

# PEKING REVIEW

6

February 5, 1965

## New Phase in Sino-Indonesian Comradeship-in-Arms

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報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Just off the press

# **IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE) AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION**

(English Edition)

On November 24, 1964, the U.S.-Belgian imperialists arrogantly intervened with their forces in the Congo (Leopoldville) and seized Stanleyville. People throughout the world angrily denounced this act.

On November 28, Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, issued a statement supporting the people of the Congo (L) against U.S. aggression. The statement sounded the call: "People of the whole world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People all over the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."

On November 26, the Government of the People's Republic of China issued a statement strongly protesting against U.S.-Belgian imperialist armed aggression in the Congo (L).

This pamphlet contains the two statements, and a supplement including speeches by Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Mayor of Peking, and Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, at a mass rally in Peking in support of the Congolese (L) people's struggle against the U.S.-Belgian imperialists; and a *Renmin Ribao* editorial on the same question.

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

February 5, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 6

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- China and Indonesia signed a joint statement, an economic and technical co-operation agreement and a credit agreement.
- The Ministry of Public Security issued a communique announcing the wiping out of seven groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents in the southeastern coastal areas between July 1964 and January 1965.
- The Foreign Ministry issued a statement protesting against the Burundi Government's unjustifiable action in declaring a temporary suspension of diplomatic relations with China.
- It is announced that Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and his wife will visit China in mid-February.
- *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator on January 29 expressed support for the just stand of the Congolese (Brazzaville) Government in repudiating the Tshombe group's slanders and exposing its scheme to undermine the security of the Congo (B).
- In a commentary on the mass anti-U.S. demonstration in Manila on January 25, *Renmin Ribao* said that the Philippines had now become an active volcano beneath U.S. imperialism.
- The international group of lawyers to observe the trial before a military tribunal of the nine Chinese detained in Brazil issued a statement on January 31, condemning the Brazilian authorities for their persecution of the Chinese.
- Supplement No. 1 (1965) of *Hongqi (Red Flag)* carried "Peasants Crush Village Evils" by Comrade D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party.
- The Chinese press published:
  - "Problems in Breaking Ideologically With Revisionism" from issue No. 8 (November 1964) of the *Australian Communist*, the theoretical journal of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist).
  - the January 21 editorial of *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, reiterating opposition to the convening of a meeting on March 1, called by the leadership of the C.P.S.U., which would split the international communist movement.

## Subandrio's Successful Visit

A China-Indonesia joint statement, an economic and technical co-operation agreement and a credit agreement were signed in Peking on January 28. (See text of joint statement on p. 6.) They climaxed the fruitful talks between Indonesian First Vice-Premier Subandrio and Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, and have been acclaimed by both the Chinese and Indonesian peoples as major achievements marking a new phase in the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

Heading a special Indonesian delegation sent by President Sukarno, First Vice-Premier Subandrio arrived in Peking on January 23. On January 27 he and his colleagues were received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi and had a cordial and friendly talk with them. The day the Indonesian delegation left by special plane for home, Peking Airport was the scene of another impressive manifestation of Sino-Indonesian solidarity. Thousands of Peking citizens gathered there to give them a grand send-off. Premier Chou

En-lai, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Lo Jui-ching and other leaders were also present to bid them *bon voyage*.

On the eve of his departure, First Vice-Premier Subandrio gave a farewell banquet at Peking's Great Hall of the People. Among the Chinese leaders attending were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Marshal Ho Lung, Marshal Chen Yi and Senior General Lo Jui-ching.

In his banquet speech Dr. Subandrio said that the people of Indonesia and China would be linked together for ever by their common struggle. "No force from within or without can divide them," he declared. "We have a common enemy — imperialism headed by the United States and Britain. Our struggles are inseparable, because they are based on a common ideal and are directed against a common enemy." The Indonesian leader stressed that the paramount condition for ensuring the security of China and Indonesia as well as of all mankind was the elimination of imperialism and colonialism.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, speaking at the banquet, warned the imperialists not to embark on any adventure in Southeast Asia. Should they ignore this warning and unleash a war, he said, the result could only be that Southeast Asia would turn out to be their burial ground. He pledged that the Chinese people would always stand on the side of their Indonesian brothers.

