

PEKING REVIEW

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January 22, 1965

Indian Government Strips Off Mask

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A survey of policy and developments (p. 7).

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 22, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 4

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on January 20 condemning U.S. bombing of Laotian liberated areas.
- Foreign Minister Chen Yi wrote to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, calling attention to the U.S. plot of dragging south Korean puppet troops into its war of aggression in south Viet Nam.
- *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator on January 17 denounced the mass arrest of Indian Communists upholding Marxism-Leninism by the Indian Government.
- Commemorating the fourth anniversary of the murder of Patrice Lumumba, *Renmin Ribao* in an editorial on January 17 hailed Lumumba's indomitable spirit as a great inspiration to the Congolese people in their fight for liberation.
- The Chinese press published:
 - the November 22, 1964, commentary carried by *Akahata*, organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, on the real nature of Khrushchov's line of "peaceful coexistence."
 - the full text of an article by Commentator of *Akahata* on December 28, 1964, entitled "On the Series of New Attacks by V.I. Prokhorov and Others on the Japanese Communist Party."
 - extracts from "Proletarian Revolutionary Character and Petty Bourgeois 'Revolutionism'" by K. Varlamov and N. Slamikhin, which was published in issue No. 18 of the Soviet journal *Communist*.
 - excerpts from "State of the Whole People," an article by the editorial department of *Pravda* on December 6, 1964.
 - excerpts from "For Unity of Democratic Forces" by Timofeyev, published in *Pravda* on December 20, 1964.
 - excerpts from an article by Ib Norlund, Member of the Political Bureau of the Danish Communist Party, published in *Land og Folk*, organ of the Party, on October 31, 1964.
 - excerpts from the December 1, 1964 editorial of *Kansan Uutiset*, organ of the Communist Party of Finland.

Leaders Receive P.L.A. Men

Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and state on January 17 received the members of the air force units who had recently distinguished themselves in shooting down the two U.S. unmanned, high-altitude spy planes flying over China. The leaders at the same time received delegates to ten national conferences being held in Peking and amateur artists from the Chinese People's Liberation Army now giving performances in the capital.

Japanese C.P. Leader's Visit

Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, arrived in Canton on January 19 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the

Chinese Communist Party to spend a holiday in China.

Those greeting him included Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee; and Liu Ning-I, Member of the Party's Central Committee. They had come specially from Peking to welcome him. That evening, Teng Hsiao-ping gave a banquet in honour of Comrade Kenji Miyamoto.

Indonesian Comrades in Peking

Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on January 16 met with Sidartojo, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Indo-

Foreign Ministry Statement Condemns U.S. Bombing in Laos

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement on January 20, strongly condemning the U.S. imperialists for committing direct aggression against Laos by wantonly bombing the liberated areas. The statement reads:

On January 13, twenty-four U.S. F-100 and F-105 jet fighter-bombers invaded the Xieng Khouang liberated areas in Laos and heavily bombed the Ban Ban area along Highway No. 7. This was unabashedly admitted by the spokesmen of the U.S. Defence and State Departments in their public statements on the same day. This is a grave move taken by the Johnson Administration of the United States to expand its direct armed aggression in Laos in flagrant violation of the Geneva agreements.

Since the United States directed the Laotian Rightist faction to stage the military coup d'état in Vientiane last April, U.S. imperialism has incessantly sent out its air force on reconnaissance and bombing missions over the liberated areas of Laos and carried out armed interference in Laotian internal affairs. At the same time, the United States has made repeated attempts to disrupt the Laotian tripartite talks and tried hard to obstruct the convocation of the 14-nation conference. In order to support its war of aggression in south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has recently gone further to instigate the Laotian Rightist faction to launch in collusion with the puppet clique of

south Viet Nam large-scale joint attacks on areas in central and southern Laos and sent out fighter-bombers, including F-105s, to carry out wanton and indiscriminate bombings of the Laotian liberated areas. All this shows that U.S. imperialism is stepping up its new adventurous scheme for expanding the war in Indo-China.

The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for its unscrupulous violations of the Geneva agreements and its expansion of direct aggression in Laos, and resolutely support the Laotian people in their just, patriotic anti-U.S. struggle. U.S. imperialism

must immediately stop its military adventures in Laos and the whole of Indo-China, or it will receive its due punishment from the stern counterblows of the people of Laos and other Indo-Chinese states. The Chinese Government hopes that the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference will face up to the grave situation prevailing in Laos and Indo-China and will live up in earnest to their responsibilities by taking actual steps to check the U.S. direct armed aggression in Laos and its adventurous scheme for expanding the war in Indo-China so as to uphold the Geneva agreements and safeguard peace in that area.

Chen Yi Writes to Co-Chairmen of Geneva Conference

Embarking on another dangerous move to spread the flames of war in Indo-China, U.S. imperialism is scheming to drag south Korean puppet troops into its war of aggression in south Viet Nam and so achieve its aim of making "Asians fight Asians." On January 13 Foreign Minister Chen Yi wrote to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and to the Foreign Ministers of all the participating countries, drawing their attention to this latest development. He pointed out that it was another grave move taken by the United States to wreck the Geneva agreements, expand the war in Indo-China and go on to internationalize the war of aggression in south Viet Nam.

"The Chinese Government," the letter said, "hopes that the participating nations of the 1954 Geneva Conference, particularly the Governments of the Soviet Union and Britain which are the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, will give serious consideration to the demand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and take effective measures and action to stop the U.S. scheme to drag the troops of its vassals into the war of aggression in south Viet Nam and expand the war in Indo-China." Foreign Minister Chen Yi concluded his message with a call to implement the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam so as to preserve peace in Indo-China and Asia.

nesian Communist Party, and Tjoo Tiek Tjun, Member of its Central Committee. They had a cordial and friendly talk.

Later, Kang Sheng gave a banquet in honour of the Indonesian comrades.

More Indian Intrusions

In its January 3 note to the Indian Embassy in Peking, the Chinese Foreign Ministry strongly protested against a series of new and grave intrusions by Indian troops along the China-Sikkim boundary. The note

gave details of the intrusions into Chinese territory and pointed out that the Indian troops had built many military structures of an aggressive nature at the Natu La and Tungchula Passes on the China-Sikkim boundary and unlawfully entrenched themselves there. These troops, the note said, "have up to now refused to withdraw in spite of serious and repeated protests from China."

The note emphasized the gravity of India's disregard for China's sovereignty and its constant extension of the scope of intrusion in an obvious

attempt to create tension along the China-Sikkim border. "In order to safeguard China's territorial sovereignty and maintain tranquillity along the China-Sikkim border," the note declared, "the Chinese Government once again urges the Indian side to dismantle immediately all its military works built on Chinese territory or on the China-Sikkim boundary line, withdraw all its troops unlawfully entrenched there, return the livestock of Chinese herdsmen seized by the Indian troops and stop all its aggressive activities."

New Delhi Reaction Strips Off Mask

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

"Another Glaring Exposure of the Indian Government's Reactionary Features" is the title of a January 17 "Renmin Ribao" commentary on New Delhi's arrest of Indian Communists who uphold Marxism-Leninism. Following is a translation of the article. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

ON December 30, 1964, the Indian Government suddenly started mass arrests all over the country of Indian Communists who adhere to Marxism-Leninism. Some 800 Communists were reported to have been put into prison, including P. Sundarayya, General Secretary, H.S. Surjeet, M. Basavapunniah, A.K. Gopalan, and P. Ramamurti, Political Bureau Members, and other leaders of the Communist Party of India.

With deep indignation, the Chinese people sternly condemn this fascist outrage of the Indian Government, and extend their high regards and heartfelt sympathy to the comrades of the Communist Party of India now under arrest.

The mass arrest of Indian Communists, is another counter-revolutionary action taken by the Indian Government to suppress the national-democratic movement of the broad sections of the Indian people. It has further exposed the reactionary features of the Indian Government.

At its Seventh Congress in Calcutta from October 31 to November 7 last year, holding high the banners of persevering with Marxism-Leninism and combating revisionism, of safeguarding world peace and opposing imperialism and colonialism, and of defending national independence and striving for people's democracy, the Communist Party of India purged from its ranks the renegade Dange group. The congress won the acclaim of the Indian people and all revolutionary people of the world.

The big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class of India and the imperialists and modern revisionists were alarmed beyond measure at the holding of the congress and the great successes achieved at it.

The *Times of India* expressed its uneasiness after the Calcutta meeting, saying that "it will not be surprising" if the policies of the Communist Party of India "bring them an increasing measure of popular support."

Since his assumption of power, Shastri has followed Nehru's long-discredited reactionary home and foreign policies, thereby precipitating an ever more acute state of crisis in India's domestic and foreign affairs.

Under its anti-China signboard, the Indian Government has intensified its exploitation of the people to expand armament and prepare for war. This has increasingly aggravated India's economic situation.

Throughout India today food shortage is most serious, prices are soaring and the people are destitute. This state of affairs has aroused increasing opposition from the people, so that strikes and demonstrations have been held in many places in defiance of the "state of emergency" restrictions. The State Government of the Congress Party in Kerala was thrown out of office in September last year on a charge of corruption and misgovernment; the rule of the Congress Party, which represents the interests of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords, is most unstable.

In foreign affairs, as the Indian Government is becoming more and more a protege of U.S. imperialism, begging for its "aid" and working for its "global strategy," India's cloak of "non-alignment" has become more tattered than ever and its anti-China schemes have all fallen through. India's utter isolation at the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries is the best proof of this.

The Indian Government is now trying to save its tottering rule by suppressing the Communist Party of India and the revolutionary people.

By doing this, it seeks to stamp out the Indian people's opposition to its reactionary policy and forestall any favourable results for the Communist Party of India in the Kerala state elections scheduled for February 15 this year.

It hopes to prop up the renegade Dange group which has been spurned by the proletariat and the broad masses of the people of India and to continue using this renegade group as a tool for sabotaging and disintegrating the revolutionary struggle of the Indian people.

It hopes to stir up another anti-China campaign to divert the attention of the people and please U.S. imperialism in order to obtain more alms from it.

The Indian reactionaries are overjoyed at this arrest of the Marxist-Leninist leaders of the Communist Party of India. U.S. imperialism, too, has shown deep pleasure. With ill-concealed joy, the Associated Press praised the Shastri government for having made a "historic," "important" decision, declaring that "never before had Shastri wielded his iron fist so forcefully."

But they have rejoiced too soon.

