tachai People's Commune which, by transforming barren hills and ravines into terraced fields, had leapt into the national limelight to become an example for other communes throughout the country.

When Chen Yung-kuei, secretary of the Tachai Brigade Party branch, met Koleka and Theodhosi, he warmly embraced them like old friends. With Premier Chou and others, the guests visited an exhibition which showed how Tachai, a poor and hilly village, had been transformed into a new and prosperous one by relying on its own efforts and resources. They also called on several commune members in their homes and chatted with them.

During the visit, when passing a large tract of land abundant with growing maize seedlings, Chen Yung-kuei described how the commune members had made heroic efforts to repair the ravaged farmland when this tract was seriously damaged by an unprecedented rainfall in 1963. He also told how the members, by persisting in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work, would strive for greater achievements this year.

### **India's Anti-China Outcry Refuted**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has categorically rejected the Indian Government's so-called protests over the signing by China and Pakistan of the protocol on the demarcation of the boundary between Sinkiang and its contiguous areas, the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan. The rejection came in a May 17 note to the Indian Embassy in China in reply to notes from the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on March 10 and April 7.

In all, eight notes concerning this question have been delivered to the Chinese Government by the Indian Government in the last three years. The absurdities contained in those notes have been completely refuted by the Chinese Government.

China and Pakistan are neighbours, with China's Sinkiang bordering on areas whose defence is under actual

Pakistan control. This boundary, several hundred kilometres long, has never been previously delimited. The note declared that China and Pakistan, being sovereign states, "have every right to delimit this boundary through negotiations." It drew attention to the fact that the China-Pakistan boundary agreement explicitly provided that "after the settlement of the Kashmir question the Chinese Government will reopen negotiations on the boundary with the sovereign authorities concerned." It also pointed out that India's ceaseless attacks on China in connection with this question were not "because China has done anything wrong, but because the Indian Government has been obstinately clinging to its anti-China policy. Unwilling to settle its own boundary question with China, India has made desperate attempts to prevent others from settling boundary questions with China."

The note advised the Indian Government to abandon its policy of big-power chauvinism and expansionism, and handle India's relations with other Asian-African countries and settle its boundary disputes with neighbouring countries in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference.

### **Chinese and Vietnamese Railway Workers' Solidarity**

Chinese and Vietnamese railway workers pledged their solidarity at a meeting in Peking on May 24 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Sino-Vietnamese through traffic agreement. Vice-Premier Po I-po was present at the meeting which was addressed by Kuo Lu, Vice-Minister of Railways, and Phan Trong Tue, Minister of Communications and Transport of Viet Nam, who headed a delegation to China for the occasion.

Kuo Lu said that the signing and implementation of the Sino-Vietnamese railway agreement had added to the strength of the fraternal friendship and unity between the railway workers and had contributed greatly to the socialist construction of the two countries.

Phan Trong Tue stressed the fact that the celebration of the anniversary at the present time would contribute to strengthening the militant friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese railway workers in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism.

### **Chinese Pavilion at Paris Fair**

Crowds numbering some 100,000 flocked to the Chinese Pavilion in the first three days of the Paris Fair which opened on May 19 and is scheduled to close on May 31. Bedecked in national style, the Chinese display of 6,000 articles—the first at the Fair since the establishment of diplomatic relations with France—ranges from modern electronic equipment to traditional handicrafts and art.

Taking up an area of almost 3,300 square metres, the Chinese Pavilion is one of the largest among those of more than 30 countries participating in the 54th annual Fair which takes place in the latter half of May. Five sections make up the pavilion: heavy industry, light industry and textiles, agriculture, applied arts, and culture and publications. The central hall is devoted to exhibits of basic and mining industries, evidence of the building of an independent industrial system. Among the highlights here are various kinds of precision tools, a 200,000-power electronic microscope, a mass spectrograph and an electron static accelerator as well as other products designed and made in China.

One of the pavilion's big attractions is the excellent light industrial products and handicrafts. In addition, there are photographs of typical Chinese landscapes and the rich and varied life of the people. Music over a loudspeaker system adds to the distinctive Chinese atmosphere.

French Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs Valery Giscard d'Estaing and President of the Fair Andre Mercier visited the pavilion after the opening ceremony, while French Premier Georges Pompidou was on hand the second day, accompanied by Huang Chen, Chinese Ambassador to France and leader of the Chinese exhibition group.

# Chairman Mao Greet 45th Anniversary Of Indonesian C.P.

## Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the great Communist Party of Indonesia's celebration of the 45th anniversary of its founding, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on behalf of all its Party members and the Chinese people, extends its warmest congratulations to the glorious Communist Party of Indonesia, and through you, pays its deepest respects to the heroic Indonesian people.

The Communist Party of Indonesia is a highly creative and militant proletarian vanguard. It is the great standard-bearer of the Indonesian people's cause of national independence and social emancipation. It is a revolutionary Party closely bound up with the masses and deeply loved by the people. Faithful to Marxism-Leninism and resolutely opposed to modern revisionism, it is a staunch shock brigade of the international communist movement.

Holding aloft the banners of anti-imperialism and revolution and standing in the forefront of the struggle throughout the past 45 years, the Communist Party of Indonesia has written a glorious page in the annals of the anti-imperialist revolution of Indonesia, in the annals of revolution in the East and in the annals of the international working-class movement.

In recent years, the Communist Party of Indonesia has aroused the broad masses and united with other patriotic democratic forces to unfold the revolutionary struggle to smash "Malaysia," the neo-colonialist creation which the U.S. and British imperialists have jointly concocted, and to give their firm support to the courageous action of President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government in withdrawing from the U.S. imperialist-controlled United Nations and in striking at the imperialist economic forces in Indonesia. The Communist Party of Indonesia and the Indonesian people have always supported the just and patriotic anti-imperialist struggle waged by the people of the world. Still more recently, a momentous campaign to aid Viet Nam in resisting U.S. aggression has been launched. The anti-imperialist struggle of the Indonesian people is an important component part of the common struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has always been faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian in-

ternationalism; it has resolutely combated modern revisionism, the main danger in the international communist movement, and at the same time waged an uncompromising struggle against modern dogmatism. It has made outstanding contributions to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to the upholding of the principles of independence and equality in the relations among fraternal Parties and to the safeguarding of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia headed by Comrade D.N. Aidit has skillfully and creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism in the light of the revolutionary practice of its own country; it has Indonesianized Marxism-Leninism with outstanding success, independently worked out its revolutionary line and policies which conform to the basic interests of the Indonesian people, and led Indonesia's revolutionary struggle from victory to victory.

The Communist Party of China is very proud to have such a close and staunch comrade-in-arms as the Communist Party of Indonesia. The revolutionary unity between our two Parties and the militant friendship between our two peoples have been tempered in the furnace of the struggle against our common enemy and have stood severe tests; no force on earth can destroy them. This friendship and this unity are bound to grow stronger and develop all the time. We shall firmly stand together with you in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism, fight side by side and advance shoulder to shoulder.

We are deeply convinced that the Communist Party of Indonesia will further enhance its fighting capacity, consolidate and expand the national democratic united front based on the worker-peasant alliance, unite all the progressive patriotic forces and lead the national-democratic revolution of the Indonesian people to a new upsurge and new victories. A completely independent, democratic, prosperous and advanced Indonesia is sure to arise, standing proud and erect in the world.

Long live the glorious, great and heroic Communist Party of Indonesia!

**MAO TSE-TUNG, Chairman of  
the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of China**

May 20, 1965

# For Succeeding Generations of Staunch Revolutionaries

by SOONG CHING LING

**T**HE scene was the Darhan Plateau in Inner Mongolia. The time: February 9, 1964. A raging snowstorm suddenly assails the area. Two sisters, Lung-mei and Yu-yung, eleven and nine, heedless of their own safety, fight the storm and protect a flock of sheep in their care. A day and night later they are found, half-frozen, but proud to turn over their charges unharmed.

The heroic feat of Lung-mei and Yu-yung in putting collective interests above their own won praise all over the country. They were given the name "Heroic Sisters of the Grasslands." In China today this is but one story out of hundreds that might be cited, reflecting the new image of our children. Born into a land of heroes, they are from birth the recipients of meticulous care from the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government. During their early years society and parents together guide their growth and behaviour, enabling them to mature into a new generation with purpose and resolution. "Study diligently and improve rapidly." Keeping these words of Chairman Mao Tse-tung always in mind, Chinese children set out consciously to become revolutionary fighters who can weather wind and storm and take up any responsibility life gives them.

## To Carry the Revolution to the End

It was under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao that the Chinese people achieved liberation and founded the People's Republic after undergoing innumerable hardships and struggles while throwing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism off their backs. As Chairman Mao said then: "To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li." A still longer path beset with even greater difficulties awaited us and stretches out ahead of us today as we accomplish our socialist revolution, carry out socialist construction and build our country anew. Part and parcel of socialist revolution and socialist construction is the rearing and educating of our children. So that they can take up the revolutionary cause and preserve the fruits of socialism, we must equip the children mentally and physically to meet the trials they will face. Only if we do this can we guarantee that the road back to capitalism will be barred in our country, and the succeeding five or ten generations will have the revolutionary thinking and spirit to take China forward into communism.

It is unimaginable to think that after our working people made such sacrifices to win power we should fritter it away just by neglecting to educate the succeeding generations in what it took to obtain that victory. To think only of their present happiness, of exposing them only to the "peaceful sunshine" and "clear blue skies" would be wrong and doing an injustice to their future well-being. It would be laying down a carpet for the restoration of all the ills of the old society. It would be revisionist in conception and bring untold harm and misery to these young people as they grew into adulthood. It is not that we do not want peaceful sunshine and clear blue skies for our children, but the objective fact is that these are until now obscured by the black clouds conjured up by the imperialists and reactionaries around the world. The simple conclusion one must reach upon seeing the reality of life is that it is absolutely necessary to teach our children to recognize the dangers present, stand on their own feet and drive those black clouds away.

## Proletarian Class Education

The education of children has a class nature. The modern revisionists say: "The hearts of women are the same the world over," and "all mothers think the same things." Given closer analysis we can see this is totally wrong! In societies where classes and class struggles still exist, mothers from different classes view their children differently. A revolutionary mother wishes her children to be fighters who give everything to the people's cause. The wife of an ordinary herdsman from the grasslands of Inner Mongolia, for instance, wishes to see her children follow the teachings of Chairman Mao, love the people's commune and fight fearlessly for the collective good. On the other hand, the wife of a landlord will take her children to the fields, pointing out to them those which had belonged to their family before they were distributed in the land reform, engendering feelings of revenge and class hatred.

How is it possible to imply that mothers' thoughts do not reflect their class backgrounds? We know very well that although those who in the old society held the means of production privately have now lost them, still their ways of living and their world outlook continue to exert an influence. Their never-dying hope is that through these they can recover their power and re-

turn to living on the labour of others. Every class nurtures its young with its own class education. What we have to be vigilant against is the exploiting classes trying to get the opportunity to poison the minds of our young, into whose hands we will place the sacred banner of revolution and the interests of our country and people.

### Following Lei Feng's Example

The working people must educate their children from the standpoint of the working class. Our young people must be able to see all things and events from a class point of view, so that on their own they can determine what to love and what to hate, to use a revolutionary outlook and fighting spirit in protecting and advancing the interests of the people. At this moment our youths, and even the very young, know the life of Lei Feng and understand the meaning of that life. Their desire is to learn from "Uncle Lei Feng." This is class education. Lei Feng came from the working people and his whole life was dedicated to them.

Our children know that before the liberation Lei Feng was born into a poor peasant family. His father died of ill treatment at the hands of the Kuomintang and the Japanese aggressors. The following year saw the death of both his older and younger brothers, the former a tuberculous child labourer in a factory. His mother finally committed suicide under unbearable emotional stress. Lei Feng was only seven years old then, but he had to earn his own living cutting firewood in the hills. His hand bore three thick scars, which a landlord's wife inflicted by using a cutlass on him when she found him on her land. Lei Feng was only nine years old when the liberation came. He was given medical care and clothing by the People's Government. These were the first decent clothes he had ever worn! Despite his few years, his experiences had been so harsh he understood the changes that had taken place around him. During land reform he took part in the struggle against the landlord, airing his grievances and sharing the fruits when the landlord's ill-begotten wealth was distributed among the poor. He was then helped to enter school. Later, a passage was found in Lei Feng's diary which reads: "I was saved at the cost of the lives and blood of my revolutionary forerunners. The great Communist Party and Chairman Mao saved me! I will always listen to the Party. The past will always remain imprinted on my mind. I am determined to dedicate myself to the communist cause for the rest of my life!"

Lei Feng became a great class fighter under the guidance of the Party. Children all over the country are studying his clearcut stand in the class struggle, his communist style of self-sacrifice and his spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people of China and the world. Influenced by Lei Feng's example, countless good deeds are performed by the youngsters.

Wang Chin-chu, a Young Pioneer of Tatung, Shansi Province, rescued a four-year-old child from

the path of a swiftly moving train. He refused any praise for what he had done, saying: "It was my duty to save the child. If a person must be rewarded for doing something, it means he is not really helping others." Later, when the Youth League of the Peking Railway Administration awarded young Wang with a testimonial and prize, he maintained his opinion, quoting Lei Feng: "Honour stems from the collective. Thus, the honour should be conferred upon the collective." In this spirit he turned everything over to his Young Pioneer group. Since hearing about Lei Feng two years ago, Wang has devoted himself to duplicating Lei Feng in every possible way in his daily life, always giving preference to the collective interest. He told others: "Uncle Lei Feng was a grown-up while I am a child. The things we did may differ in importance, but the idea of serving the people is one and the same. I act this way when I am young so that when I grow up I will be able to serve the people as Uncle Lei Feng did."

Here is another example: Two Shanghai children found a deposit receipt on the floor of a branch of the People's Bank. They handed it to the bank clerk and then went about their business. The bank was able to locate the owner of the deposit receipt but when he wanted to express his thanks the children could not be found. Inquiries were made in the primary schools of the district, but the only reply was: "These days all the children are learning from Lei Feng, and such cases come up constantly. No one makes known a good deed he has done, so we are unable to help you find these two children!"