### **Chen Yi's Reply to Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy**

Foreign Minister Chen Yi on January 30 wrote to Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, in reply to his recent message addressed to the Co-Chairmen and participating nations of the Geneva Conference of 1961-62 on the U.S. bombing of Laotian liberated areas and its scheme to expand the war of aggression in Indo-China. Foreign Minister Chen Yi expressed firm support for D.R.V.'s just stand and reasonable demand.

Listing numerous crimes U.S. imperialism had committed in Indo-

China, the letter drew attention to recent developments in that area. "Of late," it said, "in defiance of the warnings by Viet Nam, Korea and China, U.S. imperialism has instigated the bogus parliament of south Korea to adopt the decision on sending 2,000 south Korean puppet troops to take part in the U.S. war of aggression in south Viet Nam. These flagrant acts in breach of the Geneva agreements demonstrate that U.S. imperialism is determined to follow the hopeless course of expanding the war in Indo-China."

Noting the defeat U.S. imperialism had suffered at the hands of the 14 million south Vietnamese people, the letter said: "In extending the battlefront and expanding the war, it is sure to meet with firm resistance from ever more nations and peoples and suffer a quicker and more disastrous defeat."

### **Sino-Burmese Friendship Treaty Anniversary**

Leaders of China and Burma exchanged messages of greetings on the fifth anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression (January 28) between the two countries.

In Peking, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Burmese Ambassador Sama Duwa Sinwa Nawng attended a reception given by the Chinese Foreign Ministry to celebrate the anniversary.

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nien-lung, who spoke at the reception, hailed the growth of Sino-Burmese friendship fostered by the treaty. The Chinese Government and people, he said, would as always, firmly defend and implement the terms of the treaty and strive for the further strengthening of friendly, good-neighbourly and co-operative relations between the two countries.

"No one can break the lasting friendship between the Burmese and Chinese peoples," declared the Burmese Ambassador who also spoke at the reception.

Acclaiming the treaty as "a fine example of good neighbourliness between nations," *Renmin Ribao* in its

January 28 editorial said: "Sealing their friendship and co-operation in a formal document, the treaty was an important milestone in the development of Sino-Burmese relations and ushered in a new phase of mutual support and co-operation in the economic and cultural fields. This conforms fully to the common aspirations and interests of the people of the two countries."

### **Italian Guest 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 30 received Calo Vincenzo of the Italian Long Live Leninism Group and had a cordial talk with him. Calo Vincenzo is in Peking for a visit.

### **Youth and Students Hold Sessions**

How should the young people of our country, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, take an active part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and make further progress in the task of revolutionizing themselves? This was the key question discussed at the recent sessions of the All-China Youth Federation and the All-China Students' Federation.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all the nationalities of China, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Party and state leaders received all the participants during the sessions.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Peng Chen, Member of its Political Bureau and Secretariat, delivered an important report at a joint meeting of the federations. He made a penetrating analysis of the present excellent international and domestic situation, pointing out that imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism were bound to fail and the revolution must win. "The reactionary forces invariably change from strong to weak and from big to small until they meet their final doom, while the revolutionary forces invariably

grow from small to big and from weak to strong until the enemy is finally defeated and victory achieved. This is an inevitable law existing independently of man's will," he declared.

Peng Chen stressed that socialism was the common aspiration of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people and the only correct road for modern China. He expressed the hope that all the young people would firmly take this bright road, study well Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's works, and become one with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Participants in the sessions discussed the Report on the Work of the Government made by Premier Chou En-lai at the recent session of the National People's Congress. They cited facts illustrating the present excellent situation and expressed determination to play a still bigger role in the socialist construction of the country. In the light of their own experience, they said that Mao Tse-tung's thinking was a mighty weapon for promoting proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology, and the fundamental guarantee for the revolutionization of youth. They all pledged themselves to do their best to master Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

The sessions noted that an upsurge was now taking shape among the young people of China in striving to achieve proletarian revolutionization. Through discussions the participants came to understand better the following: the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and between the two roads of socialism and capitalism exists in the entire period of transition from socialism to communism; the class enemy is always trying hard to poison the minds of young people with the world outlook and ways of living of the decadent bourgeoisie in order to bring about a "peaceful evolution." In the face of the acute and complicated class struggle, the young people must have a clear political orientation, resolutely take the socialist road in conformity with the interests of the masses, steadfastly stand on the side of the working

class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and of the whole world.