The mass arrest of Indian Communists does not in any way mean that the Indian Government is "powerful." On the contrary, it shows that it has become more rotten and more brittle. This is why it is even willing to shed the cloak of bourgeois democracy and fully expose its reactionary features. All reactionaries in the world are like this: the more rotten they are and the harder they find it to maintain their rule, the more

brutal means will they employ to deal with the revolutionary people. Chiang Kai-shek of China in his day made mass arrests of Communists and massacred them. But in his so doing the broad masses of the Chinese people gradually came to see what stuff he was made of and his doom was irrevocably sealed. **Now, by stripping off its own mask of "democracy" and "socialism," the Indian Government can only make the Indian people join in the struggle against the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords more resolutely, thus stimulating the national-democratic revolutionary movement in India.**

This reactionary step by the Indian Government can also do nothing but a disservice to the Dange group. People can now see very clearly that on the one hand is the Communist Party of India brutally suppressed by the Indian Government, and on the other is the Dange group enjoying the protection and favour of that same government. Does this not make crystal clear who serve the broad masses of the Indian people and who hire themselves out as lackeys of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords? All people who want revolution will ponder over this carefully. As a result of this pondering, the Dange group will be still more utterly spurned by the Indian Communists and people and will finally be dumped in the rubbish heap of history. And all its supporters will be more thoroughly unmasked.

This counter-revolutionary act of the Indian Government can in no way arrest the advance of the Indian revolution. The Communist Party of India is a party with glorious revolutionary traditions. In leading the revolution in a country of several hundred million people, it inevitably has to traverse an arduous, complicated and tortuous road. This is not the first time that it has been suppressed by imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class. But, far from being destroyed in its struggle against imperialism, reaction and renegades, the Communist Party of India has constantly developed and has grown ever stronger. Neither the prison nor the execution ground has ever cowed the Indian Communists. The mass arrest of the Indian Communist leaders by Indian reaction will of course bring temporary difficulties to the Communist Party of India. **But we are firmly convinced that the revolutionary will and revolutionary fortitude of the Indian Communists will be further tempered in adversity, their ranks will swell and they will go forward to meet the great struggle with boundless revolutionary zeal.**

History will prove that the genuine representatives of the interests of the Indian people and nation are those Indian Communists who uphold truth and justice and adhere to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The future of India certainly belongs to them, to the people of India.

A Grave U.S. Move

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" January 14 editorial "A Grave U.S. Move to Spread the Flames of War in Indo-China." Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea, directed by the U.S. imperialists, has decided to dispatch more than 2,000 of its puppet troops to take part in the war of aggression against south Viet Nam. This is a serious event. The Chinese Government has issued a statement pointing out that **this action by the Johnson Administration represents "another grave move taken by U.S. imperialism to wreck the Geneva agreements, expand the war in Indo-China and go on to internationalize the war of aggression in south Viet Nam."** (For full text of the statement see *Peking Review*, p. 6, No. 3.)

To forestall a fiasco in south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism in recent years has been bent on spreading the flames of war in Indo-China and internationalizing its war of aggression in south Viet Nam. It has repeatedly tried to drag the SEATO and NATO countries into the south Viet Nam quagmire. This sinister project, however, has been cold-shouldered by those countries. Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism has created a number of "incidents" in the Bac Bo (Tonkin) Gulf and made continual air and coastal raids on the Democratic Republic

of Viet Nam. But these U.S. military provocations have met with resolute rebuffs from the D.R.V. and aroused angry condemnation by the world's people. Now the United States has gone so far as to pressgang south Korean puppet troops to serve in south Viet Nam as its cannon-fodder. This shows that U.S. imperialism, unreconciled to defeat even on its doomsday, will never willingly abandon its nefarious plan to extend the south Viet Nam war.

"A dying person who is sinking fast like the sun setting beyond the western hills" — this Chinese saying aptly describes the U.S. imperialists in south Viet Nam. The south Vietnamese people's forces are growing stronger and stronger in battle. Their resounding victories at Bien Hoa and Binh Gia and the series of attacks they recently mounted in Saigon's suburbs have sent shivers up the spine of the U.S. rulers. Dismayed by the bitter in-fighting and political mess plaguing the south Vietnamese puppet clique, Washington is at a loss. The recent three-week farce of master-servant squabbling in Saigon, though brought to a temporary respite, is far from over. The U.S. imperialists have been isolated and cornered in south Viet Nam. They can hardly rely on anybody, not even the puppets they themselves have reared. **At the end of their tether, they are using the south Korean quislings as a bellwether**

to prod the other satellites into the aggressive war in south Viet Nam and maintain their precarious position there.

Washington's sending south Korean puppet troops to south Viet Nam is part of its malicious plan to "make Asians fight Asians." That the United States is hell-bent on dragooning the armed forces of its Asian puppets and satellites into south Viet Nam as cannon-fodder has long ceased to be a secret. The *New York Herald Tribune*, for one, disclosed last November 8 that "Asian combat troops — Philippine, Thai, Formosan [referring to the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan] and south Korean — might be the next step forward enlarging the war." Now the United States has actually taken this step. This adventurous war move can only arouse bitter condemnation and opposition among the peoples of Indo-China and Asia as well as all other peace-loving countries and peoples. The D.R.V. Government has pointed out that the Vietnamese people will resolutely struggle to thwart this conspiracy of the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has also issued a statement declaring unequivocally that it will by no means look on with folded arms in the face of the U.S.-Pak Jung Hi clique's adventures. **It is obvious that since U.S. imperialism is decided on taking the grave step to expand the war in Indo-China this has given all countries and peoples upholding the Geneva agreements and interested in maintaining peace and security in Asia the full right to support the south Vietnamese people and halt the extension of U.S. aggression.**

Can this move really save the United States from its impending doom in south Viet Nam? Of course not. It is common knowledge that the hundreds of thousands of south Vietnamese puppet forces, bolstered by tens of thousands of American "special war" troops, have been battered and bruised by the south Vietnamese people.

Can it then be imagined that a meagre force of 2,000-odd south Korean puppet troops will turn the tide? These puppet troops, like their south Vietnamese counterparts, are hired with American dollars to serve others as cannon-fodder. Tweedledum and tweedledee, both lack the will to fight. **In fact, when thrown into battle in south Viet Nam, the south Korean puppet troops will be even more useless than the native puppet force.** In south Viet Nam, an alien land, they will find themselves besieged by the local population. They will be put to rout even more quickly. Rout, and rout alone, is what the future holds in store for them. Should the other U.S. satellites wish to serve in Washington's aggressive war in south Viet Nam, they, too, will meet no better fate. The United States reckons that by flinging in troops of the south Korean quislings and other satellites, it can hold on in south Viet Nam. This is a pipe-dream.

China is a signatory to the Geneva agreements and a close neighbour of the Indo-Chinese states. The Chinese Government and people have repeatedly and solemnly voiced their firm support for the just struggles of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples. They also fully support the just stand taken by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea against the participation of south Korean puppet troops in the aggressive war in south Viet Nam. In its statement of January 13, the Chinese Government asked the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference to take prompt action to halt the adventurous U.S. step of introducing puppet south Korean troops into south Viet Nam. It sternly stated that should U.S. imperialism continue to push its scheme for expanding the aggressive war in south Viet Nam and even internationalize it, **the Chinese Government and people would have to give further consideration to the duties incumbent upon them for the defence of peace in this area.** We can positively predict that if the United States dares to enlarge that war, it will only precipitate and aggravate its own defeat.

China's Growing Foreign Trade

by LIN HAI-YUN*

CHINA's foreign trade relations have developed extensively during the past few years. This has taken place under excellent conditions of continuing success for its general line for building socialism and general line of foreign policy, of a steady advance in the growth of its national economy and international prestige. At present our country has trade relations with 125 countries and regions. Forty countries have signed inter-governmental trade agreements with us. The volume of our import and export trade has increased in varying

degrees with quite a number of these countries and regions. We have consistently based our foreign trade relations on the principle of equality and mutual benefit and this has been recognized and welcomed by the people of all countries.

Policy of Equality and Mutual Benefit

In its socialist construction, China follows a policy of plain living and hard work, of diligence and thrift in building the country; of relying on its own efforts and enterprise. At the same time, it has actively developed its foreign trade according to a policy of equal-

*The author is Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade.

ity and mutual benefit. Such a policy fully accords with the desires and interests of the peoples of all countries and also contributes to the growth, on the basis of self-reliance, of the national economies of the countries trading. Facts prove that trade can develop between nations in a normal way only if the principle of equality and mutual benefit is implemented, only if there is mutual respect for one another's sovereignty and desires, and trade is organized according to the needs and capabilities of both parties. We are resolutely opposed to the economic domination and plundering of nations which the imperialists engage in behind the facade of trade. The imperialists make use of every means which benefit themselves but damage others; they strip their victims of important economic resources and rake in fabulous profits, thereby forcing a lopsided economic development on their victims and condemning them to poverty and backwardness. Our stand for equality and mutual benefit and against imperialist plunder is manifest in our trade relations with all countries and regions throughout the world.

Trade With Socialist Countries

In our trade relations with the countries of the socialist camp, we have consistently upheld the spirit of proletarian internationalism combined with patriotism. In accordance with the principle of active co-operation, equality, mutual benefit, and concrete possibilities we carry on trade with the socialist countries in a planned way according to the needs and capabilities of ourselves and our trading partners in order to promote a common upsurge in the economies of all the socialist countries on a basis of self-reliance. Our foreign trade organizations and agencies have always abided strictly by the terms agreed upon in trade agreements, protocols, and import and export contracts with all of the socialist countries, and have always strictly fulfilled the obligations undertaken therein.

China's Asian-African Trade

Over the last few years our trade relations with the countries and regions of Asia and Africa have increased steadily. With a large number of countries in Africa gaining national independence, the growth of our trade with Africa has been especially swift.

In our trade relations with the Asian-African countries and regions, we have consistently followed our policy of equality, mutual benefit and exchange of products needed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We have actively developed trade relations with these countries in line with one another's needs and capabilities. In conducting foreign trade we take scrupulous care to ensure that unequal terms of trade are not imposed on other nations to the detriment of their independence, sovereignty and interests. To facilitate trade and the external payments of some Asian and African countries with which we have con-

cluded trade and payments agreements, we generally resort to a balance of imports and exports and the settlement of accounts through clearing. All questions arising in business relations are settled by unanimous agreement through friendly consultations in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation. Such are the policies and stand of our country in its trade relations with the Asian-African countries and regions and we shall continue to develop these trade relations energetically in accordance with these policies.

China is now trading with more than 60 countries and regions in Asia and Africa. In addition to Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia, Pakistan, Nepal, Afghanistan, the Yemen, Syria, Iraq, the United Arab Republic, the Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Guinea, Mali, Ghana, Somalia, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Lebanon, whose Governments have signed inter-governmental trade agreements with us, we have recently signed inter-governmental trade agreements with Algeria, the Central African Republic and Burundi. On October 2, 1964, we reached agreement with Kenya on concluding an inter-governmental trade agreement.