### Parts of a Great Whole

This demonstrates how deep the class education of our children goes into their consciousness. They strive to become, as Lei Feng put it, a "stainless screw." The more of this kind of "screw" we have, the faster the locomotive of revolution will spur ahead, and the firmer will be the foundations of that revolution. There are some who ridicule this comparison of human beings to a screw. We should see this for what it is: the modern revisionists slandering the revolutionary people. In reality, it is judging life with the bourgeois world outlook, which fears more than anything else the conception of collective efforts and collective interests and above all, collective ownership of the means of production. We cannot but remark that the very direction from which such laughter comes is the scene of youth and children being corrupted by the worst aspects of the so-called American way of life and by revisionist thinking. Immediate material gains and personal pleasure takes precedence over everything else, with the result that moral degradation sets in. Compared with our "stainless screw," such young people are in danger of becoming scrap iron! But it is not the children who are to be blamed. It is the adults who open this road to them by revisionist thinking, instead of tempering the young people into the finest steel, which can be of use no



matter where it is used, and which remains stainless no matter to what tests it is put.

### **Love of Labour and Labouring People**

The objective of the educational policy of the Chinese Communist Party is to produce labourers with knowledge and socialist consciousness. This is directly opposite to the bourgeoisie's educational tenets. Their end result is to set knowledge against labour. Those lucky enough to get an education only study. By studying thus, they are transformed into intellectuals, and thereafter they no longer take part in physical labour. The purpose is to cultivate a group of mental aristocrats, who then stand on the heads of the labouring people, monopolizing culture and knowledge so as to serve the politics of the bourgeoisie. But our objective is to prepare the conditions for the construction of communism, and to do this knowledge and labour must be synthesized, the labouring people must be intellectualized and the intellectuals must be made workers with a high degree of proletarian thinking. Only with the development of this kind of new people can the demarcation between mental and physical labour be gradually erased. And it is with this in mind that we in China teach our children from the earliest stages of education to love labour and the labouring people, and cultivate in them the habit of labouring. For them, living off the labour of others would be shameful. Looking down on the labouring people while not taking part in labour oneself, is looked upon as being ungrateful. In this way we avoid the possibility of a specially privileged stratum growing in our society, and thus laying the social foundation for revisionism and creating conditions for the peaceful transformation of socialism back into capitalism.

From the earliest grades, our students take part in a certain amount of labour, in conformity with their age and strength. Doing this work, they know what it means to put into practice the idea of changing society and changing nature. In the course of physical labour, the students go through successive stages of ideological and physical training, and at the same time come into contact with the practical side of life. This gives them a new and healthy outlook. One student who took part in agricultural labour wrote in his diary: "I am ready to remain in the countryside, labour and pursue revolution all my life here. . . . Labour will always be the root of my life, the masses, my mother. I will train myself to be a labourer — sunburnt, with bones of iron and a red heart."

The Western press looks upon this as "forcing" labour on our youth, condemning us for "turning over large numbers of university and middle school students to the countryside which is actually a compelled obligation." This is outright distortion. Our youth look upon going to the mountains and the countryside as a chance to create a new world with their own hands and out of their revolutionary will. The only obligation is a social one, self-consciously arrived at as a demonstration of one's revolutionariness. To these critics, their bourgeois way of life is fragrant while the

smell of sweat derived from labour is malodorous. We look at things differently. What you consider fragrant we feel is decadent; what you consider malodorous, we look upon as a contribution to the development of our country. Our differences are not in language, but in our world outlooks.

Simultaneous with training our intellectuals to be at one with the labouring people, on the basis of a general upsurge in production we carry out the other half of our policy by effecting a cultural revolution aimed at intellectualizing our labouring people. Already with political power in their hands, they now seek to be masters of culture. Poor peasants who for generations never saw the inside of a schoolroom, now see their children going to schools. This is an event comparable to turning heaven into earth for them.

In a little village of 24 households called Wangchialiung, situated 3,000 metres above sea level in Yangyuan County in Hopei Province, no one had ever been to school, for all were poor and lower-middle peasants. After the liberation, during the period of the first agricultural co-operatives, not a single person could be found to record work points. The primitive means several thousand years old of tying knots in hemp ropes had to be used. It was only in 1960 that a primary school could be set up on the suggestion of the Communist Party branch of the production team and with the active help of the peasants themselves. Now the students of this school can help the team in all of its accounting work. The peasants say: "Our children are learning the books of peasants and the words of tillers. This mountain village need no longer worry about having no one to read and write for us!" The students in the higher grades of this village school study half-day and work half-day during the busy seasons. This suits both parents and children, for it solves two problems at once. The villagers point out: "Children can now take up studies without interfering with their work."

The change which took place in Wangchialiung Village indicates the strong desire the peasants have for an overall cultural revolution. This is what is taking place in China's countryside, producing millions of intellectual-labourers with socialist consciousness. It is returning culture to the hands of its creators — the labouring people. From their hands and minds will flow forth a brilliant new socialist culture which will illuminate the entire country.

### **Internationalist Spirit**

Finally, our children are educated to understand their relation with the rest of the world, and especially their flesh and blood ties with the working people and those struggling against oppression everywhere. Our children comprehend that two-thirds of mankind have yet to achieve their liberation. Kept before their eyes and ears are the facts of the conditions under which these people live, and that it is their duty to render full support to the struggles now being carried out for national independence, social progress and world peace.

Songs such as *The Children of Havana*, *My Motherland Is Black Africa* and *Proletariat of the Whole World, Unite!* are among their favourites.

Recently, in a Shanghai junior middle school one class took as its theme "The Angry Roars of the Negroes," when preparing theatrical performances. One girl recited a poem entitled *A Negro Girl Murdered in America*. She was so moved by what she was relating that tears rose in her eyes. These were soon followed by tears in the eyes of her listeners. In their wrath, the children one after the other rose in their seats to shout "Down With American Imperialism!", and "Support Our Negro Brothers and Sisters!" Yet, these same children can make a sharp distinction between their friends and their enemies. Once an American visitor approached them with the question: "What are your views regarding America?" The reply was: "American imperialism is a bad egg, but the American people are our friends."

The Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself have always been concerned with the upbringing

of our children and in preparing them for the future. Our hope is that each generation will excel over the previous one in every way. As early as 1942, Chairman Mao raised the slogan: "Children, unite! Learn to be new masters of New China!" The present generation has had its education in that spirit. The result is that they are not "hot-house flowers," but through their studies and labour are developing into staunch fighters daring to carry out revolution, daring to struggle and daring to grasp victory. Far from being satisfied just to sit back and enjoy the victories won for them by their forerunners, they are anxious to take up their duties, to contribute selflessly to the collective effort and collective good, and to carry out the revolution fundamentally. The hope of the imperialists and revisionists that they will get to this generation and through them peacefully whittle away the gains of the Chinese revolution is doomed to utter failure. We are sure our children will do nothing to shame the heroic Chinese people. We are just as certain that they will take up the torch of revolution and be reliable inheritors of the great proletarian cause.

### Foreign Ministry Statement

## "Temporary Suspension" of Bombing— A Form of U.S. War Blackmail

*Following is a translation of the May 21 statement of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.*

**T**HE Johnson Administration of the United States has recently resorted to the subterfuge of a "temporary suspension of air attacks." It furtively intimated that there would be no air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for a period beginning from May 12. In less than a week, it hurriedly resumed the bombings. **The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on May 18, pointing out that the United States had in fact never ceased its acts of war against Viet Nam and that, in declaring the "temporary suspension of air attacks," the United States was trying to sell its threadbare swindle of an "unconditional ceasefire" and "unconditional discussions" and to further extend its aggressive war against Viet Nam. This conclusion is perfectly correct.**

This U.S. trick clearly indicates that the United States is behaving ridiculously and disgustingly in a

**situation in which advance and retreat are equally difficult for it.** It imagined at first that its bombings would immediately make people sue for peace and prevail on them to negotiate. But its barbarous bombings of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam had been going on for more than three months without accomplishing anything. The heroic Vietnamese people have never wavered in the least. Unanimous in their hatred against the enemy, they grew stronger and stronger in the course of fighting. Then the United States thought that people would be tearfully grateful when it suspended its bombings and that it could bring about negotiations and achieve what it had failed to achieve by bombing. This, of course, was wishful thinking.

The gangster logic of the United States is: "I'll bomb you if you resist; I may stop for a while, but then if you don't surrender I'll resume my bombing." **Both bombing and the "temporary suspension" of bombing are forms of war blackmail. The Vietnamese people will never knuckle under to any war blackmail. Neither bombing nor suspension of bombing can help the United States which is caught in a real dilemma.**

In fact, the Johnson Administration lost the initiative from the very first day it began its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Like a man who has put a noose around his own neck, it will only find the noose getting tighter and tighter, without any possibility of its being loosened.

The root cause of the Viet Nam question is very clear. It is U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam in violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements and its resort to the bombing of north Viet Nam when its aggression in the south bogged down. The bombing of north Viet Nam by the United States is closely related to its aggression in south Viet Nam. The Viet Nam question cannot possibly be settled without eliminating the root cause, which is U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam. Therefore, the road to a peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question in strict accordance with the Geneva agreements can only be opened by firmly supporting the four-point proposition put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on April 8 and the statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation of March 22. That is to say, the United States must stop all its acts of aggression in Viet Nam, withdraw all its armed forces in south Viet Nam, recognize the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation as the only legal representative of the south Vietnamese people, and acknowledge that south Vietnamese affairs must be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves and that the reunification of Viet Nam must be resolved by the north and south Vietnamese people themselves.

Some people do not condemn U.S. aggression and do not demand the withdrawal of the U.S. forces of aggression from south Viet Nam, but merely ask the United States to stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. They think that if only the United States stopped its bombings, all would be well. Their tune echoes the U.S. trick of "temporary suspension of air attacks" and in fact serves the U.S. plot of an "unconditional ceasefire" and "unconditional discussions."

The United States may play this trick of "temporary suspension of air attacks" again. And those who serve the United States in its political intrigues may also continue their activities. But, no matter what tricks the United States plays, it will not be able to deceive the Vietnamese people. The more it plays such tricks, the more clearly will the people of the world recognize the ugly features of U.S. imperialism and its collaborators and the more resolutely will they support the Vietnamese people in carrying through their just struggle against the U.S. aggressor to the end.

In the last few days, U.S. air forces have become particularly unbridled in their raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We must point out that the United States will never achieve its aim by any new military adventures, but will inevitably meet with still stronger counter-blows. The Vietnamese people are prepared, and the Chinese people are too. No matter how desperately he struggles, the U.S. aggressor is doomed to failure.

### Worldwide Acclaim

## China's Nuclear Test Bolsters Anti-U.S. Struggle

FOR the past fortnight, world opinion has continued to hail China's new nuclear success. Public figures, political parties, popular organizations and the press of the five continents sent messages, issued statements, gave interviews and published articles, acclaiming China's second nuclear test and refuting slanders spread by Washington and its followers (for press communique on the test and previous report on world reaction see our last issue).

**Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk** in a letter to Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai dated May 17 expressed the warmest greetings for the success of the second Chinese nuclear test. He declared: "The Khmer people enthusiastically acclaim this new manifestation of progress in science and tech-

nique of your great country which has broken the atomic monopoly endangering peace and humanity."

**The National Secretariat of the Communist Party of New Zealand** in a statement said China's nuclear test became necessary "because the policy of Khrushchov and his successors has been one of capitulation to the nuclear blackmail of United States imperialism." The statement quoted press reports about Soviet Premier Kosygin having said "nuclear war is impossible in our time." It said, "Mr. Kosygin is telling the world that even if the United States resorts to nuclear weapons, the U.S.S.R. will not." This stand by the Soviet leaders is precisely what has made China's independent nuclear development absolutely necessary in the interests of defending world socialism

and toiling humanity from aggressive U.S. imperialism.

**Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium**, in a May 15 message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, called China's nuclear success "a victory of the peoples fighting for national independence and liberation, and against the aggressions of the imperialists headed by Nazi-Yankee imperialism" and "a severe fresh blow to nuclear blackmail of U.S. imperialism carried out with the collaboration of the modern revisionists."

**Edward F. Hill, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)**, in a statement issued on May 20 termed China's second atomic explosion "an immense contribution to peace" and "firm evidence that the Chinese people will never retreat before U.S. imperialism nor yield to the deceit of the Soviet revisionists. . . ."

Chairman Hill said: "The record shows. . . that U.S. tests total 337, Russian 127, British 24 and French 5. On the very day China's test took place, the U.S. imperialists 'regretted' China's second test after they had conducted their own 338th test. What hypocrisy!

"And Soviet leader Kosygin commented upon the Chinese test by saying he is opposed to proliferation of nuclear weapons. In other words he is quite happy with the U.S. imperialists' weapons and massive testing and British and French imperialist testing of nuclear weapons but not with socialist China's test.

"Where is Mr. Kosygin's class sense? It is clearly with the imperialists. The ranks of socialism clearly need unifying and strengthening. Mr. Kosygin works to divide and weaken them."

Hill went on to say: "China's new great success will inspire all the peoples throughout the world to renew their struggle against imperialist war. It will give them new confidence. It immeasurably strengthens the socialist camp, the people struggling for national liberation and the working class and working peoples in the capitalist countries."

**Colonel Deuane, Commander-in-Chief of the Laotian Genuine Neutralist Forces**, said that this great victory of the Chinese people is also a great victory for the Laotian and Vietnamese peoples, who are fighting for national liberation, and for peace-loving people the world over.

**Arudji Kartawinate, Speaker of the Indonesian Cooperation Parliament**, told newsmen it is entirely reasonable for China to develop nuclear weapons to cope with the nuclear blackmail and threats of the imperialists.

**The Nepalese "Naya Samaj Weekly"** pointed out editorially on May 15 that "China's second nuclear test has given a strong assurance and encouragement to

small and under-developed Asian countries which are victims of American interference."

**The Ceylon weekly "Kamkaruwa" (Labour)** in a commentary described China's second nuclear test as "a warning to the imperialists who are trying to dominate the world and threatening the people of the world. . . ."