Reviewing the work of the past few years, the two sessions noted that, raising high the banner of unity against imperialism in their international activities, the youth and students' federations had waged a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and had made positive contributions to the revolutionary cause of opposing imperialism. The sessions held that they should continue to hold aloft this banner of unity against imperialism, firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, oppose U.S.-led imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism and always be staunch international revolutionaries.

### **Peking Aims High**

Peking made big advances in industrial and agricultural production in 1964. It is out for still greater successes this year.

Meeting on January 16 to take stock of the city's 1964 achievements and map out its tasks for 1965, the Municipal People's Council was happy to note that most sectors of the municipality's economy outstripped their 1963 achievements. Last year, the people's communes on the outskirts reaped the best harvest ever. Particularly encouraging were the big increases over 1963 for outputs of grain and cotton, coupled with a marked rise in other farm and subsidiary products. Today Peking boasts a self-sufficient supply of vegetables, milk and various kinds of fruit. In turning the once poor rural areas around the capital into flourishing farms, the key role was played by the steady expansion of irrigation networks and the heightening of the commune members' socialist consciousness and other factors.

Industry fulfilled or overfulfilled all major production targets. Total output value last year was 13 per cent up on that of 1963. Apart from an all-round improvement in the quality of most products, more than twice as many new products were

successfully trial-manufactured as compared with 1963. Improved co-ordination between transport, trade, capital construction and other departments, and the fruitful application of scientific research, facilitated smooth realization of production plans and a steady rise in output.

Fresh successes were registered last year in cultural and educational undertakings, in public health and sports. A number of hospitals were enlarged; medical facilities were improved and the number of hospital beds increased. Thirty new-style secondary technical schools have been established, employing the part-time work and part-time study system. Five institutes of higher learning are experimenting with this new system, while students in over a dozen secondary schools in the rural districts now combine study with work on the farms. These schools integrate education with labour and train men of a new type who are capable of doing physical labour and have both a developed cultural background and a grasp of modern techniques. They will go a long way to create conditions for gradually eliminating the difference between mental and manual work.

Keen discussions at the council meeting centred round the major theme of organizing a new upsurge in industrial and agricultural production by bringing into full play the people's revolutionary drive and initiative. The meeting, setting its sights high for 1965, issued a call for redoubled efforts to push production in every field to a new high. Noting that class struggle and the revolutionary movement are the motive force for developing production, it urged all concerned to take an active part in the socialist education movement now being unfolded in the cities and countryside and to achieve the further revolutionization of both government organizations and cadres. This and the mass movement for technical innovations and the campaign to "compare with the advanced, learn from and overtake them, and help the less advanced" would, the meeting stressed, ensure an all-round upsurge — economic, political and ideological — in 1965.

# China-Indonesia Joint Statement

*Following is the full text of the China-Indonesia joint statement signed in Peking on January 28, 1965. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.*

**A**T the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Special Mission of H.E. President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia, led by H.E. First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Subandrio, made a visit of friendship to the People's Republic of China from January 23 to 28, 1965, and was accorded a magnificent welcome and warm reception by the Chinese Government and people.

During the visit, H.E. Dr. Subandrio was accompanied by H.E. the Minister for Information, Major-General Achmadi, H.E. the Minister/Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral R.D. Martadinata, H.E. the Minister/Commander-in-Chief of the Police, Inspector-General of Police Sutjipto Danukusumo, H.E. the Minister of State seconded to the Cabinet Presidium, Njoto, senior officers of the Indonesian armed forces and high officials of the Government of Indonesia.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, met H.E. Dr. Subandrio and the other distinguished guests from Indonesia, and had cordial and friendly conversations with them.

Talks were held between Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marshal Chen Yi and H.E. First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Dr. Subandrio on the present international situation, particularly the situation in Southeast Asia, and on questions of further developing the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

The talks were held in a most sincere, cordial and friendly atmosphere. The two parties reached an identity of views on the questions discussed.

## I. On World Situation

At the talks, the two parties reviewed the present international situation and the development of the world today, and reached a common understanding.

The two parties held that the present development of the world is increasingly favourable to all revolutionary peoples and progressive forces of the world and unfavourable to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

They share the view that in the present international struggle there exist, on the one hand the imperialist forces, representing the old established forces of

domination, exploitation, oppression and aggression, and on the other hand, the anti-imperialist, progressive and revolutionary forces, being the new emerging forces of the world today.