The volume of import and export trade between China and the countries and regions of Asia and Africa has been increasing each year. The total volume in 1963 was more than three times what it was in 1950, and now accounts for an important share of China's foreign trade.

Changing Pattern of Imports and Exports

With the steady development of China's national economy, there has been an increase in both the variety and quantity of commodities exchanged between China and other countries and regions in Asia and Africa. There has also been a change in the list of the commodities China exports. During the first few years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, our principal exports to the Asian-African countries and regions were food grains, foodstuffs, tea, raw silk, special local products, and cotton yarn, cotton piece-goods and some other light industrial products. During the last few years this list has been lengthened to include various chemical products, machinery, instruments and meters, vehicles and other goods. We have also provided a number of Asian-African countries with certain needed factory equipment made in China.

There has also been a steady increase in the variety and quantity of commodities imported from these countries and regions. Our principal imports from them include cotton, rubber, jute, copra, coconut oil, edible vegetable oils, timber, phosphates, pharmaceuticals and some industrial products. The import and export of these commodities help develop the independent national economies of China and its trading partners among the Asian and African countries as well as improve their people's living conditions. Such mutual exchange of needed products on the basis of equality and mutual benefit is in essence a form of mutual

help and support and not simply a matter of buying and selling.

Facts over the last 15 years prove that the growth of trade relations between China and the countries and regions of Asia and Africa promotes the development of their independent national economies on the basis of self-reliance and enhances friendly relations among the Asian-African countries. These relations are therefore increasingly highly regarded and warmly welcomed by the broad masses in these countries and regions. Our stand, policies and trade practices with the countries and regions of Asia and Africa are in striking contrast to the aggressive means employed by the imperialists and the old and new colonialists to monopolize markets and plunder raw materials. The peoples of Asia and Africa are increasingly clearly seeing who their true friends are.

China's Latin American Trade

The development of China's trade with the Latin American countries has been relatively rapid over the past few years. There were only five countries in Latin America which traded with us directly in 1952; now we trade with more than 20 countries and regions. The volume of this trade has increased markedly on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and exchange of needed products. The exchange of goods has been in line with the needs and capabilities of each country. Many sizable transactions have been negotiated. These include purchases of wheat last year from Argentina and Mexico, and also of raw cotton from the latter, and contracts with Chile for the purchase of copper ingots and nitre.

During this period friendly contacts and exchanges of visits have been increasingly frequent with non-governmental organizations and persons in industrial and commercial circles in Latin America. Various organizations and departments have played host to many friends from the Latin American countries. They have included many government officials, prominent public figures and persons in economic, trade and banking circles who are eager to develop trade relations with China. A succession of Chinese economic and trade delegations has also visited a number of Latin American countries including Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Brazil. These friendly contacts and exchanges of visits have provided favourable conditions for the growth of trade relations between China and the countries of this area. As industrial and commercial circles there are calling ever more forcefully for more trade with China, the U.S. imperialists are increasing their efforts to make trouble and wreck our relations with these countries. The illegal arrest and conviction of nine Chinese trade representatives and journalists by the Brazilian military coup d'etat authorities last year on trumped-up charges is a glaring example of such sabotage. But no reactionary force

can prevent our country from conducting friendly exchanges of visits with the broad masses of the peoples of the Latin American countries. Our concerted efforts will certainly succeed in surmounting all artificial barriers and outside interference to clear a way for the extensive development of our trade relations with the Latin American countries.

Trade With Western Countries

We have also been actively developing our trade with Western countries on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual benefit and in line with each other's needs and capabilities. During the last few years trade relations with these countries have grown under the influence of our foreign trade policy of equality and mutual benefit and the efforts of people in various circles concerned in these countries. More and more governments and manufacturers and firms in the Western world wish to expand their trade relations with us and this is especially so in circumstances where the struggle for domination and the counter-struggle against domination becomes sharper than ever between the United States and other Western countries, and competition is becoming ever more intense in the capitalist world market.

Since the second half of 1963, we have held trade talks with manufacturers and firms in various Western countries including France, Sweden, Holland, the United Kingdom, Italy and West Germany and have purchased a number of complete industrial plants from them—a fact that has aroused interest and attention in industrial and commercial circles in many Western countries.

The U.S. imperialists are going to great lengths in their efforts to obstruct and sabotage such trade, but just as their "blockade" and "embargo" and other policies of trade discrimination against China went bankrupt, so their new conspiracies are meeting and are bound to meet ignominious defeat. Finland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark have signed inter-governmental trade agreements with us. In addition, we have signed quite a few non-governmental trade agreements and contracts with Western firms and industrial and commercial organizations. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France early last year has led to a new development in Sino-French trade relations. Many French industrialists, businessmen and technical personnel have come to visit our country and discuss problems relating to the development of Sino-French trade and the exchange of technology. Quite a number of transactions have been concluded to the satisfaction of both parties.

Many industrialists and businessmen from other Western countries have also paid visits to China and exchanged views with Chinese trade agencies concerning the development of trade with our country and this has resulted in the establishment of business rela-

tions. During the first half of 1964, more than 140 groups of representatives of foreign firms, industrialists and businessmen and economic and trade delegations from France, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Holland, the United Kingdom, Italy, Canada, Belgium, Australia and West Germany visited China. As a result of their visits they are of the opinion that trade prospects with China are bright and they have great hopes for the further expansion of trade with China.

Sino-Japanese Trade

China's trade relations with Japan have likewise developed further over the last few years. There exist many favourable conditions for the flow of trade between the two countries. However, because of persistent interference and sabotage by U.S. imperialism, Sino-Japanese trade relations have not developed normally. Our Government and people have always pursued a friendly policy towards the Japanese people, and advocated the development of Sino-Japanese trade relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Even at a time when Sino-Japanese trade relations were suffering setbacks we still did our best to give special consideration to some friendly Japanese enterprises.

In August 1960, Premier Chou En-lai put forward three principles for trade relations between China and Japan* on the basis of the three political principles which he had enunciated regarding Sino-Japanese relations** and thus enabled trade relations between the peoples of China and Japan to develop. In November 1962, a Sino-Japanese trade memorandum was signed between Liao Cheng-chih of China and Tatsunosuke Takasaki of Japan, thereby opening a new way for the development of Sino-Japanese trade. Thanks to the concerted efforts made by the peoples of China and Japan and the struggle waged by Japanese friends who devote themselves to the cause of Sino-Japanese friendship and who are eager to develop trade between China and Japan, trade has continued to grow over the last few years. In 1963 the volume of this trade reached a new postwar peak. During the first half of 1964, it increased again to surpass the level reached in the corresponding period of 1963. These facts indicate the bright prospects for the growth of Sino-Japanese trade. The development of this trade is the common desire of the peoples of the two countries and it cannot

* The three principles for trade put forward by Premier Chou En-lai are: (1) government agreement; (2) private contracts; and (3) special consideration in individual cases.

** The three political principles for Sino-Japanese relations are: (1) the Japanese Government must not be hostile to China; (2) the Japanese Government must not follow the U.S. in the "two Chinas" plot; (3) the Japanese Government must not obstruct the development of Sino-Japanese relations in the direction of normalization. (See *Peking Review*, 1960, No. 38, p. 25.)

be obstructed by any artificial barriers or external interference.

Japan's Sato government now pursues a reactionary policy of subservience to the United States and hostility to China. This obviously runs counter to the will of the Japanese people and Japan's national interests, and is detrimental to the normal development of Sino-Japanese relations.

Trade Exhibitions

In order to promote development of our foreign trade relations and enhance mutual understanding and friendship between China and the peoples of all other countries, the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade has, since the founding of the People's Republic, held more than 20 economic exhibitions and participated in over 60 international fairs in more than 40 countries throughout the world. In the last two years alone exhibitions on China's economic construction have been held in a number of African and Latin American countries: Algeria, Mali, Morocco, Tanganyika and Ethiopia, and Mexico and Chile. All these exhibitions have been big popular successes. According to available figures a total of 60 million people visited China's exhibitions in foreign lands.

During the same period, 11 foreign countries held more than 50 comprehensive economic exhibitions and specialized displays of their industrial products in Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Wuhan, Tientsin and Shenyang. These, too, were warmly welcomed by Chinese visitors. These mutual exhibitions have given fruitful results in promoting friendship and mutual understanding as well as in furthering trade relations between the peoples of China and other countries.

These great achievements in the development of our foreign trade are the result of the correct implementation of the general line of our Party's and Government's foreign policy by the Chinese people who, under the brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, are holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and the three red banners of the general line for building socialism, the big leap forward, and the people's commune. These notable facts eloquently prove that we have friends all over the world and that we have trade relations with all continents. U.S. "blockade" and "embargo" and all its attempts and underhand schemes to isolate and "contain" China have failed ingloriously. The demand of the people all over the world to develop friendship and economic and trade relations with China is like a mighty torrent which cannot be held back by any reactionary force. We are confident that in the wake of the continuing victories in our socialist construction and the steady expansion of our foreign relations, our trade relations with countries throughout the world will continue to be consolidated and grow and expand on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Indonesia's Anti-Imperialist Record

by TSUNG SHAN

ON August 17, 1945, Indonesia declared its independence and the Republic of Indonesia was founded with Sukarno as President. Since then the Republic of Indonesia, under President Sukarno's leadership, has triumphantly carried forward the anti-imperialist struggle and made great contributions to preserving and strengthening Asian-African solidarity.

Bandung Conference Initiator and Host

The historic First Asian-African Conference opened in Bandung, Indonesia, on April 18, 1955. Indonesia, as one of the sponsors of this historic conference, was also the host. The conference was an important international gathering convened by the Asian-African countries themselves, and the first such meeting in history to exclude the imperialist and colonial powers. It called on the Asian-African peoples to unite and fight for their independence and freedom.

The famous Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference had a big and far-reaching influence on the national-liberation movements in Asia and Africa. At its opening session, President Sukarno delivered an eloquent and powerful political speech entitled "Let the New Asia and New Africa Be Born!" The course of events after the First Asian-African Conference has completely confirmed President Sukarno's prediction. Asia and Africa today are no longer the old Asia and Africa. The face of Asia and Africa has changed completely. Brutally enslaved and oppressed for centuries by imperialism and colonialism, Asia and Africa today are continents of awakened, militant and advancing peoples.

At Conference of Non-Aligned Countries

The First Conference of Non-Aligned Countries was held in September 1961. It witnessed a struggle between two different lines. Imperialism, through its agents, tried hard to lead the conference astray. But Indonesia and the overwhelming majority of the other participants insisted that the spearhead of the struggle should be directed against imperialism. President Sukarno made an important speech at the conference, which focused the attention of international public opinion. He stressed that the source of international tension was "imperialism and colonialism and the forcible division of nations." "History in the past and the realities of today," he pointed out, "prove that different social systems can coexist, but there can be no co-

existence between independence and justice on the one side and imperialism-colonialism on the other."