**Ali Saif Mukbil, General Secretary of the Yemeni General Trade Unions**, said in an interview with Hsinhua on May 17, "We are very happy to learn that China has successfully exploded her second atom bomb because atom bombs in the hands of China mean that we Asians have them."

**Kahtan Shaaby, Representative of the National Liberation Front of the Occupied South Yemen**, congratulated China on its nuclear test and noted that China was a big support for the national liberation movements in the world.

**The Cairo Office of the People's Organization of South West Africa**, in a statement on May 18, declared that it "hails the explosion of China's second atom bomb which is not only for China's own security but for that of the world as a whole."

**The Central Committee of the Liberation Front of Somali Coast (L.F.S.C.)**, in a letter to the Chinese Embassy in Mogadishu dated May 15, called China's nuclear test "another blow to the nuclear threats of imperialism and a support to the people the world over and particularly those people and countries still under barbarous foreign domination."

**Mirghani el-Nasri, General Secretary of the Sudanese Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization**, said the people of the Afro-Asian countries warmly welcome and fully support China's second nuclear test. He noted that this test would be helpful in curtailing American aggression, especially in Southeast Asia.

**Wanguhu Nganga, General Secretary of the National Union of Kenya Journalists**, hailed China's A-bomb test as an important addition to the defensive strength of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world.

**Mme. Camara Loffo, Member of the National Political Bureau of the Guinea Democratic Party and Secretary of State for Social Affairs**, said China's achievement will contribute to the defence of peace in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the world.

**V.R. Sithole, National Financial Secretary and Cairo Representative of the Mozambique National Democratic Union (Udenamo)**, in a May 19 statement said that the Chinese people under their great leader Mao Tse-tung, by exploding the second A-bomb, have contributed greatly to their national security and world peace. "We the oppressed people of Africa, Asia and Latin America feel very happy and regard the Chinese A-bomb as our own," he declared.

# Success of the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference

**The Winneba Conference is a great milestone in the Afro-Asian people's solidarity movement. It held high the banner of Afro-Asian unity against U.S. imperialism and resolutely repudiated the splittist and capitulationist line peddled by the Soviet delegation.**

**F**ROM May 9 to May 16, some 300 delegates from nearly 70 countries and regions attended the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Winneba, a seaside town in Ghana, forty miles west of Accra.

The opening session was addressed by President Kwame Nkrumah, and the conference was presided over by N.A. Welbeck, leader of the Ghanaian delegation. Youssef El Sebai, Secretary General of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, made a report on behalf of its permanent secretariat.

The conference adopted a General Political Resolution (full text published in the last number of *Peking Review*), a General Declaration, a message of solidarity with the Vietnamese people and resolutions on Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo (Leopoldville), and many other specific issues.

In spite of opposition from the Soviet, Mongolian and Indian delegations, the conference decided to hold the Fifth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Peking in 1967. It called on the Afro-Asian peoples and governments to mobilize all efforts to make the Second Afro-Asian Conference to be held in June a great success. It also decided to convene a Conference of Afro-Asian and Latin American People's Solidarity in January 1966.

The three previous AAPSO meetings took place in Cairo (December 1957), Conakry (April 1960) and Moshi (March 1963). Each meeting was symbolic of the growth of the Afro-Asian people's political awakening and fighting will and the extension of their solidarity movement. The fourth one in Winneba held still higher the banner of combating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States.

From beginning to end, the conference was marked by a struggle between two lines—the line of

closing ranks to fight imperialism and the line of capitulation to imperialism and splitting the movement's solidarity. There were those who were preoccupied with flinging mud at China instead of opposing imperialism, trying to force the Vietnamese people to submit instead of supporting them in resisting U.S. aggression. These people would do nothing to strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity on the basis of fighting imperialism. But all their manoeuvres failed ignominiously.

## U.S. Imperialism Under Fire

The conference took place at a time when U.S. imperialism was stepping up its aggression in Viet Nam, carrying out armed invasion of the Dominican Republic and extending its aggressive tentacles to Asia, Africa and Latin America more feverishly than ever. It was natural that the conference turned out to be one in which U.S. crimes of aggression were roundly denounced by most of the speakers except for a handful who worshipped or feared U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism was the target of attack not only in speeches at plenary sessions and committee discussions but also in documents adopted by the conference. It was condemned in some 20 passages of the General Political Resolution alone. Fifteen of the 30-odd special resolutions on pressing issues of the day explicitly denounced U.S. aggression, intervention, occupation or subversion in various parts of the world—in Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo (Leopoldville), Palestine, Korea, Japan, "Malaysia," North Kalimantan, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and other places.

In conjunction with their attacks on U.S. imperialism, many delegates exposed the fact that the United Nations has become a U.S. instrument for suppressing and undermining the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The conference aptly voiced the demand of the Afro-Asian peoples when the General Political Resolution declared that the United Nations must "correct its mistakes and return to the principles of its Charter. Should it fail to do so, then we must reorganize it so that it can reflect the will of the Afro-Asian peoples instead of that of the imperialists."

The militant spirit of the conference also found expression in the firm support expressed for the armed struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The

General Political Resolution said: "The conference affirms that it is the legitimate right of the Afro-Asian peoples to answer imperialist violence by revolutionary violence in their struggle for national liberation and for safeguarding national independence."

### All-Out Support for Viet Nam

The Viet Nam question naturally was the focus of attention at the conference because U.S. aggression in Viet Nam is not only a provocation against the Afro-Asian national-liberation movement but also against world peace. When delegates from south Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam took the floor thunderous ovation broke out, and their speeches were repeatedly interrupted by applause.

The overwhelming majority of speakers at the conference agreed that the root cause of tension in Viet Nam is U.S. aggression and intervention and that the Viet Nam question can be solved only when U.S. imperialism stops its aggression in that country and withdraws all its aggressive troops from south Viet Nam. But Govind Sahai, head of the Indian delegation alleged that "if we had succeeded in this struggle (for disarmament and peaceful coexistence) the imperialist countries would not have been in a position to launch an aggression against Viet Nam." Is this not tantamount to blaming the Vietnamese people for failing to practise peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism? For the Vietnamese people, "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S. aggressors actually means asking them to tolerate permanent U.S. occupation of south Viet Nam.

Most of the delegates exposed U.S. President Johnson's fraud of "unconditional discussions." However, the leader of the Soviet delegation, Fikryat A. Tabeyev, deliberately avoided mentioning Johnson's "unconditional discussions" hoax and his followers' "peaceful negotiations" plot, which were sternly denounced by the Vietnamese and other delegates.

Openly advocating peaceful negotiations, the Indian delegate called for "a halt to bombings by U.S. armed forces as a condition precedent to any peaceful settlement." This is just the kind of co-ordination needed by the Johnson Administration now on the Viet Nam question. Nguyen Van Tien, head of the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, reaffirmed that any peaceful negotiations are pointless so long as the Americans hang on in south Viet Nam.

Some people also attempted to smuggle into the General Declaration the "appeal" for the "peaceful settlement" of the Viet Nam question which Tito cooked up some time ago in the name of "the non-aligned nations," and which had been rejected by the Vietnamese people.

All these plots by a handful of political brokers to sell out the Vietnamese people were smashed. The

Resolution on Viet Nam and the message to the Vietnamese people called on the Afro-Asian peoples to take all measures, including the delivery of arms and the dispatch of volunteers when needed and at the request of the Vietnamese people, to support the Vietnamese people until U.S. imperialism is driven out of Viet Nam. The General Political Resolution recognizes the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation as the only legitimate body expressing the will of the south Vietnamese people.

### Schismatic Line Defeated

Solidarity on the basis of combating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism was the common desire of most delegations. However, while paying lip service to unity, the Soviet delegation held, on the eve of the conference, an exhibition of anti-China propaganda material at the entrance of the conference hall. It brought in a Cameroonian resident in Moscow and several others who called themselves members of the "Revolution Committee of the Union of People of the Cameroons" to make anti-China statements during the conference.

The Indian delegate in his speech at the plenary session alleged that the proliferation of nuclear weapons could only increase tension and threaten the security of neighbouring countries.

The Chinese delegate sternly pointed out at the conference that all these anti-China activities came from one source, the Soviet delegation. The Ceylonese delegate accused the Soviet authorities of splitting the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association of Ceylon. The schemers failed to disrupt the normal process of the conference. They have instead aroused the indignation of many delegates.

Meanwhile, certain persons attempted to take advantage of the conference to create a climate or so-called public opinion to help the Soviet Union force its way into the Second Afro-Asian Conference. The Indian delegate openly demanded the admission of the Soviet Union to that conference. Before the conference closed, some people insisted on writing phrases into the General Declaration which would have amounted to suggesting that the Soviet Union should participate in the coming Second Afro-Asian Conference. This proposal, however, was rejected and the attempt failed.

In order to tamper with the political and organizational line of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement — unity to oppose imperialism — the Soviet delegation wanted to bring into the movement forces which oppose revolution. It had tried to bring in a country like Yugoslavia, a detachment of U.S. imperialism, as an "observer." At the same time, it refused to admit into the movement some African nationalist parties which are arrayed against imperialism. The Soviet delegation was solidly against the lawful Ceylon Afro-Asian

Solidarity Association led by Mrs. Theja Guna-wardhana, which has worked persistently for the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity, as a member of the AAPSO. Instead it supported the splinter group which co-operated with the Ceylonese Rightists.

But the splittist and capitulationist line followed by the Soviet delegation and its followers was repudiated by the conference and the revolutionary banner of unity against imperialism was held still higher.

—HSIN PIEN

## Winneba Conference Resolution on Viet Nam

*Following is a summary of the Resolution on Viet Nam adopted by the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**T**HE Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity, convened in Winneba from May 9 to 16, 1965,

—strongly condemns the odious crimes perpetrated by U.S. imperialism which, by violating the Geneva agreements of 1954 on Viet Nam, has launched a war of aggression against south Viet Nam, undertaken air and naval raids against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and savagely massacred the Vietnamese people by bombing peaceful towns and villages and using napalm bombs and toxic gas;

—considers that the aforementioned acts of war and aggression are part of the long-range manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists, aiming at maintaining the division of Viet Nam, at transforming south Viet Nam into a new-type colony and into an American military base so as to prepare for a new war and to fight national-liberation movements in this area. This is, in fact, the deep origin and direct cause of the dangerous situation which is now seriously threatening peace in Viet Nam and the whole of Southeast Asia;

—fully supports the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle to resist the aggression of U.S. imperialism, with a view to free south Viet Nam and defend north Viet Nam, safeguard the sacred and inalienable rights of the nation to independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, as stipulated in the Geneva agreements, warmly congratulates them on the brilliant victories they have scored and expresses the firm conviction that U.S. imperialism is bound to fail in Viet Nam, and that the Vietnamese people will triumph in their legitimate struggle;

—entirely supports the Declaration of March 22, 1965, made by the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam, and which reflects the firm determination of the south Vietnamese people to struggle until final victory over the U.S. aggressors, and reaffirms that the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam is the sole authentic representative of the people of south Viet Nam;

—completely supports the position of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as outlined in an appeal,

made on April 10 by the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to all parliaments of the world. [For the four-point proposition in the appeal, see *Peking Review*, No. 17, 1965, p. 9.]

—considers that the position indicated above constitutes the only realistic and reasonable basis for a political settlement of the Vietnamese problem and for the establishment of a lasting peace in Viet Nam, and that any solution contrary to this, any U.N. intervention in the situation in Viet Nam is impermissible because it is fundamentally in contradiction with the Geneva agreements on Viet Nam;

—denounces and condemns the manoeuvres of U.S. President Johnson who, while feverishly intensifying and expanding the war, speaks of “unconditional discussions”; Johnson intends to justify his criminal acts in violation of the Geneva agreements of 1954, the division of Viet Nam, the aggression against south Viet Nam and the extension of the war to north Viet Nam. It is nothing but a plot aimed at covering up Johnson's real policy of intensifying and expanding the aggressive war in Viet Nam;

—seriously warns U.S. imperialism that every act aimed at extending the war will be met by a resolute retaliation from the Afro-Asian peoples and all peoples of the world and that the path of escalation of war, chosen by U.S. imperialism, can only lead it to suicide;

—considers the just and sacred struggle waged by the entire Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors and for national liberation as all the Afro-Asian peoples' very own struggle for liberation;

—considers that the Vietnamese people, by heavy blows inflicted upon U.S. imperialism—the common enemy of the Asian and African peoples, as well as of the peoples of the whole world—make a great contribution to the safeguarding of world peace and to the movement of the liberation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and that supporting the Vietnamese people means supporting the Afro-Asian peoples themselves, consolidating Afro-Asian solidarity and defending world peace;

—urges all Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees in various countries and the peoples of both continents to take urgent action and unfold a large-scale mass movement to support the just position of the National

Liberation Front of South Viet Nam, and of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to compel the U.S. aggressors to quit Viet Nam, to support the Vietnamese people in all fields and by all means including arms deliveries and dispatching volunteers, if needed and upon the demand of the National Liberation Front or of the Democratic Republic

of Viet Nam, until the U.S. imperialists quit Viet Nam for good and the Vietnamese people are victorious;

—decides to hold from July 14 to 20, 1965, a "Week of Support for the Vietnamese People Against the U.S. Imperialist Aggression, for Safeguarding National Independence and Peace."

## Facts on File

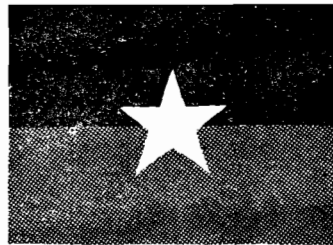
# Viet Nam Question: The Whys and Wherefores

Following is a factual survey of the Viet Nam question, the first and second instalments of which appeared in Nos. 20 and 21 of "Peking Review." — Ed.

## National Front for Liberation

Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. And counter-revolutionary violence can only be met with revolutionary violence.