Both sides agreed that the anti-imperialist struggle of the new emerging forces have already won the first fruits of victory, and particularly, since the Bandung Conference, many Asian and African countries have already attained independence, yet this struggle is by no means over. As imperialism is not yet dead and cannot be expected to reconcile itself to its defeat, resolute and unceasing struggles should be carried on on the basis of this victory. They stressed that this struggle should be waged as a united struggle of all progressive and revolutionary peoples of the world on the basis of solidarity and mutual co-operation.

Both parties noted that while imperialism in its old form of colonial domination has been weakened, it strives to maintain itself in new forms, and is trying by all means to continue exploitation, domination, subversion and intervention, whether direct or indirect, against the new emerging countries in the political, economic and military fields.

The two parties stressed that no peaceful coexistence is possible between the new emerging forces and the old established forces or between the imperialist forces and anti-imperialist forces.

Both parties are convinced that final victory in for ever eradicating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will be ascertained, so long as all progressive and revolutionary peoples of the world unite in solidarity and militant consciousness.

They reaffirmed that the friendship and solidarity between the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China is dedicated to the attainment of this goal, the strengthening of all anti-imperialist forces in the world.

## II. On International Issues

The Chinese Government and people warmly praised and expressed firm support to President Sukarno's announced decision to withdraw from the United Nations. This is a wise, bold and courageous decision, which helps to bring an effective end to the blind faith in the United Nations and greatly encourages the people of the world in their revolutionary movements against imperialism and colonialism. Both parties stressed that the United Nations under the manipulation of the imperialist forces headed by the United States has committed many evils. A glaring case in point is the fact that the People's Republic of China representing 650 million people has been deprived of its legitimate rights in the United Nations, while the so-

called "Malaysia" just hatched by the British and U.S. imperialists has been illegally seated in the U.N. Security Council. The facts show that the United Nations cannot reflect the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist desire of the people of the world, nor can it organizationally reflect the reality in which the new emerging and revolutionary forces have far outstripped the decadent forces. It is an organization manipulated by the United States and other big powers. Both parties held that the United Nations has become increasingly discredited, and that it must correct its mistakes and be thoroughly reorganized. The two parties pointed out that the revolutionary move of Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations will certainly give an impetus to the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for the reorganization of the United Nations.

The two parties analysed the tense situation in Southeast Asia and were of the common opinion that the U.S. imperialists' expansion of the war of aggression in Indo-China and the British imperialists' sending of military reinforcements to "Malaysia" are aggressive activities carried out by the neo-colonialists and colonialists in this region in support of each other. **Both parties condemned the crimes of the U.S. and British imperialists working hand in glove with each other, and expressed resolute support to the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their just struggle to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention, strive for national independence or uphold state sovereignty.**

The so-called "Malaysia" jointly created by the British and U.S. imperialists is a tool for suppressing the revolutionary movements of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah, and a military base which poses a direct menace to Indonesia, a military base for aggression in Southeast Asia. Both parties stressed that the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements of all peoples form an integral whole, and that they should support and co-ordinate with each other. To oppose the neo-colonialist plan of imperialism and to support the movement of the people of North Kalimantan for independence and liberation are part and parcel of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles in the world. **The Indonesian Government reaffirmed its persistence in the struggle to confront "Malaysia" and its firm opposition to imperialist military threats. The Chinese Government expressed resolute support to the peoples of Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries in their revolutionary struggle against the U.S. and British imperialists.**

Recently, with the backing of U.S. imperialism, British imperialism moved up several tens of thousands of troops and a few dozen warships for concentration in "Malaysia," with which it attempted to boost the morale of its puppets and threaten Indonesia. **But the Indonesian people, who have been tempered through protracted anti-imperialist struggles and united under the leadership of President Sukarno, are courageous and staunch people who will never be intimidated by the armed forces of imperialism. The Chinese people strongly condemned the British and U.S. imperialists**

**for their playing with fire, and solemnly declared that should the British and U.S. imperialists dare to impose a war on the Indonesian people, the Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by.**

The two parties reviewed the world situation since the First Asian-African Conference and rejoiced at the successive victories won by the Asian and African peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for the winning and safeguarding of their national independence. The two parties pointed out that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States will never be reconciled to their defeat and they are carrying on interference, subversion, intimidation, intervention and aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America. **Hence, the convocation of the Second African-Asian Conference will be of great significance. This conference should hold still higher the banner of fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, strengthen the solidarity among the countries and peoples of Asia and Africa and make important contributions to the development of national economy and mutual assistance and co-operation of Asian and African countries.** The two parties reaffirmed their determined will to implement the resolutions adopted at the Djakarta Preparatory Meeting and continue to develop the spirit of the Bandung Conference of reaching unanimity through consultation. **The two parties noted that imperialism and its followers are trying to forestall the conference. They expressed their determination to work jointly with the other Asian and African countries for the convening and success of this conference.**