In October 1964 the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries met in Cairo. Its positive achievements reflected the fact that the historical tide against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism cannot be checked. Holding high the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, the Indonesian Government made valuable contributions to the conference. President Sukarno in his speech at that conference stressed that colonialism was dying but was not yet dead; that there could be no peaceful coexistence between the developing countries and the old ruling forces, and that no country could live together with a foreign country holding it under control, carrying out subversion against it and maintaining military bases against it. He gave the call: Down with imperialism; down with colonialism and neo-colonialism; for ever onward; no retreat!

Sponsor of Fourth Asian Games

Sponsored by Indonesia and with the co-operation of the majority of the teams of the Asian countries, the Fourth Asian Games were held successfully in Djakarta in early September 1962. In order to sabotage it, U.S. imperialism and its stooges exerted all sorts of pressure on Indonesia. They tried by threats and intimidation to force the teams of the Chiang Kai-shek gang and Israel into the games. Acting with great resolution, the Indonesian Government and people completely shattered these attempts of the U.S. imperialists to sabotage the games, to undermine the Friendship of the Chinese and Indonesian people and to wreck the unity of the Asian peoples; they smashed the political plot to create "two Chinas" at the games on Indonesian soil. They won a great victory in these struggles.

GANEFU

Having failed in its scheme to wreck the Fourth Asian Games, the U.S. imperialists went to work on the International Amateur Athletic Federation and got it to pass the reactionary "resolution" "not to recognize" the Fourth Asian Games and to give a "serious warning" to Indonesia. Following this the International Olympic Committee high-handedly decided to bar Indonesia from the Olympic Games for an indefinite period. To counter this shameless provocation, President Sukarno in September 1962 proposed the holding of the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFU). Soon after-

wards, he instructed the Indonesian Minister of Sports to speed preparations for the holding of GANEFO.

In April 1963, sponsored by the Indonesian Government, the preparatory conference for GANEFO was held in Djakarta and the establishment of the GANEFO organization was announced. In November, the same year, the First GANEFO was successfully held in Djakarta. The holding of GANEFO broke imperialism's grip on international sports. It made a positive contribution to the promotion of friendship among the sportsmen and peoples of the new emerging countries.

Recovery of West Irian — A Major Victory

On May 1, 1963, the Indonesian people recovered their territory of West Irian and thus won an important victory in their struggle to achieve the unification of their country. On that day the Indonesian Government took over all administrative power in West Irian and from then on the red and white flag of Indonesia has been the only flag flying over West Irian. This victory was the result of the protracted struggle waged by the Indonesian people against Dutch colonialism and U.S. imperialism.

Proposed Convening of Second Asian-African Conference

In the new situation brought about by the successful development of the Asian and African peoples' united struggle against imperialism, President Sukarno in December 1963 proposed the convening of the Second Asian-African Conference. This proposal was widely greeted by the Governments and public opinion of Asian and African countries. In order to have the conference fully prepared, the Indonesian Government sent invitations out to the various Asian and African countries, stressing that the common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism was the basis of Afro-Asian solidarity.

On April 10, 1964, the Preparatory Meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference was held in Indonesia. Twenty-two countries participated. In bringing about this meeting and its success, an outstanding effort was made by President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government. It was unanimously decided at this meeting that the Second Asian-African Conference be held in Africa on March 10, 1965. The final communique adopted holds high the banner of Afro-Asian unity to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism. It displays the spirit of reaching unanimity through consultation and seeking common ground while keeping differences. These represent another resounding victory for the Bandung spirit.

Boycotting the Olympic Games

When they saw the torch of GANEFO burning brightly, U.S. imperialism and all the reactionaries

were worried and filled with hate. In the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) and other international sports organizations they continued their underhand activities to wreck GANEFO and hit at Indonesia. In October 1964 U.S. imperialism in its role of big international bully got the I.O.C. to deprive those sportsmen who had taken part in GANEFO of the right to take part in the Olympic Games and prevent the sportsmen of Indonesia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from taking part in the opening ceremony of the Tokyo Olympics or entering the Olympic Village in Tokyo. The U.S. imperialists thought that this exhibition of muscle-flexing by the I.O.C. colossus would frighten the people of the new emerging countries. However, the heroic Indonesian people simply ignored it. Together with the sports delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Indonesian sports delegation took the resolute step of withdrawing from the Tokyo Olympics. This gave a fresh stimulus to the GANEFO spirit of "Onward, No Retreat" and dealt a telling blow to U.S. imperialist schemes. Indonesia and the Korean Democratic People's Republic boycotted the Tokyo Olympics to uphold their countries' sovereignty and national dignity, to uphold the interests of GANEFO and give a resolute rebuff to interference and provocations by the I.O.C. Their action won the praise and support of the people throughout the world.

All-Out Opposition to "Malaysia"

"Malaysia," a neo-colonialist product created by U.S.-British imperialism, is like a dagger at the heart threatening Indonesia's independence and security. The Indonesian people from the start had firmly opposed this tool of colonialism and in September 1963 when "Malaysia" was rigged up, they launched an all-out campaign of confrontation. With U.S.-British imperialism intensifying their use of "Malaysia" to encircle and carry out provocations against Indonesia, the Indonesian people's struggle against "Malaysia" surged ahead.

In March 1964 the Indonesian people enthusiastically supported President Sukarno's order to "launch a movement for volunteers" to oppose imperialism and the neo-colonialist plan of "Malaysia" and they have taken a series of vigorous measures towards this end. "Stand at the very forefront of the struggle against 'Malaysia'" has become a slogan for nationwide action. Twenty-five million Indonesians have enthusiastically answered President Sukarno's call and have enlisted as volunteers. On April 13 more than a million people took part in an anti-"Malaysia" mass rally in Djakarta. Since May when President Sukarno issued the order for all the people to smash "Malaysia," the movement has grown even more vigorously. With Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations, the campaign reached a new high. This struggle of the Indonesian people is not only in accordance with their own national interests but is also a fresh contribution to the Asian-African peoples' unity against imperialism.

Justice Cannot Be Upheld In U.N.

AS the Chinese government statement on January 10 pointed out, "Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations leads all countries, and particularly the newly independent countries, to think it over: What has this so-called world organization been reduced to after all?" A glance at the past history of the United Nations shows that the just demands of the Asian, African and Latin American countries in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism have never received due response in the halls of this organization. Here are some salient facts since 1961.

January 1961 — U.N. Security Council met to discuss renewed Belgian aggression against the Congo (L). Ceylon, Liberia and the United Arab Republic put forward a resolution demanding that the Belgian Government immediately halt all its actions against the Republic of the Congo (L) and withdraw its military and semi-military personnel and advisers from that country, etc. The resolution was not adopted because the United States and Britain abstained.

November 28, 1961 — The U.N. General Assembly discussed a draft resolution tabled by 30 Asian and African countries and Cuba on South Africa's policy of racial discrimination. Owing to obstruction by the United States and other Western colonial powers, the main part of the resolution — recommending that the Security Council consider the question of expelling South Africa from the United Nations and demanding that all governments sever diplomatic, trade and other relations with South Africa — was voted down.

July 7, 1961 — The Security Council, manipulated by the United States, vetoed a U.A.R. resolution on the question of Kuwait by means of majority abstention. The U.A.R. resolution recommends the settlement of disputes on the Kuwait question by peaceful means and demands that British troops withdraw from Kuwait at once.

December 14, 1961 — Afghanistan, Guinea, Indonesia and 13 other countries tabled a resolution in the United Nations calling for the recognition of the independence of Oman. The resolution was voted down as a result of obstruction by the United States, Britain and other Western colonial powers.

February 15, 1962 — The Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly under U.S. manipulation vetoed a resolution tabled by Rumania and other countries which demands that the United States cease acts of interference in the internal affairs of Cuba and encroach-

ment upon its territorial integrity and political independence.

March 23, 1962 — Under U.S. manipulation, the Security Council vetoed a Cuban resolution demanding that the Security Council take measures to prevent the anti-Cuban resolution adopted by the American Foreign Ministers' Conference from coming into force.

October 1962 — The United States carried out an illegal naval blockade against Cuba, engineered the Caribbean crisis and manoeuvred the Security Council into holding a session at which it demanded approval of U.S. aggression against Cuba. The Cuban delegate urged the Security Council to call on the U.S. aggressive forces to withdraw immediately from the coastal waters of Cuba, end the illegal U.S. blockade and stop U.S. provocations at the Guantanamo naval base and piratic raids against Cuba. But the Security Council, under U.S. manipulation, ignored Cuba's just demands.

January 9, 1964 — U.S. troops created a bloodbath in the Panama Canal Zone by opening fire on unarmed people there. At the Security Council meeting on January 10, Panama accused the United States of committing aggression and demanded nationalization or "internationalization" of the Canal Zone. But instead of taking any measures to stop the atrocities of the U.S. troops in Panama, the U.S.-controlled Security Council, without distinguishing between the aggressor and its victim, asked the President of the Council to appeal to both the U.S. and the Panamanian Governments to stop the shooting and bloodshed.

From December 16 to 21, 1964 — The Security Council discussed Syria's complaint against aggression by Israel. But owing to U.S. backing for Israel, no resolution was adopted.

From December 9 to 30, 1964 — The Security Council, at the request of more than 20 Asian and African countries, discussed the situation in the Congo (L). The delegates of many countries exposed and strongly condemned the crime of aggression against the Congo perpetrated by the U.S. and Belgian imperialists. But U.S. delegate Stevenson wantonly abused the delegates of the African countries who spoke against U.S. aggression. He even slandered African countries as having "intervened" in the Congo and indicated U.S. intentions to use the United Nations once again to serve its aggression in the Congo (L).

These are just a few of the many instances of U.N. discrimination against and attempts to suppress the just struggle of Asian, African and Latin American countries. But they suffice to show that the United Nations is not a place where the Asian, African and Latin American countries can uphold justice. In winning and safeguarding their independence and sovereignty, the people of all countries can only depend on their own resolute anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle; they

must never cherish illusions about the United Nations under the control of the United States.

U.N. Can't Solve Questions — An Example

WHAT role can the United Nations play in safeguarding world peace and promoting international cooperation? One has only to look at the record of its discussions on the disarmament question to get the answer.

This question has been discussed at every U.N. General Assembly since its first session in December 1946. In addition, numerous disarmament talks have been held under the aegis of the United Nations but the end result has been — ever bigger U.S. armaments.

From 1946 to 1949, the United Nations held 207 meetings on the question of reducing nuclear armaments.

From 1947 to 1950, the United Nations held 51 talks on the question of general disarmament.