As Professor Nguyen Van Hieu, a member of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, has recalled:



The N.F.L. banner

In the first years following the signing of the Geneva agreements, the south Vietnamese people stuck to non-violent methods of struggle in demanding improved living conditions, peace, independence and democracy. But the enemy answered with bullets and bombs. Our compatriots went through the darkest days under the ruthless terror of the imperialists and their henchmen. From 1959 onward, the south Vietnamese people were compelled to take up arms for self-defence and they are resolved not to put down their arms as long as the U.S. imperialists do not give up their aggressive policy.

The extensive and resolute struggle of the entire south Vietnamese people led to the founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation on December 20, 1960.

The N.F.L. is a united front of patriotic forces of various classes, nationalities, political parties, social organizations and religious bodies. It comprises more than 20 political parties and people's organizations.

Upon its founding in a liberated area in south Viet Nam, the N.F.L. put forward a 10-point programme calling for the overthrow of U.S.-puppet rule.

From mid-February to early March, 1962, the N.F.L. held its first Congress and elected a Central Committee, with Nguyen Huu Tho as President of the Presidium of the Central Committee.

Once a leading Saigon lawyer, Nguyen Huu Tho was jailed by the U.S.-Diemists in 1954 when they cracked down on the Saigon-Cholon Peace Committee which he headed. He rejected an offer by Diem to grant him "amnesty" if he petitioned for his release. Eventually Nguyen Huu Tho was rescued from prison in Tuy Hoa in Central Viet Nam by guerrillas.

The founding of the N.F.L. opened a new chapter in the south Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle. Since then they have been winning greater and greater victories (see chart).

Fundamental democratic rights have been ensured in the liberated areas. The N.F.L. has distributed millions of hectares of land to poor peasants, reduced rent on a large scale and, at the same time, stepped up production, developed health services, cultural and educational work, and improved all aspects of the people's livelihood. Despite the war, the people in the liberated zones are now immeasurably better off than when they were subjected to the scourge of U.S.-puppet rule.

The strength of the N.F.L. lies in its solid mass following. Even the *New York Herald Tribune* (February 14, 1964) admitted that the N.F.L. had grown from "its original few thousand organizers" to hundreds of thousands of active members and millions of supporters. Developments were such that the same American paper admitted nine months later (November 14, 1964): "Throughout much of the country, it is the communist 'shadow' government [referring to the N.F.L.] that functions in reality while the Saigon regime has only nominal authority."

The N.F.L. has set up permanent missions in China, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic,



Czechoslovakia, Indonesia, Algeria and the Soviet Union. It is a member of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and has taken part in many conferences called by international organizations.

The N.F.L. is the only genuine representative of the 14 million south Vietnamese people.

In its March 22, 1965 statement, the N.F.L. voiced the united will of the south Vietnamese people rallying under its triumphant banner:

Even if we are to carry out the struggle for 10, 20 years or longer, and have to suffer greater difficulties and hardships, we are prepared and resolved to fight and fight to the end until not a single U.S. soldier is seen in our country.

... We are determined to fight, hit vigorously and accurately at the U.S. aggressors and their quislings to liberate the south, defend the north and reunify our fatherland.

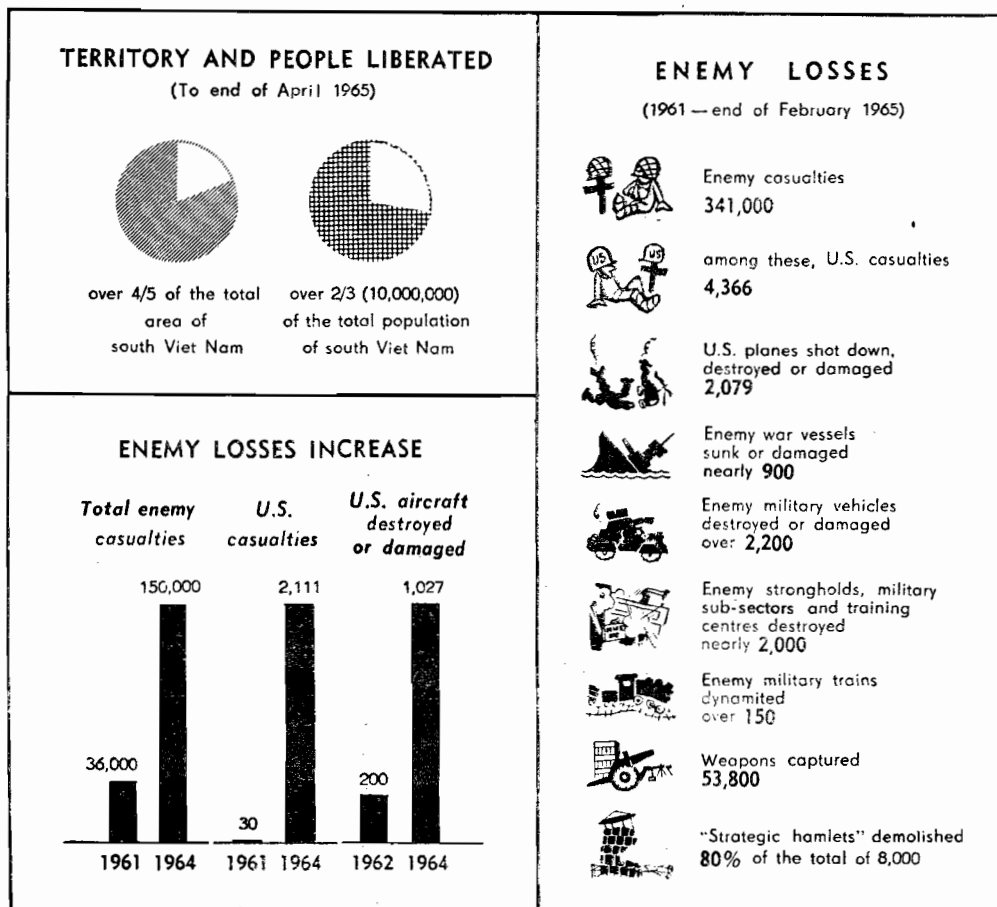
## "Special War" and the Staley-Taylor Plan

With John F. Kennedy's assumption of power in 1961, "flexible response" became dominant in American strategic thinking.

The "flexible response" school defined three types of wars: world war, local war and "sub-local" or "special war." The last was designed specifically to stamp out national-liberation "insurgencies."

So-called special war means, essentially, that fighting will be done mainly by U.S.-equipped puppet troops, with U.S. "aid" in the form of money, arms and other materiel, and under direct U.S. command exercised through "advisors." U.S. troops can also be directly committed to some extent. Just as gunboats and expeditionary forces were the military expression of classical colonialism, special war is the military expression of American neo-colonialism.

## VICTORIES WON BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY AND PEOPLE



On March 24, 1961, the *New York Times* blurted out the fact that south Viet Nam "had become a testing ground" for the U.S. Army's anti-guerrilla tactics designed for tropical areas. On May 11, 1961, Kennedy's Vice-President, Lyndon Johnson, went to Saigon for "high-level" talks with the puppet "government." He was soon followed by a joint military-economic mission led by Eugene Staley, Director of the Stanford Research Institute of California. Staley reported back with a "special warfare" plan which was okayed by the White House and became known as the "Staley plan." On October 18, Kennedy sent General Maxwell Taylor, a chief proponent of "flexible response," to Saigon. Taylor made a number of amendments to the "Staley plan" and became its co-author.

An embodiment of the "special warfare" concept, the soon notorious "Staley-Taylor plan" envisaged the "pacification" of south Viet Nam within 18 months — by the end of 1962.

The plan sought first to beef up the puppet army. In 1960, after studying wars against national-liberation movements since 1940, American strategists had concluded that "one may expect an eventual victory of

the 'forces of order' when the latter reach a threshold of superiority of 20 to 1" (according to Harvard Professor Bernard Fall in a book called *Indo-China 1946-62: Chronicle of a Revolutionary War*). So Washington decided to increase its south Vietnamese puppet troops to 600,000.

The pivotal project, however, was the establishment of "strategic hamlets." Proceeding from the proposition that guerrillas are hard to cope with because they operate among the people like fish in water, the "special war" planners sought to "scoop the water dry and catch the fish." How? By herding the 10 million rural population of south Viet Nam into 16,332 concentration camps fancifully named "strategic hamlets."

Meanwhile, modern weapons and tactics would be introduced. Of these the most widely advertised was the "heli-borne tactics" of sudden action and quick assault.

According to Pentagon calculations, once the "Vietcong" (the name originated by Western propaganda organs for the south Vietnamese people's forces) were separated from the peasants by the "strategic hamlets," the 20:1 superior puppet forces would swoop down on them from helicopters. In addition, there would be amphibious armoured vehicles to cope with the marsh-and-paddy terrain, "fiery napalm and searing phosphorous shells" to burn out the jungles, air-sprayed toxic chemicals\* to destroy vegetation and starve the "Vietcong," poison gas to "smoke out" the survivors, and fast-firing carbines to mow them down. . . .

Everything was provided for. Weapons seemed omnipotent. Optimism ruled in Washington. A *New York Times* man gleefully wrote that the principles of guerrilla war "may remain the same, but napalm and helicopters have added a new Clausewitz." (April 14, 1963).

But harsh reality soon dashed the high hopes of the "special warfare" warriors; like all other reac-

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\* Washington has pretended that the chemicals are nothing more than "defoliants"—agents to cause leaves to fall and thus deprive the "Vietcong" of natural cover. Actually the purpose is more sinister and many-fold. The chemicals destroy crops, orchards and cattle and thus help to force the peasants to "choose safety" in the "strategic hamlets." They "hit the guerrillas in the belly" by depriving them of food. Besides, they kill and maim people.

According to investigations and analyses made by the South Viet Nam Liberation Red Cross Society, the U.S. has employed a wide variety of noxious chemicals: In addition to the "2-4D" and "2-4-5T" used in large doses, white arsenic, arsenite alkali, alkali-earth, calcic cyanamide and metal arseniates, and also "2-4" dinitro-phenol (DNP) and dinitro-orthocresol (DNC) have been sprayed.

As for poison gas, American officialdom openly declared last March that its use in south Viet Nam is a "matter of routine."

tionaries they overestimated their own strength and underestimated that of the people.

## "Strategic Hamlets"

The birth certificate for the diabolical "strategic hamlet" programme in south Viet Nam was signed by Lyndon Johnson, following his Saigon visit in May 1961, when he and Diem issued a joint statement saying that "the two governments agree to carry out new economic and social measures in the countryside."

The "strategic hamlet" was not entirely new. Predecessors had been given such eye-catching names as "agrovilles," "resettlement centres" and even "prosperity zones." Based on smaller (hamlet) units, the programme was nonetheless the culmination of similar efforts because it sought to replace all of south Viet Nam's 17,000 villages (and hamlets) with "strategic hamlets," and to put the rural population behind stockades.

The U.S. set up a special agency to supervise the programme. Boss Rufus Philipps chose to call it "a social revolution at the basic administrative level." But the American press was less prone to this kind of eye-wash.

This strategy [the "strategic hamlet"] consists in fortifying a new village with a barbed wire enclosure, a system of identity cards, a blockhouse controlling all entrances and exits, and curfew (UPI, February 17, 1962).

To uproot the peasants from their land and homes, the U.S. and its puppets launched a series of fire-and-sword "mopping-up operations." The *New York Times* (March 29, 1962) reported a tiny part of the truth about "Operation Sunrise":

In this region, 1,200 families are to be moved voluntarily (sic.) or forcibly from the forests controlled by the Vietcong and resettled in new strategic villages. The abandoned villages will be burned. Some families had been allowed to carry away beds, tables and benches before their homes were burned. Others had almost nothing but the clothes on their backs.

After the "mopping-up," peasants were forced to build the "strategic hamlet." Usually such a hamlet is surrounded by a fence of bamboo and wooden spikes from 2 to 2.5 metres high; inside is another barbed wire fence. Between the two fences lies a field of spikes and mines. Behind the barbed wire is a moat, three metres wide and 1.5 metres deep, also bristling with spikes. Further inside is an earthen wall 1.5 metres high defended here and there by concrete blockhouses. In the centre of the hamlet are the offices of the "managing board." The headquarters is built in the form of a military post, linked with blockhouses and watch-towers by trenches and underground tunnels.

Every household has to affix a list with photographs of family members on the door. Whenever

roll calls and checks take place, they must be at their assigned places. Every inmate has to carry a plastic identity card with fingerprints and photo. Movement to and from the hamlet is only at fixed hours and by specified routes. All persons are subject to rigorous checks at the gate which remains closed from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. To prevent any possible supply to the guerrillas, the inmates must store their food in a common granary from which they are given daily rations. To provide a spiritual complement for this "new way of life," priests, often Catholic, discourse on how all this is a veritable benediction and how the Americans are helping to defend "freedom"!

Driven beyond all limits, the people defied brute force and rose to demolish the "strategic hamlets" with the help of the liberation armed forces. This, of course, means fierce and often bloody battles. Many "strategic hamlets" were repeatedly destroyed (after rebuilding) 20, 30 or even 60 times—an eternal tribute to the heroism of the south Vietnamese people!

The Staley-Taylor plan called for completion of the "strategic hamlets" programme by the end of 1962. But, up to February 1965, of the 8,000 which the U.S. and its stooges had managed to build, 80 per

cent had been demolished by the people. The American press has admitted the failure. *Time* wrote in May 1963:

The area which caused most setbacks to the Diem government is the Mekong delta representing 55 per cent of the population and 75 per cent of rice production in south Viet Nam. Here the peasants strongly resist the plan for strategic hamlets into which they are herded by force. Last month, during a successful attack by the guerrillas against two strategic hamlets, some 2,000 peasants disappeared. To drive the Vietcong out of this area has proved a most difficult job for, in most cases, it is impossible to distinguish them from the peasants. . . .

The special war strategists' fondest dream—to isolate the people's forces from the population—has faded. *U.S. News & World Report* (September 16, 1963) lamented:

The "mystique" that the war could be won by building strategic hamlets and killing the Vietcong now is gone.