The two parties had an exchange of experience on their national construction, and agreed that **self-reliance is a most important policy for newly independent countries. This policy is reliable and practicable.** The Asian and African countries are all rich in natural resources, and it is entirely possible for them to build up their country through the labour and wisdom of their own people. Both parties pointed out that the imperialists' "aid" to the new emerging countries is attached with political strings and detrimental to their national independence and sovereignty. **Self-reliance of the Asian and African countries and economic co-operation between them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit are reliable guarantees for the development of their respective national economies, and are helpful to the safeguarding and consolidation of their national independence.**

### III. On Bilateral Relations

The two parties pointed out with pleasure that the friendly relations long existing between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples are being daily consolidated and developed. The frequent exchange of visits between the leaders of the two countries and the friendly contacts between the two peoples have greatly enhanced their mutual understanding and trust. **The two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the common struggle to oppose imperialism and colonialism and defend peace in Asia and the world. Both**

parties were proud of their comradeship-in-arms and held it in esteem.

With a view to further developing the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries, the two parties held talks on the economic, trade, communication and military aspects. They decided to strengthen their technical co-operation, expand their trade, develop maritime transportation between them and strengthen their friendly contacts in the military field. The two parties concluded an agreement on economic and technical co-operation and a credit agreement. They held talks on the expansion of trade and satisfactory results were achieved. They also decided to exchange delegations in economic, military and other fields for mutual visits.

The Chinese Government expressed appreciation for the visit to China by H.E. Dr. Subandrio and the mission led by him, which made an important contribution to the strengthening of the unity, co-operation and

militant friendship between the two countries. The Indonesian mission expressed thanks to the Chinese Government and people for their cordial reception and friendship throughout the visit.

H.E. Dr. Subandrio conveyed the invitation of H.E. President Sukarno to Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marshal Chen Yi to attend the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference in Indonesia, April this year. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marshal Chen Yi accepted the invitation with pleasure.

Peking, January 28, 1965

(Signed)

Chen Yi

Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

(Signed)

Subandrio

First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

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RENMIN RIBAO

## New Page in Sino-Indonesian Comradeship-in-Arms

Following is an abridged translation of the January 30 "Renmin Ribao" editorial. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

**T**HE visit of the Indonesian delegation led by First Vice-Premier Dr. Subandrio has greatly strengthened the Sino-Indonesian comradeship-in-arms relations of friendship and mutual help. It has increased the unity of the Asian and African countries in the struggle against imperialism.

The talks between China and Indonesia took place at a time when a new high tide has arisen in the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of the Asian and African peoples and the people of the rest of the world. In this, the Indonesian people hold the banner of struggle high by launching an all-round confrontation with "Malaysia," the tool of British-U.S. imperialism. Recently, Indonesia, by withdrawing from the United Nations, has boldly and resolutely made a revolutionary move. This has greatly encouraged the revolutionary struggle of the world's people in opposing imperialism and colonialism. The Indonesian delegation's China visit at such an unusual time forcefully proves the close unity and mutual trust of the peoples of our two countries in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Under the present historical conditions, the fundamental task of the Asian and African peoples and the people of the world is to eradicate imperialism and old

and new colonialism completely. It is exactly on this basis that the Chinese and Indonesian peoples have forged close comradeship-in-arms relations. The ties between us have been tempered in the flames of struggle and have withstood the test of time. As Vice-Premier Chen Yi has pointed out, no matter what changes may take place in the world, the 650 million Chinese people will for ever stand with the 104 million Indonesian people.

Indonesia is in a just struggle in its confrontation with "Malaysia." Rigged up by British and U.S. imperialism, "Malaysia" spells out great malice and is designed to suppress the independence movements of the people of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah, threaten the security of Indonesia and create tension in Southeast Asia. By opposing it, Indonesia is not only acting in its own interest but also safeguarding the security of other Southeast Asian countries and defending peace in Asia.