In 1952, a U.N. 12-Nation Disarmament Committee was set up. It held 48 sessions.

In 1954, a Five-Nation Sub-Committee was established under the U.N. Disarmament Committee. This sub-committee held 157 meetings.

In September 1959, a Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee was formed outside the United Nations but responsible to it. This committee held 47 meetings.

In December 1961, the 16th U.N. General Assembly decided to set up a 17-Nation Disarmament Committee. It held more than 210 meetings from March 1962 to September 1964.

But despite all these meetings that have been taking place off and on for 18 years, no agreement of a substantive nature has ever been reached. In fact, the U.N. disarmament talks have become a smokescreen for the intensified arms drive by U.S. imperialism in preparation for war. The longer the disarmament talks drag on, the bigger become U.S. military expenditure and its stockpile of arms.

U.S. military spending rose from 13,000 million dollars in fiscal 1950 to 60,000 million dollars in fiscal 1964.

The number of U.S. troops increased from 1.45 million in 1950 to more than 2.7 million today.

The United States has formed military blocs and signed military treaties with more than 40 countries; it has increased its overseas troops to over a million and the number of its military bases and installations abroad to more than 2,000.

It has dispatched nuclear missiles, nuclear submarines and nuclear-capable aircraft to all parts of the world and sent "special forces" to a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

These facts show that the United Nations under U.S. control only serves as a screen for U.S. imperialism's frenzied arms drive for wars of aggression and expansion. It is absolutely incapable of settling the disarmament question or any other major international issues.

Inter-Imperialist Rivalries

U.S. Economic Hegemony Challenged

THE French Government has decided to convert U.S. \$300 million of its dollar holdings into gold within three months. This has caused rumblings of apprehension on the money market about the stability of the dollar. French Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing, according to news reports, has decided that in future the monthly total of French gold and foreign exchange reserves will be announced in terms of the franc instead of the dollar.

These moves are obviously aimed at boosting the prestige of the franc and challenging the position of the dollar as an international reserve currency. The French effort to outbid Washington in the field of international finance is but one aspect of the ever sharpening economic

contradictions between the United States and Western Europe.

Rebuff to Washington

The economic rivalries between the United States and the West European countries, particularly the Common Market Six, became increasingly acute last year as a result of the continued shift in the balance of economic strength against the United States.

A firm grip on Western Europe has always been an important factor in the U.S. strategy for world domination. And economic domination is the foundation of its supremacy.

President Johnson of the U.S.A. has more than once declared his intention of carrying through a "grand design"—for tightening U.S. control over Western Europe. In a speech made at the end of November 1964, he talked demagogically about an "Atlantic partnership" and said: "The United States is committed to the increasing strength and the co-operation of the Atlantic Community in every field of action—economic, commercial, and monetary." Then he made the real point by asking the West European countries to refrain from pursuing what he called narrow national self-interests. But the U.S. "grand design" has met with increasingly stiffening resistance from the West European countries which are growing steadily stronger day by day.

The "Kennedy round" talks on tariffs and trade, opened in Geneva last May, occupied a key place in the U.S. plan to maintain economic control over Western Europe. The U.S. Government made an all-out bid at the talks to wring tariff concessions from the West European countries and especially to pull down the tariff wall of the Common Market, so that Western Europe can remain the principal market for American farm products and other commodities. In this way, Washington hoped to build up a big trade surplus to make up for its enormous deficit in international payments.

However, despite U.S. pressure, the Common Market Six up till now still refuse to accept its proposal for a mutual, across-the-board 50 per cent tariff cut as the basis for the negotiations, pointing out that this proposal is favourable to the United States which maintains higher tariffs and unfavourable to the Six. They countered the U.S. proposal with the slogan: Bigger cuts from higher tariffs and smaller cuts from lower tariffs. So far they have also refused to make any explicit commitment on whether the question of reducing tariffs on farm products should be included in the negotiations.

France, which is the largest farm products exporting country among the Six, has opposed by all possible means further opening of the market to U.S. farm products. It insisted that the Six could take part in the talks on tariff cuts for farm products only when a common agricultural policy had been formulated among themselves. As a result of the many contradictions between the United States and the Six, the talks failed to yield any tangible result.

U.S. Setbacks in Market Scramble

On top of the many difficulties encountered at the conference table during tariff and trade talks, the United States suffered setbacks in the "car war," "steel war," "beef war," "watch war," etc. Take the "steel war" for instance. In face of the cheaply priced steel exported by the West European countries as well as by Japanese competitors, U.S. exports of raw steel dropped from 5.3 million tons in 1957 to 2.1 million tons in 1963, a reduction of over 50 per cent. During the corresponding period, imports of foreign raw steel in the U.S.

market increased from 1.1 million tons a year to 5.5 million tons and it is estimated that the figure for 1964 will be 6.1 million tons. The U.S. steel monopolists are now pressing the U.S. Government hard to invoke the so-called "anti-dumping law" to check imports of foreign steel.

Arbitrary U.S. interference in international shipping has also run up against tough resistance from the West European countries. Up till now the United States has failed to carry through its manoeuvres to force foreign shipowners to raise transatlantic freight charges by 15 per cent—a move calculated to improve the U.S. shipowners' competitive position.

Confronted with ever sharpening competition, the U.S. position is going from bad to worse in the struggle for the West European market. Statistics show that the total value of U.S. exports to non-Common Market countries in Western Europe in the first half of 1964 was \$961.2 million, an increase of only \$200,000 over the corresponding period of 1963, while exports by the Common Market Six to those countries totalled \$4,348.6 million in value, an increase of \$500 million over the corresponding period of 1963. Of this total, West Germany exports increased by more than \$230 million and France's by over \$126 million.

The situation is roughly the same in the scramble for the Common Market itself. The total value of U.S. exports to the Common Market in the first half of 1964 was \$2,226 million, amounting to only 24.5 per cent of the volume of trade carried on among the Common Market Six themselves, which was close to \$9,100 million. But, in the corresponding period of 1963, the value of exports sent by the United States to the Six was equal to 25.4 per cent of the trade among the Six themselves.

To bypass the tariff wall, the United States has speeded up and increased its huge exports of capital to Western Europe so as to set up factories and sell their products directly on the local markets. According to the U.S. press, direct U.S. private investments in Western Europe now total \$11,000 million. These investments are concentrated in manufacturing, oil refining and a limited number of other industries, and control a very big share of some of them. The U.S. Department of Commerce disclosed last October that 82 per cent of the products turned out by the West European subsidiaries of U.S. manufacturing enterprises were sold locally. This U.S. tactic of worming its way into the West European market has aroused increasing opposition. *U.S. News & World Report* noted not long ago that voices were being raised throughout Western Europe against U.S. penetration.

Each inflow of U.S. capital to Western Europe has aroused fresh misgivings. As a counter-measure, monopoly enterprises in West Germany and France are now forming domestic and international cartels. France

has even proposed that the Common Market countries take joint steps to counter infiltration by U.S. capital.

Shaky Dollar

The dominance of the U.S. dollar as an international currency is also meeting with an increasingly serious challenge from the West European countries headed by France. By early December 1964, the U.S. gold reserve had dwindled to \$15,300 million. Apart from the portion that has to be kept to back the dollar as required by law, the amount of "free" gold reserves reached the all-time low of less than \$2,000 million, while short-term credits in the hands of foreigners amounted to more than \$26,000 million. This is a constant threat as the United States may at any time be asked to exchange these dollar holdings for gold. The United States has had to ask repeatedly for support from the West European countries in order to maintain the parity between the U.S. dollar and gold. In the past year, it borrowed from the International Monetary Fund West European currency credits to the value of \$500 million.

The sterling crisis last November further worsened the position of the dollar which has close ties with the pound. *U.S. News & World Report* in its December 7, 1964 issue warned that "a crisis for the American dollar suddenly is coming into sight." That is why Washington hastened to make others go along with it in lending \$3,000 million to Britain in order to relieve the sterling crisis. The U.S. press made no bones about the fact that this U.S. move was motivated by pure self-interest.

Taking advantage of the shaky position of the dollar, the West European countries, particularly France and West Germany, have come out with a strong bid to put an end to the dominant role hitherto played in the capitalist world by the dollar in international payments. According to press reports, the gold and foreign exchange reserves of the Common Market Six exceeded \$13,000 million by the middle of last year. These reserves continued to grow in the last few months. Hailing the fact that France's gold and foreign exchange reserves have now exceeded \$5,000 million, a Paris weekly magazine *Nouvel Observateur* gleefully wrote last December that "the time is gone when the U.S. dollar ruled the roost."

At the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund held in Tokyo last September, France, speaking for the Common Market Six, proposed the creation of a new international currency to replace the dollar and pound sterling as a reserve currency. It also put forward the idea that the Paris "ten-nation club," in which the Six play a dominant role, be substituted for the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund. The real purpose of all these moves is to shift the financial centre of the capitalist world from the United States and Britain to Western Europe.

Although the French proposal was not adopted because of U.S. and British objection, the struggle has by no means ended. The more than \$5,000 million dol-

lar holdings of the Common Market Six is an effective weapon in their fight against the United States because they can at any time demand that their dollar holdings be converted into gold. The French press minced no words in describing France's gold and foreign exchange reserves as a pistol held at the head of the U.S. Treasury.

Irreconcilable Contradictions

The challenge of the West European countries to the United States in all economic fields is the logical consequence of the growth of their economic strength in recent years. As a result of the unbalanced economic development among the imperialist countries, the absolute superiority which the United States enjoyed in the years immediately after World War II in relation to the West European countries, has changed into a position of relative superiority in recent years and in certain fields the U.S. has even been relegated to a position of inferiority. This has found expression in the fall of the U.S. gold reserve to a level far below that of the Common Market countries and also in the ever decreasing proportions of U.S. industrial production and exports in the capitalist world and the steady growth of those of the West European countries.

Statistics show that the proportion of U.S. industrial production in the capitalist world dropped from 53.4 per cent in the early postwar years to 44.7 per cent in 1963, that is, back to the 1929 level, while that of the Common Market Six increased from 13 per cent to nearly double this figure during the same period. The proportion of U.S. exports in the capitalist world fell from 32.4 per cent in 1947 to 17.5 per cent in the first half of 1964, which is also about the 1929 level, while that of the Common Market Six rose from 11.4 per cent to 28 per cent, far surpassing that of the United States.

The American journal *Business Week* admitted this shift in the balance of power. It wrote: "The divisive forces are general. . . . Western Europe suddenly showed ambitions to take centre stage again in world affairs. Many Europeans had come to feel that they could match the U.S. in terms of industrial and financial strength, and that it was time for Europe to start planning an independent economic and military role."