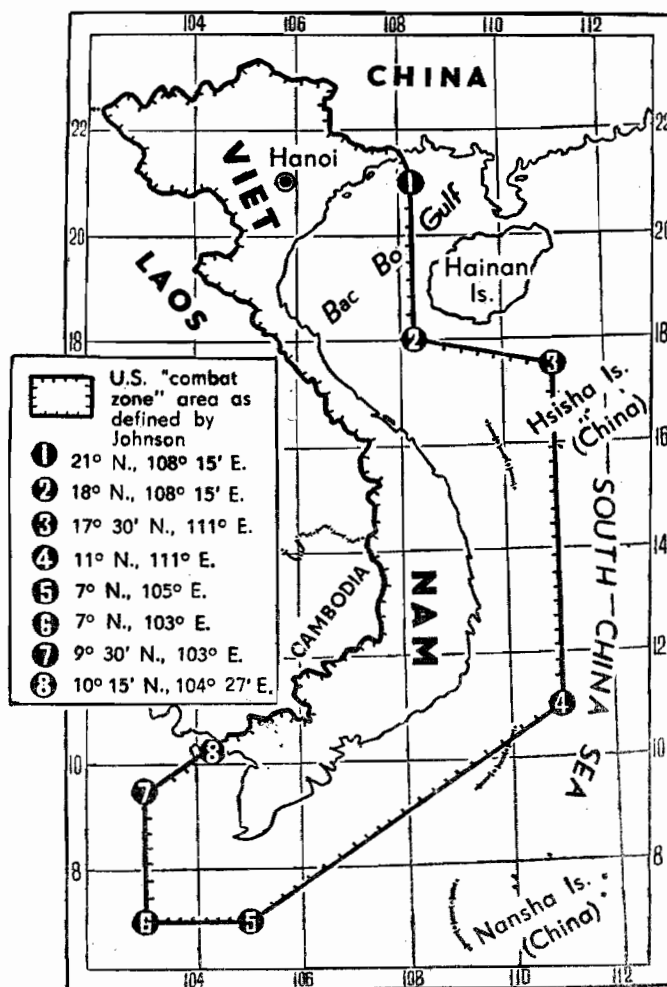
— WEN CHAO

(To be continued.)

## JOHNSON'S "COMBAT ZONE" — EVIDENCE OF PIRACY

U.S. President Lyndon Johnson issued an executive order on April 24, arbitrarily designating Viet Nam and the waters adjacent to it as "an area in which armed forces of the United States are and have been engaged in combat." This "combat zone," defined in the form of law with its limits given in exact terms of latitude and longitude, actually covers the whole of Viet Nam, a large expanse of the high seas and even some of China's territorial waters. This is a serious move by U.S. imperialism to continue expanding the war of aggression in Viet Nam and to heighten tension in Indo-China and Asia. It is an act of piracy and a flagrant violation of international law.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on May 9 strongly protesting against this act of piracy. On May 12 *Renmin Ribao* published a commentary supporting the Vietnamese Government's solemn statement defending its territorial sovereignty over its own waters.



# The Domestic Situation in Brazil and the Tasks Of the Communist Party of Brazil

- The April coup in Brazil shows the bankruptcy of the revisionist line.
- Brazil's basic problems cannot be solved by peaceful means; it is necessary to wage an armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and the traitorous domestic regime.

*The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil adopted a resolution last August calling on the Brazilian people to embark on the path of revolution and to fight against U.S. imperialism and the Brazilian traitorous regime. The following is a summary with quoted extracts. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**T**HE resolution says that since the military coup d'état on April 1, 1964, the Brazilian people have lived in an atmosphere of tyranny and complete insecurity. After the President of the Republic was overthrown, a military dictatorship was set up to serve domestic reaction and U.S. imperialism. The government headed by Marshal Castelo Branco is the product of an armed rebellion staged in the traditional Latin American fashion. It flagrantly violates the principles of the Constitution and is an out-and-out despotic tyrannical regime.

The resolution points out that as soon as the Branco government came to power it clearly revealed the reactionary nature of its policies. The wholesale purges and arrests it made were solely aimed at excluding from political life those who take a democratic and anti-imperialist stand and those who may help the process of democracy in one way or another, and at creating an atmosphere of terror so as to frustrate the working people's struggle for satisfying their immediate demands, to obtain land and oppose imperialism. At the same time, in less than four months, this government has made enormous concessions to U.S. imperialism. In foreign policy, the government has revived the policy of complete subservience to the U.S. State Department.

The resolution sums up, in the light of the coup d'état, the experience and lessons of the democratic, anti-imperialist movement. It says that **in examining the causes of the defeat of the forces of the people, one thing becomes very clear, namely, the idea which dominated the democratic, anti-imperialist movement at that time was that the Brazilian revolution would proceed along a peaceful path. But events in March and April showed how fantastic this line of peaceful**

**revolution was.** "The ruling class and U.S. imperialism have blocked this road. To defend their narrow interests and their ill-gotten privileges, they keep tight control of the state machine which is mainly used to suppress any attempt of the masses of the people to restrict and do away with foreign plunder and social injustice and to take a more active part in the political life of the state."

The main instrument of suppression in the hands of the state is the army. Now the reactionary officers have not only overthrown the government but have also seized the state machinery. "In these circumstances how can one accept the peaceful road? Events of the recent period are quite instructive. They show that the people's movement, no matter how extensively it may have grown or how many positions it may have taken, is doomed to failure if it does not possess the means to cope with the violence of the ruling class. The Brazilian people cannot free themselves from oppression and backwardness nor can they rid themselves of dependence on foreign countries if the reactionary state machine is not crushed and its instrument of coercion, the army, is not defeated."

**"It is necessary for the Brazilian people to wage an armed struggle against the armed suppression by the domestic reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists, and to prepare for this struggle. This concept constitutes a fundamental issue today. It must be a guiding principle for the thinking and actions of genuine revolutionaries."**

**"U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of our people. Underestimation of the activities of U.S. imperialism in Brazil, its plans for war and world hegemony is one of the main reasons for the setbacks suffered by the democratic, anti-imperialist forces."**

The resolution cites a host of facts to prove that U.S. imperialism plotted and instigated the April military coup. "This once again proves that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the Brazilian people. It colludes with the domestic reactionary forces which

act as its mainstay in plundering our country and in oppressing our people. In return, these reactionary forces obtain powerful support from U.S. imperialism in the defence of their own prerogatives. . . .

"The popular forces fighting for the liberation and progress of our country should in no way underestimate the repressive action of the American neo-colonialists. It is wrong to entertain the illusion that democracy and the national-liberation movement can coexist peacefully with imperialism which exercises domination over our country. . . . Therefore, an unceasing struggle against U.S. imperialism must become the chief task of all Brazilians who desire to see the fatherland free and prosperous. Constant vigilance must be maintained so as not to be taken unawares by the manoeuvres and schemes of U.S. monopoly capital."

During the rule of the Goulart government, it was the reformist bourgeois leadership headed by Joao Goulart that basically gained the upper hand while **the Brazilian Communist Party threw Marxism-Leninism overboard and trailed after the bourgeoisie.**

The resolution also stresses that the April 1 coup has taught another invaluable lesson. This concerns the leadership of the democratic, anti-imperialist movement. "Reality once again proves that **the democratic, anti-imperialist movement can win complete success only when it is headed by a revolutionary vanguard representing the most advanced class in society politically, namely, the proletariat; it can win victory only when it pursues a revolutionary instead of a reformist line; it can succeed only when it rallies all forces opposing U.S. imperialism and its supporters in our country to form a broad united front; it can win victory only when it is prepared politically and ideologically to wage the most resolute and powerful struggle or even resort to revolutionary violence of the masses to answer the violence of imperialism and domestic reaction.**"

Another factor which led to the reverse on April 1 was the tendency to belittle the peasant movement, the mainstay of the revolutionary forces. "The March and April incidents proved that the democratic, anti-imperialist movement is highly vulnerable and can very easily be stamped out by the reactionaries if it has no solid support in the countryside. The reactionaries are concentrated in the cities and possess substantial means of suppression there. Due attention should of course be given to the struggle in the cities as there are masses of workers, students and intellectuals. But rural work should be the centre of attention. **The worker-peasant alliance is the foundation on which the democratic, anti-imperialist united front should be built. . . . Therefore, the greatest possible efforts must be made to organize and develop the peasant movement.** The importance of rural work is easily understood when one realizes that the national-liberation struggle is bound to be arduous and protracted and in the main be waged in the hinterland. All signs indicate that the first centres of revolt against the enemy

of our people will emerge in the countryside. Thus, it can definitely be said that **the question of the peasantry is the crucial question for the Brazilian revolution.**"

The resolution goes on to emphasize the vital importance of building up a broad democratic, anti-imperialist united front, the aim of which is to liquidate the domination of U.S. imperialism in Brazil and the system of latifundia.

It points out: "**The April 1 coup d'etat served to distinguish between the standpoints and actions of the two groups in the workers' movement represented respectively by the Communist Party of Brazil and the Brazilian Communist Party.** The different lines and activities of the two organizations embody the two conflicting lines in the world communist movement — the Marxist-Leninist line upheld by the Communist Party of China and other revolutionary parties and the revisionist line of N.S. Khrushchov and his followers. In this respect, **what happened in Brazil shows the total bankruptcy of the revisionist line and fully corroborates the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism.**"

Since 1958, the Brazilian revisionists headed by Luiz Carloz Prestes have worked out a whole set of reformist policies in accordance with the theses of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They systematized these policies at the 5th Party Congress in 1960. They repudiated the principles of Marxism-Leninism and came to the conclusion that the Brazilian revolution would develop along the path of non-violence.

In their practical activities, the revisionists limited the anti-imperialist struggle to the extent that it suited the bourgeoisie. They accepted the view of the C.P.S.U. that there supposedly existed within U.S. imperialism a democratic grouping which would uphold peace. During the period when Joao Goulart was in power, and in the last few months of the period in particular, they even regarded this leader of the Brazilian Labour Party as their principal ally.

After the mass rally on March 13 in Guanabara State which President Goulart attended, the revisionists declared in their press and in their public statements that the reactionaries had suffered a heavy setback and could no longer impose any political retrogression on Brazil. But the April 1 incident was a painful blow to the revisionist leaders. Their plans and theories were all dashed to the ground. The revisionist thesis upheld by the Brazilian Communist Party that revolution may be carried out through reforms crumbled completely.

"**The line followed by the revisionist leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party has prevented the trade unions from taking root among the masses, hindered the popular organizations in launching militant actions and disarmed the workers politically. This opportunist line is largely responsible for the reverses suffered by the democratic, anti-imperialist movement.**"

Dealing with the revolutionary line of the Communist Party of Brazil, the resolution says that the political line of the Communist Party of Brazil which was rebuilt in February 1962 has been corroborated by practice. Revolutionary Marxist-Leninists have seen that the theses which they uphold have proved to be correct. "In their programme adopted at that time, they maintained that it was impossible to settle the key problems of our country without a change of the existing system because this system was fundamentally anti-popular. They emphasized that the ruling class had blocked the peaceful road of revolution and the people had to take the revolutionary road. They pointed out that only by setting up a people's revolutionary regime could the obstacles that stood in the way of Brazil's development be removed. They also underlined the need to establish a broad united front of all forces which oppose U.S. imperialism and the latifundium system. . . .

"In its political activities the Communist Party of Brazil endeavours to make the mass movement independent of the government and condemns the attitude of tail-ism. It calls on the workers and the people as a whole to believe in their own strength and to be prepared to cope with the violence of the ruling class no matter from what quarter it comes."

**"Facts have proved that the Communist Party of Brazil is the political party which has most clearly charted the correct direction and future development for Brazil.** Thus these revolutionary Communists feel themselves inspired and advance more resolutely along the path they have taken. The analysis and solution set forth in their programme are completely valid today."

"This decisive test has proved the vitality and brilliance of the great revolutionary theories of the proletariat and the weakness and poverty of revisionism although the latter has decked itself out in the trappings of temporary successes. Revisionism has been dealt a crushing blow. This will help those revolutionaries in our country who have been misled by the line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. to find once again the Marxist-Leninist road and to get rid of opportunism."

"Although the Communist Party of Brazil is not yet a powerful organization, it has undertaken the task of playing an outstanding role in leading the Brazilian people in the liberation struggle. Because of its clear aims, its correct programme, the theory on which it is based and the policy it pursues, in a word, because it represents the interests of the revolutionary proletariat, it is a force which can serve as a revolutionary vanguard in the political arena in Brazil." **The resolution calls for energetic efforts to expand the ranks of the Party and establish close ties with the masses in order to build up such a vanguard.**

The resolution calls on the people to unfold a struggle against dictatorial rule. It points out that although the present Brazilian Government is helped

by U.S. monopoly capital, "it is weak because it serves the most retrogressive forces and runs counter to national interests. It is opposed by the people who have not yet given full expression to their resistance but who will sooner or later rise to topple the present vicious regime of our country."

**The resolution calls on the people to steadfastly and actively oppose dictatorial rule and those like Carlos Lacerda and company who demand more reactionary measures.** In the struggle for specific targets, it is necessary to unite all forces that can be united and neutralize all forces that can be neutralized. In this respect, the struggle for the achievement of the peasants' immediate demands is of immense significance. Not only is this struggle on the order of the day but so also is thoroughgoing land reform — the great banner of the unity of the peasants and the worker-peasant alliance.

**The current struggle against U.S. imperialist plunder and the traitorous policies of the government has a more striking character and has become the main task of the Brazilian people.** The dictatorial regime has opened the door wide to the U.S. monopolies for their exploitation and has shamelessly danced to the tune of the U.S. State Department. "That is why to defend national sovereignty, safeguard our industry and natural resources and put an end to U.S. imperialist rule has become a tremendous common factor contributing to the unity of the people."

"The April 1 coup d'etat was designed to arrest the rising tide of the democratic, anti-U.S. movement. However, the plotters of the rebellion and their U.S. sponsors have miscalculated. The demand for thorough reform has never been so strong as it is today. By its violence and injustice, its traitorous course of action and its anti-popular measures, the dictatorial regime has made the people realize more clearly the need of revolution.