Backed by U.S. imperialism, the British imperialists have recently dispatched tens of thousands of troops and a few dozen warships to reinforce "Malaysia," thereby unsheathing their butcher's knife and pointing it at Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries. U.S. imperialism, for its part, is also shouting about expanding the war in Indo-China. Baring their fangs and displaying their claws, they think they are formidable and can frighten others. But how miserably meagre these



forces are, and even these have been obtained only by pinching and scraping. For all its braggadocio, British imperialism is up a gum-tree. **Are they trying to frighten the Indonesian people? But they have been answered by the Indonesians with a nationwide mobilization. Do they really want to start a war? But the Indonesian people are not alone. China's 650 million will definitely not sit idly by if they launch an aggression against Indonesia. Marshal Chen Yi put it well when he said: "We warn the imperialists against any adventure in Southeast Asia. Should they ignore this warning and insist on taking risks, the result can only be that Southeast Asia will become their burial ground."**

The United Nations, under the manipulation of the United States and its partners, has done all kinds of evil, thereby incurring public hatred. Indonesia's bold and determined move to withdraw from it is an eruption of the pent-up fury of the people of all lands. This has enabled the people of the world to see more clearly that **the United Nations is not an organ to preserve peace but a tool of U.S. imperialist aggression; that it is not an organization that unites the nations of the world but one that divides the world; that it is not a place where countries, big and small, consult with each other on an equal footing and respect each other but a place where might is right and where the big fish eat the minnows.** As a matter of fact, this thing called a world organization is a mess even in its appearance. **Countries making up more than one-quarter of the earth's population are not in the United Nations. The present U.N. General Assembly, which has been in session for nearly two months, has even failed to work out an agenda.** In the face of such a situation, the U.S. representative Adlai Stevenson is still talking nonsense, calling it the organ for the "preservation of peace" and "international co-operation," the smaller nation's "reliance for peace and security and welfare." Mr. Stevenson! Don't waste your breath with these stock phrases! The cult of the United Nations which you have so greatly publicized has gone bankrupt; the United Nations must correct its mistakes and be thoroughly reorganized. Otherwise, it will have no future.

In his January 24 speech, Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that the U.S. imperialist-manipulated United Nations is by no means sacrosanct, that one can oppose the United Nations and withdraw from it and that one can do without entering it, that "another United Nations, a revolutionary one, may well be set up so that rival dramas may be staged in competition with that body which calls itself the United Nations but which is under the manipulation of U.S. imperialism and therefore can only make mischief and do nothing good." This is perfectly true. **In circumstances where U.S. imperialism continues to pull the strings of the United Nations which commits evil, setting up another United Nations, a revolutionary one, for the world's people to make comparison between the two will only help their common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.**

The imperialists are trying to make it appear as if Indonesia, by quitting the United Nations, cannot feed

and clothe itself. They are going too far in holding the new emerging countries of Asia and Africa up to scorn. President Sukarno put it well when he said that the crown of a country's independence lies in self-reliance. The Asian and African countries were not born economically and culturally backward, nor are they predestined to remain so. The cause lies in imperialist plunder and enslavement. The imperialists waxed fat mainly by sucking the blood of the Asian and African countries and all oppressed nations. **It is not that the Asian and African countries cannot survive without imperialism, but the other way round.**

The Asian and African peoples are in a heroic struggle against imperialism and colonialism and to win and uphold national independence. In this struggle, China and Indonesia are comrades-in-arms fighting shoulder to shoulder. This struggle will not stop so long as imperialism exists, and continues to bully us and other countries and to enslave the oppressed people. **Postwar history and present reality reveal that there can be no peaceful coexistence between the new emerging and old established forces or between the imperialist and anti-imperialist forces. To say that imperialism is now willing to live in peace with the new emerging forces is tantamount to making people believe that the tiger has turned into a vegetarian.**

The Asian and African peoples have won great victories in their fight against imperialism and colonialism. **The imperialists led by the United States, unreconciled to their defeat, are trying to encircle us by forming a "crescent-shaped cordon," rigging up a "Malaysia," etc. Let them try. What does it matter after all? The harder they try to encircle us, the greater will be our determination to fight back and the higher our revolutionary spirit will grow.** As the Chinese maxims say, "distress-ridden, a nation will rise and regenerate"; "without foreign adversaries and external menace a country will fall." This is dialectics. Taking a dialectical view, bad things can be turned to good account, and encirclement, too, can be changed into counter-encirclement. When the entire situation is examined, one will see that it is imperialism, not the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces, which has been besieged. Today, in all corners of the earth the revolutionary people are unleashing anti-U.S. struggles and hoisting anti-U.S. banners. They are encircling U.S. imperialism like the onrushing waves of a raging sea.