These facts show that the contradictions between the United States and Western Europe in the economic field are sharp, deep and irreconcilable. It forms the background of the increasingly acute struggle in the past year between the United States and Western Europe and particularly between it and France in the political and diplomatic fields. Writing about the prospects of such developments, some Western journals voice the opinion that with the shadows of a new economic crisis looming large over both sides of the Atlantic, the fight for markets between the United States and Western Europe and their struggle to shift economic difficulties on to each other's shoulders will inevitably grow more and more acute.

— HSIN PIEN

Indian Communist Party Holds 7th Congress

Adhering to Marxism-Leninism and expelling the renegade Dange group, the congress issued a declaration calling on Communists to oppose revisionism and lead the people in the struggle against imperialism, safeguard national independence and strive for people's democracy. The congress adopted the Party's programme and elected new leading bodies.

THE Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India was held from October 31 to November 7, 1964, in Calcutta, according to a New Delhi report quoting the weekly *Lok Lehar*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India.

This congress of historic significance announced the expulsion of the renegade Dange group from the Communist Party of India. It unanimously adopted the Party's programme, elected new leading bodies and adopted more than 20 resolutions on the Party's tasks in the present situation, on the unity of the international communist movement, on supporting the national-independence movement and other questions.

The congress elected a Central Committee of 38. The new Central Committee unanimously elected P. Sundarayya as General Secretary and elected a nine-man Political Bureau composed of P. Sundarayya, B.T. Ranadive, P.D. Gupta, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, A.K. Gopalan, Jyoti Basu, M. Basavapunniah, P. Ramamurti, and H.S. Surjeet.

A declaration adopted at the congress said: "The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India declares that the delegates assembled here are the true representatives of the Communist Party of India and that the Dange group has no right to call itself the C.P.I.

"Participating in this Seventh Congress are 422 delegates representing 104,421 Party members from all over the country. They represent 60 per cent of the total membership existing on the rolls at the time of the Sixth Party Congress."

The declaration said that the majority of the Party membership had responded to the call for "repudiating the leadership of the Dange group which has become out-and-out revisionist and class collaborationist and has resorted to disruptive organizational practices." It said: "This congress is aware that, even among those who did not thus respond to our call, a substantial number have not renewed their membership with the Dange group. This congress is thus the end of the first stage of the struggle against the bourgeois-reformist policies and disruptive organizational practices adopted by the Dange group."

The declaration also said that the congress was confident that, the next stage, which it hoped would be over in the next few months, would further prove the complete defeat of the revisionist and disruptive line of the Dange group.

The resolution on the Party's tasks in the present situation which was adopted at the congress said:

"Nearly two decades of Congress rule and its attempt to build capitalism, without attacking the positions of foreign capital and without carrying out land reforms in the interest of the peasantry and agricultural labourers have landed the country's economy in a deep crisis. The sharpest expression of the crisis is the food crisis and the soaring prices of all commodities of daily consumption."

It said: "The Government's attempt to overcome this crisis in external resources by means of seeking massive aid from the imperialists and by inviting foreign capital for investments in private enterprise in collaboration with Indian monopolists has not succeeded in overcoming the crisis, but the crisis has intensified.

"Far from creating a self-generating economy, the country is today dependent on imperialist aid in respect of even food and for maintaining production in the existing industries."

The resolution declared: "An important manifestation of the intense crisis is the ever growing mass discontent which expresses itself in various forms and on various issues. The food crisis has brought the hitherto unorganized sections of the people into action. Demonstrations, rallies, *satyagrahas*, industry-wide and state-wide strikes have taken place in the recent period in all parts of the country."

Going on, the resolution noted: "However, the ruling party is meeting the developing movement of mass resistance against its policies by a combination of repression and demagoguery. Detentions without trial, *lathi* and tear gas charges and firings and other traditional methods have been intensified. The state of emergency is being perpetuated and the unconstitutional provisions of the defence of India rules are resorted to precisely for the purpose of suppression of the people, in the name of defence of the country."

The resolution said: "The greatest weakness in the situation is the weakness of the Communist Party. This weakness was due to the attempt of the Dange group to impose its class collaborationist and revisionist policies. The Communist Party was therefore unable to play its historic role of giving effective leadership to these struggles and showing the people the way out of the crisis."

And: "Now that the Dange group is increasingly getting exposed and isolated, and the Communist Party has freed itself from its clutches, very heavy and urgent responsibilities devolve upon us.

"The congress calls upon all units and Party members, who have so valiantly fought to keep the banner of

Marxism-Leninism flying unsullied, to throw themselves heart and soul into the urgent task of giving organized leadership to the mass actions of resistance to the anti-people policies of the Government."

The resolution continued: "The trade union movement is deeply sunk in economism. We have failed to develop the political consciousness of the workers and rally them in support of other sections of the people and particularly the peasants and agricultural labourers. Without building such consciousness and active support, all talk of building the democratic front, of which the worker-peasant alliance is the core, becomes an empty phrase. This weakness must be rapidly overcome, and political consciousness must be rapidly inculcated in every way."

It said: "With more and more poor and even middle peasants, and village artisans getting pauperized, the ranks of agricultural labourers swell, who constitute 40 per cent of the rural population. The agricultural labourers are the firmest allies of the working class and without organizing them the democratic front cannot be built."

The resolution charged the Central Committee with the responsibility of calling a meeting within two months to work out the detailed line for the trade unions, *kisan sabhas* (peasant associations) and agricultural labour unions.

It said: "The struggle against revisionism must be systematically carried on inside the Party. At the same time, the Party must vigilantly guard against manifestations of sectarianism. . . ."

"The Party must organize and encourage study of classics as well as undertake systematically a study of

the concrete problems of our country and movement and learn to apply Marxist theory to these problems."

The resolution called for efforts to rapidly develop the Communist Party of India into a mass revolutionary party.

Another resolution adopted by the congress. "On the Changes in C.P.S.U. Leadership," said: "During the period that Khrushchov was the First Secretary of the C.P.S.U., relations between brother Parties and particularly those between the C.P.S.U. and C.P.C., the biggest contingents of the international communist movement were seriously strained. The international communist movement was on the brink of a split and the unity of the socialist camp was getting disrupted."

This resolution said that the congress "hopes that steps will be taken to overcome the ideological differences, by strictly adhering to the methods agreed upon at the 1960 Moscow Conference of 81 Parties in order to reforge unity, which is the surest guarantee for the victory of the struggle against imperialism and war and for ensuring stable world peace. The Communist Party of India will support every step taken in that direction."

The congress took place under circumstances of brutal suppression by the Indian authorities. On the eve of the congress, the Government of West Bengal State arrested 27 leaders of the West Bengali Committee of the Communist Party of India in the name of the "Defence of India Ordinance." However, the Indian Government had failed in its plot to frustrate the congress which took place as scheduled. As the congress ended, more than 300,000 people in Calcutta held a great rally on November 7 to celebrate its success.

Renegade Dange Group Holds "7th Congress"

URSURPING the name of the Communist Party of India, the group under the renegade S.A. Dange, which was disowned by the Party, convened a "Seventh Congress" in Bombay from December 13 to 23, 1964, according to reports from New Delhi.

Attending the meeting were delegations of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, France and Italy, and of the Tito clique of Yugoslavia.

At the meeting, the renegade Dange group and a handful of followers, in the service of imperialism and the Indian reactionaries, loudly prated about revisionist ideas, poured venom on China and boosted the Lal Bahadur Shastri government.

It may be recalled that the discovery last March of letters written by Dange while in prison in 1924 to the then British Governor of India, proposing to surrender himself and betray his cause, had created a stir in Indian political circles at the time. Dange had promised the British Governor, "I should use that position for the good of Your Excellency's government and the country," as the condition for his release.

In view of the strong reactions to the discovery, the Dange group had set up an "inquiry commission" to whitewash this gross act of betrayal. In the face of the iron-clad evidence, however, two of the seven

commission members had to state that the inquiry failed to prove that the letters were falsified.

At the "congress," Hirendra N. Mukerjee, deputy leader of the Dange clique's "parliamentary group," was reported to have urged Dange to resign as "chairman."

Addressing the meeting, B.N. Ponomarev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, boasted the Dange group as having "accumulated a rich store of revolutionary experience," as "uniting all the revolutionary and democratic forces" and as "an outstanding detachment in the international communist movement." He assured the meeting that the C.P.S.U. would strengthen its "unity" with the Dange group.

Crvenkovski, representing the Tito group of Yugoslavia, attacked the Chinese Communist Party violently at the meeting and blustered that "to combat the dogmatic and hegemonic actions of the Chinese Communist Party leadership is the paramount requirement of the present-day struggle for peace and socialism."

The schismatic meeting was called after long preparation. It was postponed three times owing to developments at home and abroad which were unfavourable to the Dange group. Even so, when the "National Council" of the group met early last Novem-

ber to make preparations for the meeting, only 26 of the 109 members of the council elected by the Sixth Congress of the C.P.I. attended the meeting.

The Dange group usurped the leadership of the C.P.I. in November 1962 by taking advantage of the massive anti-China and anti-communist campaign launched by the Indian Government. It then desperately pursued a line of national chauvinism and class capitulationism, and consequently met with the opposition of the masses of the C.P.I. members.

After the exposure last March of Dange's letters of betrayal, at the C.P.I. National Council meeting last

April, 32 council members jointly demanded Dange's resignation. Their demand was turned down by the Dange group.

Thereupon the 32 members announced their withdrawal from the National Council and issued a statement urging the whole Party to disown the Dange group. Later, Party organizations were established in all states of India and members of the Dange group were excluded. The Seventh Congress of the C.P.I. held from October 31 to November 7, officially announced that the Dange group had been expelled from the Party.

Comrade Kenji Miyamoto on Projected Meeting of 26 Parties

KENJI MIYAMOTO, General Secretary of the Japanese Communist Party, has pointed out that since the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in announcing the postponement of a meeting of 26 Parties to March 1, 1965, has not made the slightest change in the manner of calling such a meeting unilaterally and unjustifiably, the Japanese Communist Party considers it unnecessary to effect a basic change in its stand favouring the halting of the convocation of this meeting.

This was declared by him in his speech at a meeting held in Kyoto, Japan, on December 18 last year to welcome a delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party. Excerpts of the speech were published in *Akahata* on December 29.

Kenji Miyamoto said: "Our Party holds that the calling of the preparatory meeting originally scheduled by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for December 15 should be stopped and proposes that the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries in the world call separate meetings at which the immediate taking of concerted action will be stressed so as to wage an effective struggle against imperialism.

"In its recent announcement the Communist Party of the Soviet Union only said that the meeting original-

ly scheduled for December 15 would be postponed to March 1 next year. There has been no change at all in the manner of calling a meeting of 26 Parties unilaterally and unjustifiably. Although gradually some people in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have come forward to say that they attach importance to the immediate and concerted action against imperialism as advocated by our Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union attempts to convene the meeting unilaterally without any justification, as if it were a Party standing above all the fraternal Parties. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has not in advance reached full unanimity of views with all the socialist countries on the procedure and other questions related to calling the meeting. It is continuing to follow its past policies.