"Patriotic democrats and the masses of labouring people anxiously want to know how victory can be won. The Communist Party of Brazil will try its best to respond to this concern here. It reiterates that **the basic problems of our country cannot be solved by peaceful means. To defeat their enemy, the people must build up their own armed forces in the course of struggle. . . . The Brazilian people are faced with the choice: either remaining as a satellite of U.S. imperialism to be bullied at will and to enjoy no freedom, or rising to make revolution. There is no third path.**"

"The success of those who staged the coup is but transient. Their superficial strength is only a manifestation of their intrinsic frailty. The Brazilian people will win final victory if they embark on the path of revolution and dare to fight against U.S. imperialism and its supporters in our country. The important thing is to make up one's mind and persevere in struggle so that revolution shall not remain a wish but become a glowing reality," the resolution says in conclusion.

# Turning Waterlogged Land Into Paddies

**I**N seven years the Linyi Special Administrative Region of Shantung Province, east China, has turned almost 1 million *mu* of former waterlogged or low-lying land into paddies. This is a particularly remarkable achievement because the counties that did it never planted rice before 1958. Their low-yield fields and boggy land grown over with rushes were flooded nine years out of ten in the past, but are now rated fertile farmland. Their rice yields far exceed those of other food crops.

This achievement has transformed the life of the 10,000 production teams going in for rice cultivation there. Teams which formerly failed to produce enough grain even for their own use are now able to set aside a surplus and have joined the ranks of the most productive farms. Commune members are enjoying a more varied diet and are eating more rice in place of their traditional foods like sorghum and sweet potatoes. This success has also further convinced the peasants of the advantages of a collective economy and strengthened their determination to master nature.

The new paddies of the Linyi region are concentrated in its southern part, extending over several counties along the banks of two rivers, the Yi and the Shu. This whole area was notorious for low yields in the past. Records between 1912 and 1949 show that the two rivers overflowed almost every year and inundated most of the present paddy area. This created great hardships for the local population, so once the peasants were liberated and became their own masters they determined to take drastic measures to boost farm yields and output.

## Earlier Efforts

As early as the spring of 1949, even before the founding of the People's Republic (Linyi is an Old Liberated Area freed before the liberation of the whole mainland in 1949), the local people's government allocated a considerable sum for the initial work to harness the Yi and Shu Rivers. Three and a half years later, the Shu had been given a new, straightened course on its lower reaches and the two

rivers were linked by a new canal. These works ensured that most of the flood waters would be led off harmlessly to the sea. The southern counties of the Linyi region felt an immediate relief from the age-old calamities.

Thereafter, the peasants organized themselves into mutual-aid teams and then farm co-ops and began many other capital construction projects to improve their farms. When the co-ops developed into people's communes in 1958, the whole Linyi region mapped out a comprehensive, multi-purpose plan to transform the two river basins. This envisaged water and soil conservation measures in the mountainous parts of the upper reaches and the building of reservoirs and irrigation or drainage channels along other parts of the rivers.

While this plan was being carried out, the peasants in the low-lying counties made use of the improved water-control situation to plant rice. Eager to improve farming conditions, they tried out this new crop on a large area. In an excess of zeal, this included some districts where irrigation facilities were still not well established. In this first attempt, quite a number of places failed to get normal yields partly because the system of irrigation was incomplete and partly because



Transplanting Rice Seedlings

Woodcut in colour by Yang Ko-yang

there were not enough skilled rice growers to cope with the new problems.

### Learning From Setback

Not daunted by this setback, the cadres and peasants set themselves to learn from it. Summing up the experience gained in the successful places, they reached three conclusions: Firstly, the projected paddy districts needed more and better water-control works. Secondly, there were a good many rice growers in various teams and these should be organized as the backbone of the technical force for rice cultivation. These were men and women who had fled from famine before liberation and for a time made their living by working in the paddy rice lands south of the Yangtse. Thirdly, it was agreed that rice could indeed be grown well under local conditions and the turning of waterlogged land into paddies was a realistic method of raising farm yields.

One of the most important lessons the commune members learnt from their setback was that any attempt to transform nature must be solidly based on a scientific assessment of conditions and that actions based on subjective thinking contained in themselves the sprouts of failure. In their new start to grow rice the next year, they first speeded up the building of irrigation networks, and then undertook a large-scale experimental planting on 20,000 *mu*. The harvest gave a per-*mu* yield of over 400 *jin* — a respectable figure — and many more peasants mastered the necessary cultivation techniques.

The Linyi people didn't let themselves grow dizzy from this success. They refrained from a hasty extension of the paddies, but planted demonstration fields in all places suited to growing rice. In the next three years more water-control works were completed along the Yi and Shu and 13,000 kilometres of irrigation channels were dug in the projected paddy areas. The area under rice grew to 140,000 *mu* and per-*mu* yield was increased to double that of other food crops. The knowledge of planting rice was spread far and wide and improvements in local cultivation techniques were made.

### New Successes

The paddy area was extended to 910,000 *mu* last year. The average yield was raised to 400 *jin* per *mu* while 24,000 *mu* produced between 800 and 1,000 *jin* per *mu*. These high-yield places thus reached the goal set themselves by the Linyi peasants in 1958: To learn from and catch up with the farms south of the Yangtse, and transform the land into paddies as good as those in the south.

The Yi and Shu are now no longer the carriers of disaster. They have become two large "irrigation channels" supplying water to the farmlands. When rainfall is excessive, part of the flood waters are drawn off into a series of reservoirs and the water level is kept below danger point. Double the normal amount of rain fell in July and August 1963, yet not a single dyke was breached. The two rivers now maintain an adequate

flow during dry spells or the low-water season. Without these gains, it would not have been possible to go on opening up new paddies.

Eighty-five per cent of the land under rice last year was in places where paddy rice had been grown for one or two years only or had never been grown before, but even the other 15 per cent of paddy had only grown rice for a few years. Yet the paddies everywhere were close-planted, well irrigated and gave high yields. A key factor in this success was that both cadres and peasants had mastered the intricacies of rice cultivation and their eager determination to change and master nature found expression in a high level of farm work. Most of them, coming new to rice growing, open-mindedly adopted the best modern methods.

This, however, does not mean that everyone accepted the switch to paddies without any doubts. Such a basic change could not but meet some resistance from the force of old habits. When sorghum was grown on Linyi's low-lying farms, it was essential to keep excess water out of the fields. In turning them into paddy fields, the flow had to be reversed. A number of cadres and peasants just would not believe that rice could be grown in their fields and give higher yields.

### Convinced by Facts

The local authorities knew that this kind of problem could not be solved just by issuing orders or compulsory measures so it organized the unconvinced to visit those brigades or teams which had already distinguished themselves in growing rice. Seeing is believing. Convinced of the benefits brought by turning low-yield land into paddies, the doubters, who came to quibble, would stay to ask all kinds of questions. Their doubts dispersed by facts, they would go back eager to plant rice.

The Linyi people raised a bumper rice crop last year. This, together with good yields of other food crops, boosted their year's grain output by 40 per cent. Thus encouraged, they have big new plans for 1965: they are going to plant rice on 1.2 million *mu*. The adding of another 290,000 *mu* to the rice area is no small feat but there are solid grounds to believe that it can be done successfully. A water conservancy campaign started last winter has brought irrigation to a large new area. A systematic study and summing up of last year's experience in rice cultivation has provided a wealth of valuable data. All the other relevant factors, which were taken into account before the plan took final shape, give cause for confidence: the volume of stored water, the amount of manpower and fertilizer available, the system of crop rotation. The weather, possible dry spells and other favourable or unfavourable conditions have been allowed for.

With their fine record of advance, the Linyi peasants have every reason for confidence that they will succeed in their new venture.

— HUNG YEN



## A Harried President

**N**ERVE-racking days and sleepless nights have got the American President down. Plagued by worries over the course of far-flung U.S. aggression, Johnson has been giving vent to complaints about his living conditions.

Testily he told Washington newsmen on May 5 that it seemed as if planes from the capital's National Airport were flying over his bedroom at 6 a.m. "I feel like I'm in the middle of an air raid." Even White House tourists are getting on his nerves. At 8 a.m., he said, "All the tourists are going by right under your bed."

It was reported that the harried Johnson is wistfully talking about taking up his presidential duties for perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the time back on his own stamping grounds, Texas. With U.S. imperialism floundering the way it is, even the wind through the bluebonnets of Texas and the grazing longhorns will give L.B.J. no chance to pull himself together.

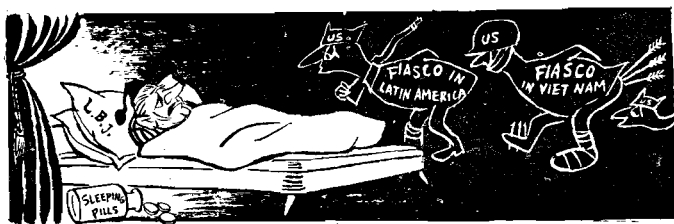
Yes, he needs a rest. Forced into a big round of speeches, Lyndon Johnson, according to U.S. press, has been looking unusually "tired" and "worn out."

One American reporter noted that the U.S. President had turned in "an extraordinary performance" in "an extraordinary week," with an outpouring of presidential statements on a scale that "may be unprecedented" coming out of the White House.

Not long ago, Johnson talked himself hoarse to justify the U.S. presence in Viet Nam. And now, he has had to repeatedly try and prove the legality of his administration's aggression against the Dominican Republic. The reasons he advanced are so fantastic that it is difficult to believe he had any power of reasoning left.

The U.S. President said that American troops were sent to the Dominican Republic to "protect the lives of Americans." According to this logic, President Johnson retains the right to send troops to any place where there are American nationals!

Later, when most of the American nationals in Santo Domingo were evacuated, Johnson had to rack his brains to find another reason. He said that U.S. troops had to remain in the Dominican Republic to "preserve law and order." While Mr. Johnson, as President of the United States, may have the "right" to quell the civil rights "riots" at home, what right does he have to "preserve law and order" in the Dominican Republic?



His Chickens Come Home to Roost

So L.B.J. had to come up with still another "reason." He said that the United States "cannot, must not, and will not permit the establishment of another communist government in the Western Hemisphere." This statement at least has the merit of being straightforward. But as soon as it was out of his mouth, Johnson realized he had gone too far. So he hastened to add, "The form and the nature of the free Dominican government, I assure you, is solely a matter for the Dominican people. . . ." However, his tell-tale tongue refused to stop here, and so he said in the same breath, "But we do know what kind of government we hope to see in the Dominican Republic."

The *New York Times* has commented that Johnson's language "is the language of 1898, not 1965." Perhaps this is where his trouble lies.

What was 1898 like? U.S. imperialism had just grabbed Cuba and the Philippines from Spain. The then U.S. President William McKinley, used divine inspiration to justify the U.S. occupation of the Philippines.

"I pace the floor of the White House every night till very late. . . . I have often fallen down on my knees and prayed, seeking light and guidance from Almighty God. One night, these ideas suddenly occurred to me," wrote this predecessor of Johnson's.

Just what were the ideas whispered by the Almighty into the ears of this God-fearing President of the United States of America? They were, first, the Philippines should not be returned to Spain; second, they should not be turned over to such rival powers as France and Germany; third, they should not be returned to their lawful possessors, the Filipinos, because these people had not "formed the habit of self-government"; fourth, since nobody was suitable, "we should occupy the Philippines, . . . give them Christian ideas because it was for them, too, that Christ died on the Cross." After this communion with God, so the story goes, President McKinley said, "I went to bed and slept soundly."

In so far as his efforts to justify his felonies are concerned, Lyndon Johnson has proved himself a worthy successor of William McKinley. He shares every ideal of this typical 19th-century imperialist. But the tragedy is that Johnson was born at the wrong time and has been operating at the wrong time — in the latter part of the 20th century — when the very earth under the feet of the imperialists is giving way.

Poor Lyndon Johnson! He cannot share McKinley's happy lot although he is no less a devotee of the gospel than was his forerunner.

Viet Nam has already taken up three-fourths of the President's time, and now there is the Dominican Republic. The pity of it all: For a U.S. President, the age of "sound sleep" is gone for ever. Moving his office from Washington D.C. to Austin, Texas, will not make the situation better.

— LI LUN

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Storm Brewing in U.S. "Backyard"

Washington is now reaping the whirlwind of what it has sown down the years south of the Rio Grande. The events in the Dominican Republic since April 28 when U.S. marines and airborne troops landed on the island to intervene openly on the side of the hated military junta have been a catalyst. Latin Americans now see more clearly than ever that they cannot lead the normal life of independent nations unless they rid themselves of Yankee imperialism and its local agents. From one end of the continent to the other a storm, violent and bursting into the open in some countries, temporarily subdued but no less persistent in others, is brewing menacingly against the colossus of the north. The resounding battle-cry is not just "Hands off the Dominican Republic!" "Americanos," they say, must be made to stop meddling in the affairs of all Latin American countries.

Dominican patriots are an inspiring example. In Santo Domingo,

the patriotic forces, fighting against a U.S. intervention army of 35,000 and the quisling forces of Wessin and Imbert who are armed to the teeth, are carrying their struggle into the fifth week. Encircled on three sides with their backs to the Caribbean Sea, they have beaten off one attack after another mounted by the enemy across the Ozama River. Thwarted in its plan to force a quick military decision, the Johnson Administration, while pressing on with the siege, is trying to disintegrate and disarm the patriotic forces by political chicanery — formation of a so-called coalition government with its yes-men in control. But the patriots have refused to yield. Part of their forces have withdrawn to the rural areas where, if need be, they will carry on armed resistance to the U.S. military occupation.

### Bolivia: General Strike

On May 17, seven thousand workers demonstrated in La Paz, the capital, to protest against the U.S.-supported regime of Rene Barrientos for arresting and exiling Juan Lechin, the miners' leader, and for indefinitely postponing the presidential election scheduled for the autumn. Strikes followed. Shops put up their shutters. Trains stopped running. Schools were closed. Newspapers ceased publication. Work in the capital came to a standstill, and the tin industry, the backbone of the nation's economy, was paralysed. The Barrientos regime cracked down on the workers and those who demonstrated in their support. In reply to the declaration of a nationwide state of siege, the Bolivian

miners have taken up arms to defend themselves, and are poised for an armed struggle against the government's suppression campaign. They have adopted a fighting slogan: We will not allow Barrientos to turn Bolivia into a second Dominican Republic.