Afro-Asian solidarity has been growing continually in the fight against imperialism and colonialism. The forthcoming Second African-Asian Conference will be a new milestone in Afro-Asian unity and co-operation. The imperialists and their followers are doing their best to sabotage the conference. But we are convinced that the unity and concerted efforts of the Asian and African countries will ensure that conference's success.

The visit of the Indonesian mission has written a new page in the comradeship-in-arms between our two countries. This comradeship-in-arms will keep growing. The Chinese people will for ever stand on the side of the Indonesian people in the common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

# China Protests Against Burundi's Unwarranted Suspension of Diplomatic Relations

**The Burundi authorities' unwarranted suspension of diplomatic relations with China is the result of submission to pressure from the U.S.-Belgian imperialists. Not wishing the Royal Government of Burundi to be placed in a difficult position, the Chinese Government will soon withdraw its Embassy from Burundi. Whenever the Royal Government of Burundi wishes to resume relations between the two countries, the Chinese Government will give it sympathetic consideration.**

*In violation of international law, the Government of Burundi unilaterally and unwarrantedly declared a temporary suspension of diplomatic relations with China. The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on January 31 protesting against this action. Following is the text of the statement. — Ed.*

ON January 29, 1965, Prime Minister Joseph Bamina of the Royal Government of Burundi suddenly sent a note on behalf of the King of Burundi to Liu Yu-feng, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Kingdom of Burundi, announcing the temporary suspension of the diplomatic relations between China and Burundi and demanding the Chinese Ambassador and the entire staff of the Embassy to leave within two days. At the same time, the Burundi authorities have unlawfully placed gendarmes around the Chinese Embassy.

This action of the Burundi authorities is utterly unwarranted and defies the elementary principles guiding international relations. The Chinese Government has to lodge a serious protest against such an unwarranted action.

Ever since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Burundi, the Chinese Government has been striving to promote the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries in various fields in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China has consistently supported the Royal Government of Burundi in its just struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty. China has never interfered in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Burundi. This has been acknowledged by the broad sections of patriotic people of Burundi. The Burundi authorities failed to put forth any tenable reason — in fact, they could not possibly do so — in suspending the diplomatic relations between China and Burundi.

Evidently, the Burundi authorities have taken this action as a result of submission to the pressures of the U.S. and Belgian imperialists who have always been hostile to China-Burundi friendship and who have from the outset tried to undermine it by every conceivable means. Upon the setting up of the Chinese Embassy in Burundi, U.S. imperialism created the incident of kidnapping Tung Chi-ping, a member of the Chinese embassy staff, in an attempt to sow discord in the

friendly relations between China and Burundi. This plot was sternly exposed and denounced by the then Nyamoya government and patriotic personages of the Kingdom of Burundi and the relations between the two countries were thus safeguarded and promoted. However, the imperialists did not give up their evil designs. Following the recent removal of the Nyamoya government from office and the assassination of the succeeding Prime Minister Ngendandumwe, the murderer being an accounting clerk of the U.S. Embassy in Burundi, the conspiracy of the U.S. and Belgian imperialists was being increasingly laid bare and subjected to the condemnation of patriotic personages and the masses of the people of Burundi. It was precisely at this moment that the Burundi authorities abruptly announced the suspension of the diplomatic relations between China and Burundi. This clearly suited the needs of the U.S. and Belgian imperialists who intended thereby to divert the attention of the Burundi people, so as to whip up an even more frenzied campaign against China. The U.S. and Belgian imperialists imagined that once they got through with this conspiracy, everything would be all right. As a matter of fact, this conduct of theirs only serves to expose their ugly features all the more.

The Chinese Government has every reason to ask the Burundi authorities to revoke their demand for the withdrawal of the Chinese Embassy in Burundi, because this demand is utterly groundless and unjustifiable, because it goes against the aspirations of the broad sections of the patriotic people in Burundi and against the elementary principles governing international relations. However, we have refrained from doing so, but followed a different course, that is, we have acceded to the demand of the Burundi authorities and will soon withdraw our Embassy in the Kingdom of Burundi. This is because we do not want the Royal Government of Burundi to be placed in a difficult position. Moreover, we believe that when we have followed this course, the Royal Government and people of Burundi will be able to discern more clearly who are their friends and who their foes.