"In view of the above-mentioned situation, the attitude adopted by our Party towards the meeting is clear. We consider that there is no need to make a basic change in our past stand." Kenji Miyamoto added: "We stress once again, as the resolution of the Ninth Congress of our Party has made clear, that we will struggle with full confidence to the end until the unity of the international communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism has been achieved."

British C.P. Executive Committee Adopts Resolution

IN a commentary on January 11, the *Daily Worker*, organ of the British Communist Party, said: "Postponement of the proposed preparatory committee for an international communist conference on March 1 until an agreed date is reached by the main Parties was urged by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at the weekend."

The commentary said that a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee said: "The Executive considers it unwise to fix a date for the preparatory committee in the absence of agreement between the main Parties on its convocation and date."

"It urged that such agreement be reached as speedily as possible in view of the damage being done to the international movement by the present position."

The commentary added: "The Executive declared: 'Our opinion has always been that an international communist conference to help to resolve differences and promote the unity of the international communist movement must be all-inclusive.'"

In the view of the Executive Committee, the commentary said, "a preparatory committee for such an international conference can only be effective in preparing an agreed, inclusive international communist conference if it includes representatives of the main Parties involved in the present differences."

"The Executive expressed readiness to participate in any consultations which could assist in the convening of an agreed representative preparatory committee."

ROUND THE WORLD

Sukarno Warns Britain

Do Not Play With Fire

President Sukarno has again served warning on the forces of imperialism that they will be given a thorough trouncing should they dare to attack Indonesia. The Indonesian leader was speaking at Serpong near Djakarta where he laid the cornerstone for an atomic reactor project on January 16. Indonesia, he said, is encircled by imperialism and threatened by sabre-rattling British forces, but that holds no terror for the Indonesian people. If the British troops play with fire, they will perish in the conflagration.

This warning to imperialism underlined the interview President Sukarno gave to the Columbia Broadcasting System a few days earlier. In reply to a question he then declared that Indonesia would not start a war but if attacked would fight and strike back. Since the forces of imperialism and their friends were using Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations as a pretext to whip up war hysteria, he repeated this warning at Serpong. Indonesia walked out of the U.S.-dominated organization not for war but for the implementation of self-reliance, he stressed. As time passes, the Indonesian stand is winning ever wider sympathy and approval. Premier Kim Il Sung of Korea and Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Laotian National Union Government and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, have wired their support for the bold and revolutionary decision to quit the United Nations.

President Sukarno spoke about the romanticism, dynamism and dialectics of the Indonesian revolution and about a people ready and determined to take up the challenge hurled at them. He said the revolutionary spirit of the Indonesian people is stronger than atomic energy. This spirit plus material power, he pointed out, is invincible.

It is easy to understand this militant and revolutionary mood of the Indonesian people. For across the Strait of Malacca Britain has massed in the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" it created in 1963 fifty thousand British troops, the largest concentration Whitehall has assembled in the Far East since the Korean war. Of these troops, 10,000 including Gurkha soldiers are in Sabah and Sarawak. Britain's biggest aircraft carrier, the 50,000-ton missile-carrying *Eagle*, has arrived at the Singapore naval base, to bring the number of British warships prowling in waters off the islands of Indonesia to over 70. Britain has sent more nuclear-capable V-bombers to "Malaysia" and on January 16 held in Singapore what a news report from that city described as the biggest ever British air exercise in the Far East. All this bared-tooth hostility is intended to intimidate the Indonesian people.

With the enemy blustering at the gates, the people of Indonesia have risen as one man. Public support is swelling for the proposal put forward by Chairman D.N. Aidit of the Indonesian Communist Party to arm the country's 15 million workers and peasants and meet head-on the threat and military provocations from Anglo-American imperialism.

The All-Indonesia Central Organization of Trade Unions, in the name of its 3.5 million members, sent a message to President Sukarno saying that adoption of the proposal would make Indonesia an invincible stronghold. The Indonesian Peasant Front, speaking for its 3.5 million membership, also communicated with President Sukarno to express full support for Aidit's proposal.

In the meantime, half a million people in Surabaya held a mass rally on January 17 to voice their support for the firm stand taken by President Sukarno to meet the U.S. and British imperialist military challenge

and the decision to quit the United Nations. They renewed their resolve to build Indonesia up through self-reliance and press on with the struggle to smash the neo-colonialist "Malaysia." A resolution adopted at the meeting called on the Government to close down the American consulate in Surabaya and to take over and confiscate U.S. and British assets.

Dr. Subandrio, the First Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, who addressed the meeting, stated that President Sukarno's decision to pull Indonesia out of the United Nations was taken within the framework of the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. The goal of the Indonesian revolution, he emphasized, was to wipe out the forces of imperialism and colonialism from the globe.

In the heart of Southeast Asia, British imperialism is trying to retain its toe-hold by shoring up "Malaysia" to withstand the onslaught of revolutionary movements. Perhaps by a show of "strength," concentration of a vast number of land, sea and air forces that is unprecedented in peacetime, British imperialism believes it can cow the people in this region into submission. Perhaps this is what Harold Wilson meant when, soon after he became Prime Minister, he said Britain must be "strong east of Suez." Perhaps Wilson's government is thinking of "doing a Suez" in Asia and that it can do better than its Conservative predecessor, Suez? Britain should relearn the lessons of its Suez invasion and fiasco in 1956 if it is thinking of going through with its plan to use "Malaysia" for another "Suez" against Indonesia.

Laos

U.S. Air Pirates Shot Down

On January 13 the Laotian patriotic armed forces shot down two U.S. jet planes which bombed the Xieng Khouang liberated areas. The U.S. Defence Department took the rather unusual step of announcing the losses, saying "A U.S. F-100 airplane and a U.S. F-105 airplane were shot down in Central Laos by ground fire." It is unusual because direct American

participation in air strikes against the liberated areas had hitherto been "classified" information. But now that two of the planes manned by American officers have been brought down, the "secret" can no longer be kept.

Actually, bombing raids carried out by U.S.-piloted aircraft have been going on for more than a month. "U.S. airforce jet fighter-bomber strikes," said UPI in Saigon on January 14, "are part of a continuing demonstration of American military force in this part of the world." It may be said too that they are a part of the U.S. plan to extend direct armed aggression in Laos, in land as well as in air warfare. It is a grave step U.S. imperialism has taken to spread the war in Indo-China.

To avoid condemnation, the U.S. Department of State gave a lame explanation about these aggressive acts. It said the day after the U.S. jets were shot down that the U.S. air force had taken action under Article Six of the 1962 Geneva accords at the request of the Royal Laotian Government. This is pure poppycock. The present government at Vientiane is the offspring of the April 19 coup d'etat brought about by the United States itself last year. It has no right to speak as the Laotian National Union Government which came into being in pursuance of the 1962 accords. Besides, since when has the U.S. Government been so concerned about the sanctity of international agreements?

Japan Under Eisaku Sato

Open Collusion With U.S.

Japanese Prime Minister Sato visited Washington at a time when the U.S. Government, with its policies of war and aggression bogged down everywhere in Asia, was eagerly looking for help. The Johnson Administration needed friends to support and speak for its bankrupt policies in Indo-China, in the Straits of Taiwan, in Southeast Asia where Indonesia is locked in struggle with the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" which U.S. imperialism is trying to bolster up jointly with Britain. For Washington, the new Japanese Prime Minister is a friend in need.

The communique issued after the talks between President Johnson and Prime Minister Sato on January 12 and 13 can be summed up in one sentence: Japan under Eisaku Sato is more deeply involved in the aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism than ever and now shows itself openly as a willing tool. Suffice it to cite just two points from their communique.

First, what they called "the troubled situation in Asia, particularly in Viet Nam." Sato not only endorsed the U.S. "special war" in south Viet Nam but also agreed with Johnson that the United States should "persevere" in it. During his stay the Japanese Prime Minister, to please his hosts, declared time and again that Japan would go all out to assist the U.S. in its south Viet Nam war of aggression.

Secondly, what they called "the China question." Johnson and Sato saw eye to eye about propping up the Chiang Kai-shek gang on Taiwan and "agreed to maintain close consultations" on their policies towards China. In his press conference and speeches after the talks Sato again made it clear that Japan would "maintain the closest of consultations" with the U.S. on matters relating to its policy towards China and pledged Japan's support for the U.S. policy of "containing China."

Even the monopoly press in Japan, *Mainichi Shimbun* for example, has commented on the way Sato has allowed the United States to lead Japan by the nose. It said by undertaking "the closest of consultations" with the U.S., Japan "has confined itself within the limits of the United States."

In fact, Sato's visit ended as it was first announced—in a chorus of disapproval in Japan. Masayoshi Oka, a Member of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, which speaks for the working people of Japan, denounced the Johnson-Sato communique as a declaration by the U.S. and Japanese ruling circles of the co-ordination of their objectives and the strengthening of their collaboration in executing the U.S. policy of "containing China," aggression against Asia, and nuclear warfare as well as the Japanese policy of nuclear armament and

the revival of militarism. Tomomi Narita, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, said Sato had failed to take an "independent stand" and that there was a "danger of the Sato cabinet being involved in the U.S. policy on Asia." Leaders of various mass organizations in the country also assailed Sato for tying Japan closer to the U.S. policies of war and aggression in Asia. It only goes to show that a friend of U.S. imperialism can be no friend of the Japanese people.

Panama

Day of Remembrance

For five days on end the people of Panama gave rein to their feelings against Yankee imperialism in demonstrations on the capital's streets and in front of the U.S. Embassy. It was the first anniversary of the martyrdom of the patriots killed by the U.S. occupation troops in the Canal Zone on January 9 a year ago. The fact that the Day of Remembrance observance extended to almost a week denotes the depth of hatred of the Panamanian people for the invaders who have occupied their land for over half a century.

Remembrance Day was a day of national mourning with flags flying at half-mast everywhere. It began with a wailing of factory and other sirens, followed by a 5-minute silence that was observed in all parts of the country. A mass rally of 75,000 people was staged in Santa Ana Square from which the demonstrators marched to the tombs of the martyrs to pay respects to their memory.

The placards carried by the marchers were inscribed with slogans telling the Yankees to quit Panama. On the fifth day practically all university and secondary school students turned out to demonstrate and demand the recovery of sovereignty over the Canal Zone and the abrogation of the humiliating 1903 treaty by which the northern colossus seized a part of Panamanian territory for its canal. The demonstrators made a bonfire of American flags, and one Stars and Stripes was burnt right in front of the U.S. Embassy building amid shouts of "Yankees, get out!"