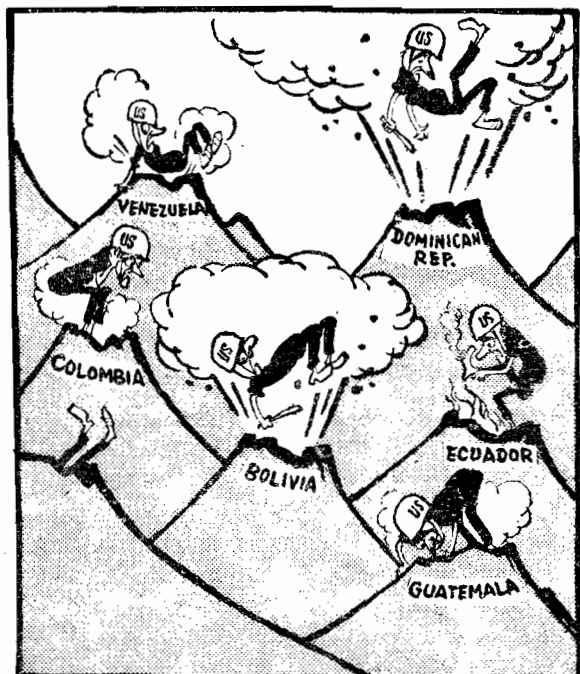
### Colombia: Students Protest

After days of demonstrations by over 30,000 students in Bogota and other cities against the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic and police attacks on the demonstrators, the Valencia government has also proclaimed a state of siege. In part this was to cope with growing unrest among the people and in part to restrict the guerrilla fighting that is spreading in the country. The day before the state of siege was announced the students fought the police with stones and gasoline bombs and in one melee stormed and seized a radio station from which they broadcast a message calling on their compatriots to support a nationwide protest strike. The students demand the resignation of President Valencia, Washington's man in Bogota. Shouts of "Yankees get out of the Dominican Republic!" and "Yankees get out of Latin America!" are echoing through the land.

### Ecuador: Business Life Crippled

Strikes and demonstrations were also the order of the day in Guayaquil, Ecuador's largest city. They were directed against the pro-U.S. military junta which has designed a new tax law to protect the interests of its American masters at the expense of Ecuador's national industry and commerce. From May 10 on shops and banks in Guayaquil stopped business and importers refused to collect their imported merchandise from the customs. Other trades were affected and business life in the city was crippled. Not only do the Ecuadorian people oppose the new tax law, they also seek the ousting of the American-backed regime.

This anti-U.S. feeling has been rising in all parts of Latin America, in Peru, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, and even in Brazil itself where the United States has been strongly en-



Cartoon by Ke Ming

trenched since the coup d'etat of April last year. The national-democratic movement is rapidly gathering momentum. So much is changing so quickly that the *U.S. News & World Report*, the journal which speaks for Wall Street's moneyed interests, has had to contradict itself within less than a month. In its May 3 issue the magazine wrote that Dean Rusk, George Ball and William Bundy, Lyndon Johnson's top foreign affairs aides, held that though developments in Asia and Africa were a big headache for the United States, looking "around the world, you find the brightest spot for Americans is the closest to home — in Latin America." But in its May 24 issue, the magazine sang another tune, saying: "In countries from one end of Latin America to the other, tensions are building up at this time. The prospects for explosions range from possible to probable throughout the area."

### Johnson's Viet Nam Policy

#### Under Heavy Fire

Teach-in, a novel kind of debate owing its name to the American civil-rights movement, is a by-product of the Johnson Administration's fiasco in Viet Nam. It is a new device by which American professors and students seek to air their resentment and dissatisfaction with the government's policy of war in Viet Nam.

One of the most widely reported of these teach-ins was the one held on May 15 in the ballroom of the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington. Starting at 9 a.m. and continued up to midnight, the debate was watched by TV viewers at 120 universities and colleges and listened to by many people through radio and special telephone networks.

Most of the speakers lambasted Johnson's war in Viet Nam. Prof. Eric Wolf of the University of Michigan, who presided, said that the American people were "deeply troubled" and "demanded to know the truth" about Johnson's policy in Viet Nam. Obviously referring to Secretary of State Rusk's charge about "gullible" professors, Wolf said the Johnson Administration was ap-

parently assuming that the American people were "fools" by telling them that the issues surrounding the Viet Nam situation were "too complex for them to understand."

Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau of the University of Chicago said that the United States had involved itself in a purely civil war in south Viet Nam. The true aim of the Johnson Administration, he said, was not "to obtain freedom for the south Vietnamese people" but "to contain China." In an article appearing in the *New Republic* (April 3) entitled "War with China?" Morgenthau had warned the Johnson Administration in these words: "All our leaders, past and present, even those who have deemed a war with China inevitable, have recoiled from the idea of sending millions of American soldiers to the mainland of Asia to fight." He urged the U.S. Government to "prudence" lest it "stumbles unawares deeper and deeper into a morass from which there is no retreat."

McGeorge Bundy, Johnson's national security adviser who was billed as the principal government spokesman, cancelled his appearance at the last minute on the plea that he had been detained by "other duties." His withdrawal, which elicited boos and laughs from the audience, is an indication of embarrassment and the pretty fix in which the Johnson Administration finds itself.

Today, even Congressmen who once supported the Johnson line are backing out. Of the 19 members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 11 are against the Administration's present policy towards Viet Nam. Many Senators, including Frank Church, George McGovern and Joseph Clark who endorsed Johnson's policy at the time of the so-called Bac Bo Gulf incident have now come out against him. Attacked not only by the Republicans but by important Congressmen of his own party, the U.S. President faces criticism sharper and more acrimonious than before. Small wonder Johnson muttered, according to the American *Time* magazine (May 14): "I am the most denounced man in the

world. . . ." He has tried the "personal touch" of talking to more than 500 Congressmen and a large number of influential columnists and sending out "truth squads" to the universities to explain his Viet Nam policy. But the criticism, instead of being silenced, is growing louder. Escalation of the war is bringing escalation of reverses, not only in Viet Nam but also in the United States itself.

### Labour's Britain

#### Clumsy Canard

An article in the April 29 issue of the British *Foreign Report* (published by the weekly *Economist*) with the title "A Message from Peking" conjured up just what Washington expects the British Labour government to achieve on the question of Viet Nam. In this fancy piece of fiction *Foreign Report* alleged that Peking has "conveyed" what was called a "conciliatory 'message' to Washington through Japanese semi-official sources" and "through other channels." It wrote that "Peking is prepared to make the concessions that are within its powers" and to "negotiate" with the United States and that "Peking feels able to persuade its allies definitely to drop any pre-condition to negotiations, such as the demand that the American 'aggression' in Viet Nam must first be stopped." It even went to the length of saying that "Peking is prepared to work for genuine neutralization of south (and possibly all) Viet Nam on terms acceptable to the United States." And so on and so forth.

To those who follow the conduct of the British Labour government in relation to the U.S. war in Viet Nam it is not difficult to understand the motives lying behind these lies. The U.S. Government has tried its best to sell the "unconditional discussions" hoax. But without success. For weeks the Wilsons, Stewarts and Gordon Walkers have been crying Washington's wares in exchange for the Johnson Administration's support of the weakened pound sterling and Britain's crumbling position in "Malaysia." The inspired article in *Foreign Report* is one more service to U.S. imperialism by London.

## For Your Reference

# **U.S. Political Intervention and Armed Subversion in Latin America**

**B**EFORE landing marines in April this year to carry out armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, U.S. imperialism has committed countless crimes of political intervention and armed subversion in Latin American countries. Following is a brief record of its major crimes since the establishment of the Organization of American States in 1948.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
Peru	Oct. 1948	Engineered military coup, set up Odria dictatorial regime
Venezuela	Nov. 1948	Stage-managed coup, set up P. Jimenez dictatorship
Salvador	Dec. 1948	Instigated coup, installed Osorio's one-man rule
Bolivia	May 1951	Directed Ballivian's coup, established military dictatorship
Cuba	Mar. 1952	Instigated coup, installed dictator Batista
Paraguay	May 1954	Engineered coup, set up Stroessner dictatorship in July
Guatemala	June 1954	Organized invasion from Honduras, overthrew the democratic Arbenz government
Brazil	Aug. 1954	Master-minded military coup, forcing President G. Vargas to commit suicide
Mexico	Second half of 1954	Instigated coup, but was defeated by the people
Costa Rica	Jan. 1955	Ordered attack against Costa Rica by Nicaraguan dictator A. Somoza, but was repulsed
Chile	May 1955	Plotted to dissolve parliament and set up military dictatorship, but was defeated
Brazil	Oct.-Nov. 1955	Plotted coup, but failed
Venezuela	July, Sept., Nov. 1958	Instigated three coups, which were all defeated
Haiti	July 1958	Directed military coup, but failed
Argentina	July 1958	Plotted and directed army coup, but was defeated
Dominican Rep.	Jan. 1959	Sent 2,000 marines ashore on "unofficial visit" to threaten the Dominican people who were carrying out an anti-U.S. and anti-dictatorship struggle
Dominican Rep.	Feb. 1960	Landed 4,000 U.S. marines to interfere in Dominican affairs
Guatemala and Nicaragua	Nov. 1960	Sent naval and air forces to the Caribbean Sea to threaten Cuba and directly interfere in the patriotic democratic struggle of the people of Guatemala and Nicaragua
Salvador	Jan. 1961	U.S. Embassy engineered and took part in coup, set up pro-U.S. dictatorial regime
Cuba	Apr. 1961	Organized and sent mercenary troops to invade Cuba, but suffered a disastrous defeat
Dominican Rep.	June 1961	Sent 40 warships to Dominican waters and declared readiness to prevent possible revolution in the Republic
Brazil	Aug. 1961	Stage-managed coup, compelled President Quadros to resign, unsuccessfully attempted to establish military dictatorship and force the government in office to discard policy of non-intervention towards Cuba
Ecuador	Nov. 1961	Conspired with reactionary forces in Ecuador to set up dictatorial regime, but failed
Dominican Rep.	Nov. 1961	Dispatched warships to Dominican waters to support puppet President Balaguer
Argentina	Mar. 1962	Engineered coup by reactionary officers, set up pro-U.S. Guido regime
Peru	July 1962	Instigated military coup by reactionary military officers and set up dictatorial regime headed by Perez Godoy
Peru	Mar. 1963	Again instigated military coup and set up a more pro-U.S. dictatorial regime
Guatemala	Mar. 1963	Directed coup by ultra-Right-wing officers to establish a more pro-U.S. dictatorship
Ecuador	July 1963	Instigated coup by reactionary military clique to set up dictatorial regime
Dominican Rep.	Sept. 1963	Engineered coup by ultra-Right-wing military officers and police to set up pro-U.S. dictatorship
Honduras	Oct. 1963	Stage-managed coup by reactionary army officers to set up dictatorial regime
Uruguay	Jan. 1964	Instigated Right-wing army coup, but failed
Panama	Jan. 1964	Massacred Panamanian people defending national sovereignty
Brazil	April 1964	Stage-managed military coup and set up pro-U.S. military regime

# ACROSS THE LAND

## Six Models of Tractors

CHINA is producing six models of tractors ranging from small walking tractors to heavy duty 100 h.p. crawlers. They have been designed and developed after exhaustive studies and tests specifically for Chinese farm requirements and as a rational and economic answer to China's tractor needs at the present stage. A wide assortment of mounted or trailing implements and attachments have also been designed for these tractors and are available to handle the varied jobs which farms in different parts of the country have to tackle in cultivating different crops.

Models in regular production are: the *East Is Red-54* crawler tractor; the *Red Flag-100*, a crawler tractor designed for large-scale land reclamation; the *East Is Red-75*, an improved version of the versatile 54-h.p. machine of the same name which is designed for dry cropping in north and northeast China; the *East Is Red-28*, a small, all-purpose wheeled tractor well-suited for cultivating cotton and maize; the *Bumper Harvest-35*, a 35-h.p. pneumatic-tyred tractor for the paddy fields of south China; and the 7-h.p. *Worker-Peasant* walking tractor for truck gardens, orchards and terraced slopes.

The tractor industry was built from scratch after liberation. The first tractors were brought to China in 1915. In the 34 years between then and liberation in 1949, the number increased to a mere 1,200. All were imported. The first tractor plant was begun in 1955 at Loyang, in Honan Province. Commissioned in 1959, it has turned out tens of thousands of *Dongfanghong* (East Is Red) 54 h.p. crawler tractors. There are tractor plants now in Shanghai, Shenyang, Anshan, Nanchang, Wuhan and other cities.

## New Examination Methods

STUDENTS taking exams at Shanghai's Chiaotung University, carry their textbooks, notes and reference

materials into the examination hall and are allowed to refer to them. In certain cases, examination papers are distributed in advance and students are permitted to discuss questions with one another during the exam.

This practice is one of a number of new measures being tried out in Chinese colleges. They are designed to discourage learning by rote and to foster independent thinking and give fuller play to the students' initiative in study. Asked if the new system would make exams too easy for students, the head of the examination board replied: "There are no ready-made answers in the books to any of the problems set in the exams. Unless they have mastered what they have been taught and are able to use their knowledge freely, they cannot turn in satisfactory answers."

A recent examination for second-year physics students was set mainly to test the students' ability to apply basic concepts and principles in solving problems. In one test students were asked to devise methods for determining the wave-lengths of visible and ultraviolet rays.

In examination on technical subjects, such as the principles of welding, discussion among the students was permitted. Problems set were of direct practical value in industry and

demanding all-round understanding and application of what had been learnt. Final marks were decided by reference to tests over a period and laboratory work and assignments.

Since the new practice of "open examinations" was introduced last term, the students have made marked progress in mastering their subjects and showed greater ability in analysing and solving real problems. Many have advanced valuable original ideas in their exam papers.