MASS EDUCATION

Looking Back to Go Forward

A popular means of socialist education in China today are "class education exhibitions." Held in cities and the countryside, some of these are small, telling the biographies of working people or histories of individual factories or people's communes. Others, on a citywide or even larger scale, display memorabilia from the past, use words, photos or drawings or other visual aids to recall the old days with their sufferings and struggles against the reactionary ruling classes. In these ways, the truth about classes and the class struggle is vividly shown and people are alerted against any attempt at a come-back of the old order. As the saying goes, "Remember past bitterness while thinking about present happiness."

Shantung "Remember" Exhibition

A current exhibition of this type in Tsinan, capital of Shantung Province, is drawing tens of thousands of visitors. Through films and photos, drawings and charts and a collection of material evidence it shows what life in old China meant for the masses.

Among the many grim exhibits is a record of the sixty ways of torture and slaughter used by the Kuomintang gangsters against the

people — burying alive, hacking to death, gouging out eyes and taking out the heart. Least any doubt the truth about these atrocities the very instruments used are there to prove it.

There are mementoes of landlord oppression, each with its tale of blood and tears of some peasant family. One is a gravestone for a landlord's dog. Because the dog was killed by his son when it attacked him, 70-year-old poor peasant Chen Chichien was forced to wear mourning and kneel for three days before the tablet set up for the dog's "soul." At the funeral, old Chen was made to perform the rites prescribed for "next of kin." Humiliated beyond endurance, he died soon after. Yet this was not enough to appease the landlord. He forced other poor peasants to set up this gravestone on the dog's grave. The "grave" was levelled after liberation but the gravestone was kept as a remembrance of that crime.

In Hsihsia County, the landlord family of Mou Erh-hei alone owned 60,000 *mu* of farmland, 120,000 *mu* of hill land and houses with some 5,500 rooms. The family acquired these possessions through a century of ruthless exploitation. In times of famine, for instance, it forced starving peasants to part with their last plots of land for a few measures of grain. The exhibition shows Mou's account books of usury and records of other evil doings, models of his extensive estates, reconstructions of his

luxurious apartments contrasted with the hovels of his hired labourers and the rags they used for clothing and cover.

Visitors to the exhibition have written 100,000 words of impressions in the visitors' book. Two P.L.A. men wrote: "We will never forget this. We swear to cherish our rifles and guard the fruits of liberation." A group of college students, sons and daughters of former poor peasants, pledged: "We will use our knowledge in the cause of the revolution." A mother wrote: "I will tell my children about this and try to educate them to be worthy of the revolution and carry it forward."

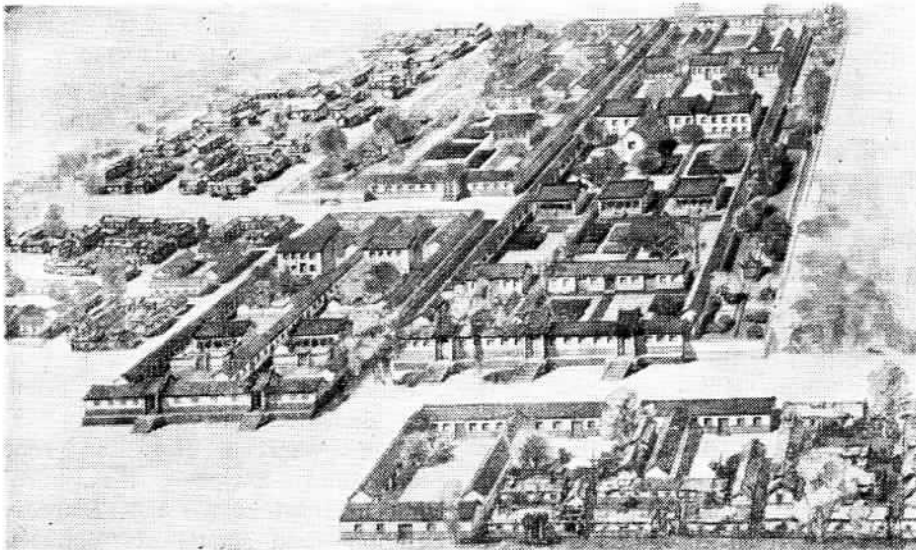
Workers Draw Own Stories

The class education exhibition at the Peking No. 2 Machine-Tool Plant is in the form of "family histories" in written records and drawings backed up with the material evidence of real-life articles. All relate to veteran workers at the plant and their experiences in the past. This personal aspect adds to the impact of the lesson of these family histories. One of the younger workers, after seeing it, said: "I've often heard about the sufferings of the workers in the old society, but it has never been driven home to me so forcefully as at this exhibition. Many of those mentioned are my friends and instructors at work; their histories all tell the same tale of class exploitation and oppression. Now I understand better why the whole working class, not individuals alone, needed to rise and fight. . . ."

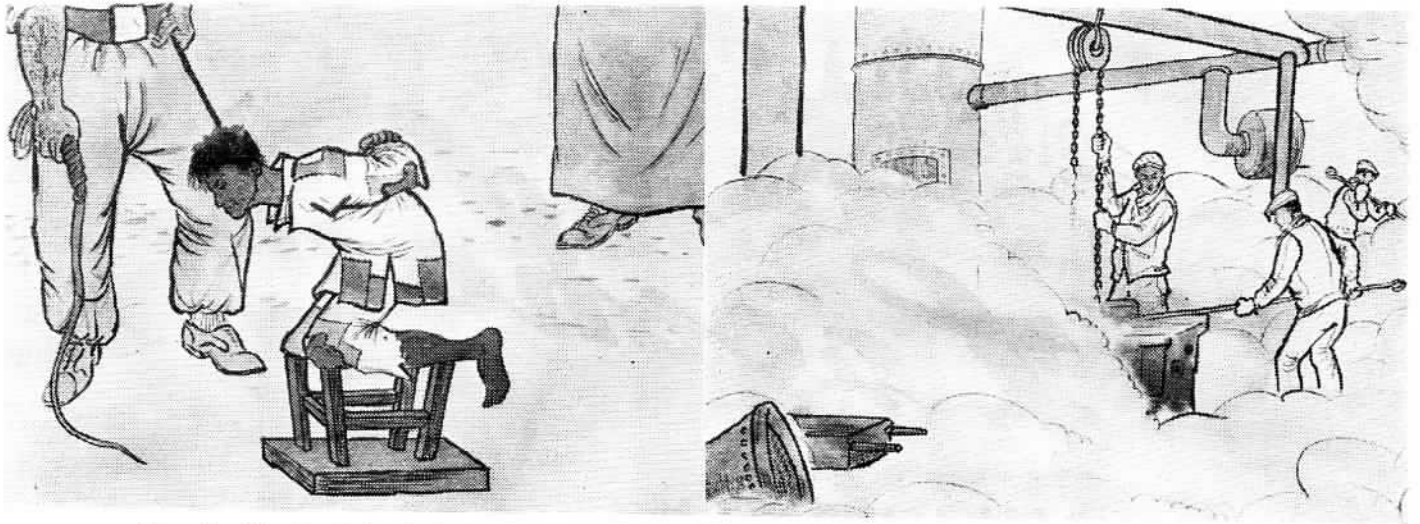
A characteristic of this exhibition is that all the written records and drawings were made by the workers of the plant themselves. By compiling their own histories and putting them on exhibition, they educate both themselves and their mates.

Revolution in "Kang" Paintings

Records of the past have also made their way into the art of Shansi "kang paintings." These are pictures which peasants in northern Shansi villages love to have painted on the walls around their kang — a raised, heated brick platform taking up to half or more of an average peasant bedroom and used as the bed. The



Drawing of one of landlord Mou's estates



From the "family history" of Wang Ta-fang of the Peking No. 2 Machine-Tool Plant. (Left) "Apprenticeship" in a capitalist factory before liberation. (Right) Now an engineer, introducing new techniques

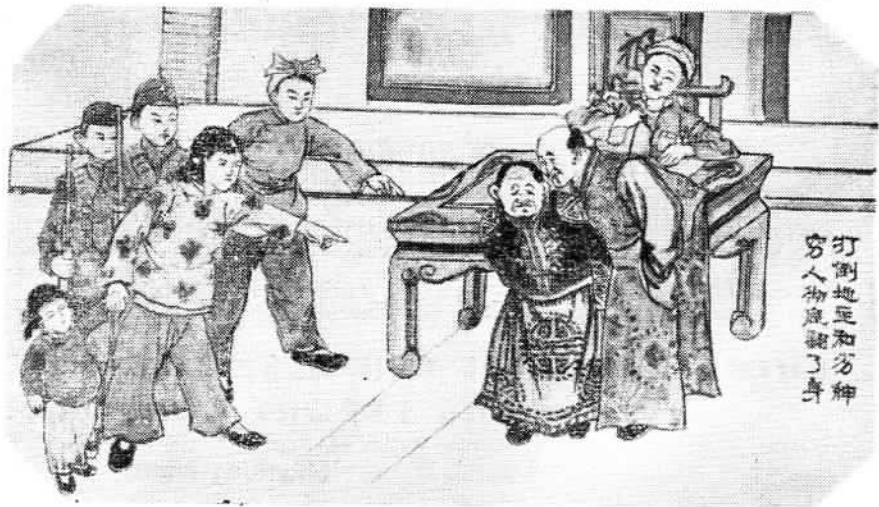
drawings are usually two feet high, painted in colour and varnished over. Some of the better ones keep fresh for years.

A traditional folk art of these parts, they were mostly on feudal or superstitious themes, such as representations of the "Twenty-Four Filial Virtues," the "Eight Gods and Goddesses," and so on. With the liberation and increasing revolutionization of the villages, the peasants no longer wanted such themes.

During the current socialist education movement, one young peasant activist with a talent for painting conceived the idea of drawing family histories in the *kang* pictures. Party secretary Li Kuan-yun immediately invited him to his home. When the paintings were finished, the entire village came to see them. In picture after picture on the walls around the *kang*, they saw the Party secretary as a child beggar before liberation, in his teens as a shepherd under the whiplash of the landlord, then as a grown man after liberation in the struggle against the landlords during the land reform and working to transform the countryside in the co-op and commune. . . . As the peasant visitors watched, many of them relived their own pasts in their minds. The young man became a much sought after person not only in his own but in other villages too. The painting of such *kang* pictures of family histories or other new revolutionary themes has now spread to a score and more villages in the area.

News of this transformation, local as it is, has made its way into the national press as part of the transformation of China's folk arts. In a

short commentary, *Renmin Ribao* described it as a "revolution in *kang* pictures — a new development in the cultural revolution of the countryside."



Two new "kang" paintings: (upper) Landlords scorn the children of the poor; (lower) Condemned for their crimes during the land reform



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