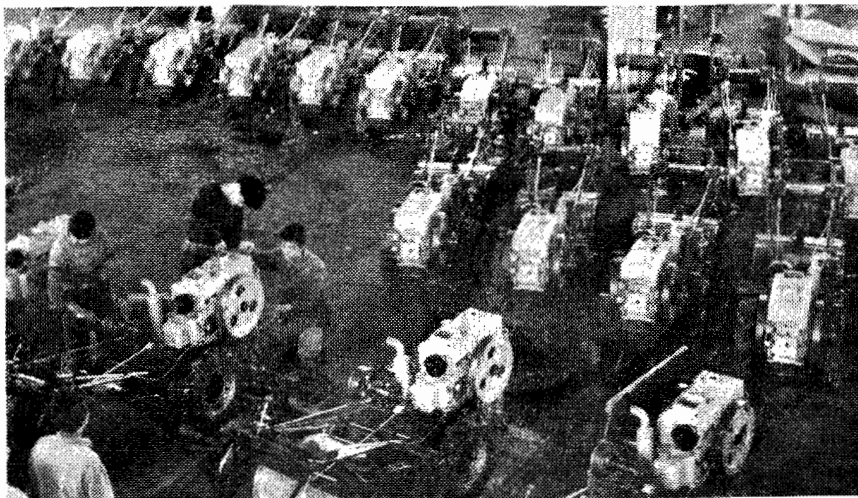
## Fast-Growing Cement Industry

INNER Mongolia made no cement at all a few years ago. Then a number of small works were put into operation. Now it is building a new, modern cement works with an annual capacity of 300,000 tons. This growth is typical of the rapid expansion of China's cement industry.

China has increased its output of cement 16-fold in the past 15 years. Every province, municipality and autonomous region now has its own cement works, many with large modern mines to supply the raw materials.

In recent years, in addition to expanding and renovating old works, a dozen up-to-date large and medium-sized ones have been built throughout the country. These have capacities of from 200,000 to 700,000 tons a year.

More than 20 kinds of cement are being made. These include high-grade cement for big bridge piers, reservoir dams and oil refineries.



Assembling Worker-Peasant-7 walking tractors

## Japanese Drama in Peking

by TSAO YU

*The current visit to China of the Japanese Modern Drama Company is the result of an unprecedented co-operative effort in progressive Japanese drama circles. Fifteen troupes contributed to the personnel of the company, which include several of the leading figures of the Japanese stage and a number of brightly emerging young talents. The visit has been warmly appreciated in Chinese theatrical circles and by the general public.*

*Noted playwright Tsao Yu, Vice-President of the Chinese Dramatists' Union, wrote for us the following review of the Japanese performances.—Ed.*

I SAW all the plays so finely presented by the Japanese Modern Drama Company in Peking. We gave each a tremendous ovation. At such moments one felt the full warmth of the friendship between the peoples of China and Japan. We knew that our Japanese friends had come to China despite all the obstacles put in their way by the U.S. imperialists, Japanese reaction and modern revisionism.

The company brought four plays. They glowed with a militant spirit and the genius of the Japanese theatre.

The historical play *Peasant Uprising in Gujo* re-enacts a Japanese peasant revolt of the 18th century. The peasant leader Satajiro (Takizawa Osamu) is a hero who emerges in the struggle against the feudal lords. He leaves home and family for the cause and rallies the

peasants together for a fight to the finish in which he sacrifices his own life.

The play successfully recreates the sweep of the peasants' struggle. The main outlines are drawn boldly; the details of the story are handled with delicate perception. Mr. Hiroshi Kobayashi, the playwright, and Mr. Tomoyoshi Murayama, the director, have succeeded in creating a moving drama of class struggle.

Mr. Osamu's Satajiro is a true peasant hero — with the deep feeling of the working people, and at the same time cool and level-headed. His acting has a restrained force and a terse eloquence. In one scene he and two other peasant leaders have just decided to take the peasants' complaints to the authorities at Edo at the risk of their lives. The strains of subdued singing and drums come from afar, and, his hands clasped together, Satajiro is sunk in thought,

remaining so for some time. In this passage, silence is pregnant with drama. On the stage there is a tension which an ancient Chinese poet once described in the lines: "Before the torrential rains rush down from the mountains, the house rocks in the wind. . . ." One can sense the feelings racing through his mind — uppermost of which is determination to carry out his task — unto death.

In the prison scene, in the scenes where he escapes from his cell and reaches home and where he says farewell to his family before going to his execution, he communicates his meaning with a minimum of words and gestures. He uses extremely precise means of artistic expression to portray this tragic but heroic role and the rich spiritual world of the peasant leader.

This production is a complete artistic unity. Each peasant — and there are many — is a realistic characterization, oppressed but unconquered. "Though it did not rain, our clothes are wet, for our tears have made them so" — the refrain of the Japanese peasants' song long remains in our minds. In the finale all three peasant leaders are decapitated. Their heads are shown to the people as a warning. As Satajiro's widow expressionlessly reads out the notice of execution, the people come quietly up to her. At their centre, she slowly, wordlessly, starts dancing. The people follow her example and also wordlessly join in the Gujo dance. Suddenly, the drums break through the silence, and the sound of singing rises all around. The peasants



The finale of *Peasant Uprising in Gujo*

Sketch by Li Ke-yu

demonstrate their strength and solidarity against the reactionary rulers with the earth-pounding weight of their steps, and we feel that the valiant Japanese people will surely triumph over the enemy.

*The Japanese Phantom* exposes the crimes of Japanese militarism and U.S. imperialism during the last world war and after. It was written by the well-known Japanese playwright Yuji Koyama expressly for this tour.

The poison gas of the Japanese militarists, the atom bombs of U.S. imperialism and the infection by the American way of life brought untold calamities to the Japanese people. There is tragedy in the lives of Gunzo Hiroyasu, a worker at the island where poison gas is made for the militarists, and Kikuko Danjo, victim of U.S. atomic radiation, but they are undaunted. They have the strong, resolute character of the Japanese people. Gradually, they awake to the fact that they must unite with the people and resist and drive out U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries it nurtures.

Eijiro Tono in the role of Hiroyasu reveals rich nuances of character. Haruko Sugimura as Danjo gives a penetrating portrayal of the Japanese woman intellectual. Steadfast, sincere and gentle, she never gives up the fight in the face of illness. Sachiko Murase as Shobu and Etsuko Ichihara as Sueko are also very successful.

I also liked the contemporary *New Year's Eve* and the folk legend *The Bamboo Maiden*. The former is a biting satire on landlord greed and cunning and an exposure of what sorrows and misery they can bring to the Japanese working women. The latter, with its delightful songs and dances, carries one into a fairytale world with a specific Japanese charm. It is a poem to the Japanese working people's longing for happiness and an ideal life and makes pungent fun of ignorant rulers with their riches, power, sycophants and pretensions to knowledge.

Despite the U.S. imperialists' attempts to corrupt the modern Japa-

nese theatre, progressive drama circles in Japan have answered aggression and cultural imperialism with anti-U.S. demonstrations, with shouts of "Get out, U.S. imperialism!" and with these plays, which have brought to China the wrathful voice of the Japanese people and their aspirations in struggle.

## CINEMA

### **Historic Anti-Fascist Films**

Twenty years ago in May, people over the world rejoiced in victory over fascism. An embattled Red Armyman raised the red flag with the hammer and sickle over the dome of the Berlin Reichstag. Hitlerite fascism was consigned to the grave, and Japanese fascism soon followed. The Soviet Army's historic march on Berlin and that day of victory is dramatized on the screen in the Soviet colour film *The Fall of Berlin*. It has inspired millions of Chinese through the post-war years. Now it is again stirring Chinese audiences. A "film week" beginning on May 8 in Peking and other Chinese cities showed this and 23 other old and well-loved anti-fascist films from the Soviet Union, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. This was one of many activities commemorating the 20th anniversary of victory over German fascism. Popular interest has been so great that in Peking, the "week" has now been extended to five.

Seeing the *Battle of Stalingrad*, we live through the days and nights of that epic struggle. Hitler, concentrating 50 divisions, planned to seize it in a blitz attack, but he had not reckoned with the heroism of the Red Army, the grit of the Stalingraders, and above all, the brilliant military strategy of Stalin. We will not forget the image of the great leader of the Soviet people. Planning ahead for victory in the darkest days of the war, he mapped out, step by step, the strategy that encircled and crushed the Hitlerite

armies, turned the tide of the war and launched the Soviet Army on the road to Berlin. We will not forget the Red Army defenders of Stalingrad, fighting from street to street, house to house, stairway to stairway. We will not forget the picture of the young woman, holding her dead child in her arms, standing amidst the ruins under the smoke-filled sky—the embodiment of the people, who are unconquerable.

Soviet heroes and heroines whose exploits have long encouraged the Chinese people in their own revolutionary struggle pass again before our eyes in the films *An Ordinary Soldier* and *Zoya*. We see the young Matrosov fearlessly rushing towards the enemy blockhouse to silence the machine gun with his body, opening for his comrades the road to advance. We see Zoya, outstanding member of the Leninist Communist Youth League, enduring German fascist tortures without blanching, until, under the gallows, she calls out: "Comrades, rise and fight! Down with the German bandits! Stalin is with us!"

In *Song of the Eagle* (Albania), *Border Street* (Poland), *Waves of the Danube* (Rumania), *Silent Barricade* (Czechoslovakia) and other films, we see a galaxy of unsung heroes, men and women, children and old people, fighting in the mortal struggle against the fascists.

Hitler is dead, but not fascism. In the postwar years, U.S. imperialism has taken the place of German, Italian and Japanese fascism. In *Operation Teutonic Sword* and *Council of the Gods* (G.D.R.) we see the U.S. imperialists raising the German fascists up from the cellars and gutters, and rabidly fanning the flames of revanchism. . . .

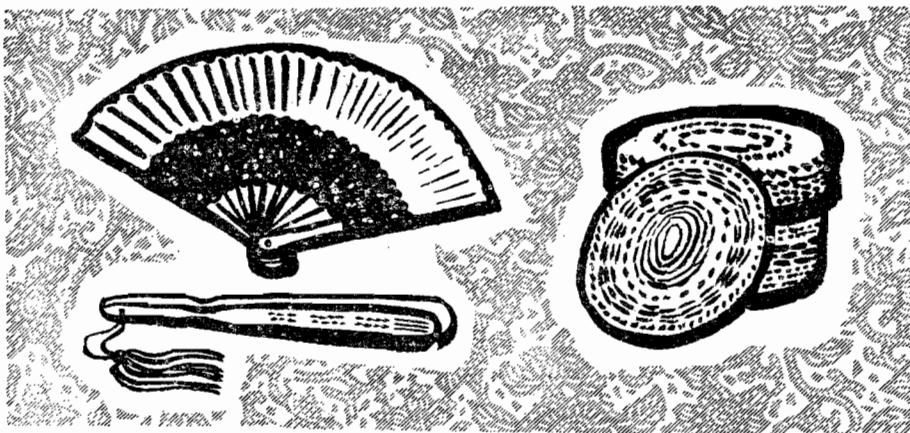
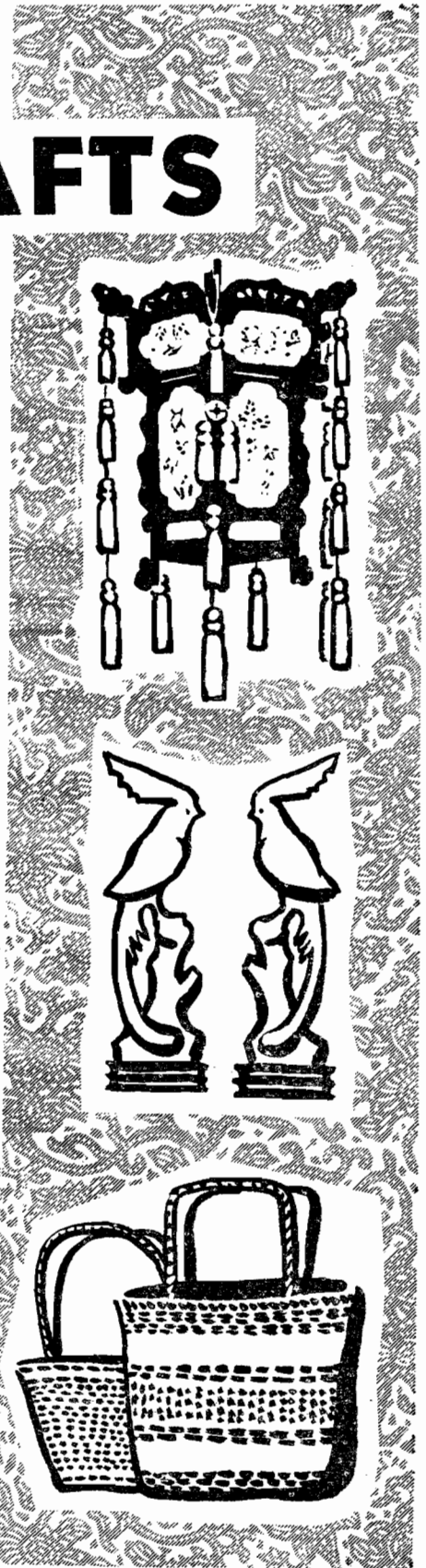
To both old and young who see them, these films give the same historical lesson: The peoples dared to fight Hitlerism, and they triumphed. Today, U.S. neo-Hitlerism has arisen. The peoples, daring to fight, will win again.

# SHANGHAI ARTS & CRAFTS

## Exporters of

- Hand-embroidered fancy tablecloths, pillowcases, bed-sheets, aprons, etc.
- Woollen needlepoint tapestries
- Cotton, woollen, nylon, & p.v.c. gloves
- Readymade hats; and buntal, sisal, synthetic fibre & straw hat bodies
- Carvings of jade, ivory, soapstone, wood, & bamboo
- Lacquer floor screens from Yangchow, in carved lacquer, or inlaid with jade, ivory, mother-of-pearl, etc.
- Hardwood furniture & carved blackwood articles
- Jewellery inlaid with precious stones
- Lamps, fans, silk parasols & umbrellas
- Hand-plaited straw, & bamboo articles
- Reproductions of Chinese antique porcelain & paintings
- Other art and fancy handicraft goods

*We will also take bulk orders to make articles  
according to your specifications*



**CHINA NATIONAL TEA & NATIVE PRODUCE IMPORT & EXPORT CORP.**

SHANGHAI ARTS & CRAFTS BRANCH

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