At any time when the Royal Government of Burundi wishes to have the relations between our two countries resumed, the Chinese Government will give it sympathetic consideration. We are convinced that nothing can disrupt the friendship between the peoples of China and Burundi and that the conspiracy of the U.S. and Belgian imperialists is doomed to failure.

## International Group of Lawyers Holds Press Conference in Peking

ON January 31 a press conference was held in Peking by the international group of lawyers formed to observe the military trial of the nine arrested Chinese personnel in Brazil. At the press conference the group issued a statement calling upon all who uphold justice to take concerted action and protest against the illegal conviction of the nine Chinese by the Brazilian authorities and demanding the immediate release of the innocent victims of this U.S.-instigated plot.

The statement was signed by Nagano Kunisuke, chairman of the international group and Chairman of the Japanese Liaison Council of International Jurists, and three other members of the group: the Indonesian lawyer Suprpto, the Pakistan lawyer Fakhruddin G. Ebrahim and the Argentine lawyer Fuad Toum, who had arrived in Peking the day previously at the invitation of the China Political Science and Law Association.

After reading the statement to the Chinese and foreign journalists present at the conference, Nagano Kunisuke distributed to them four messages from the group appealing for support for the nine victimized Chinese from jurists of the world and their organizations; protesting to the Brazilian President and the Court of Appeal; giving encouragement to the nine Chinese; and thanking Mr. Pinto, the defence counsel of the accused, and encouraging him in his efforts.

At the conference, Nagano Kunisuke declared that the group had established a permanent office in Tokyo to carry on the struggle to uphold justice for the nine Chinese. The group, he added, is considering expanding its organization.

On the basis of what he himself had seen at the "trial" before the Brazilian military tribunal, the Argentine lawyer Fuad Toum exposed the truth about this outrageous frame-up. He said that during the "trial" held on December 21 last year the military tribunal adjourned after the prosecuting attorney and the defence counsels had made their speeches and barely three and a half hours later announced its lengthy "verdict." This showed that the whole case was pre-fabricated, he declared.

Refuting the charge of "subversion" levelled by the prosecution against the nine Chinese, Fuad Toum pointed out that in their attempt to frame the Chinese on this false charge, the Brazilian authorities tried to connect them with the activities of the Goulart government and the peasant movement in northeastern Brazil,

But, he noted, the political situation had already developed along its own course and the Brazilian worker and peasant movement had already come into existence long before the nine Chinese entered Brazil.

In conclusion, Fuad Toum declared that those who had engaged in subversion were the Brazilian military "gorillas" who had staged the military coup. Therefore, he stressed, they are the ones who should be punished by law and condemned by world public opinion.

The statement of the international group of lawyers issued at the press conference points out that, at the trial, the Brazilian authorities were unable to substantiate their charges against the accused and that the latter's professional activities in Brazil were entirely lawful and conducive to the development of trade and cultural relations between China and Brazil.

Had the trial been conducted in strict respect for justice and defence of human rights, the statement stresses, there would have been no reason for the Brazilian authorities in December last year to turn down the international group of lawyers' application for visas to enter Brazil.

"In the name of universal human justice and with a view to rehabilitating the honour of the Brazilian people," the statement declares, "we once again request that the Brazilian military authorities promptly accept our applications for entry visas so that we can attend the hearing in Brazil.

"We want to make clear to the whole world that if our request is turned down, then we can only come to the conclusion that this trial is indeed a dark one. We shall continue to fight to annul this verdict and expose these illegal manoeuvres."

"We point out without hesitation" the statement notes, "that this trial is a political one. We state with full conviction that the military authorities who conducted it will be condemned by the people of the world. Justice will prevail over injustice. This is a universal truth which applies to the whole world and Brazil can never be an exception."

The statement continues: "In the name of international law and with a view to upholding fundamental human rights, we demand that the Brazilian authorities immediately release the nine Chinese personnel and restore their freedom so that they may safely return to their motherland."

# The More He Tries to Cover Up, The More He Exposes

—On Adlai Stevenson's U. N. Speech—

by OBSERVER

*Following is a translation of a February 1 "Ren-min Ribao" article. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.*

**F**OR U.S. imperialism, Indonesia's bold and determined withdrawal from the United Nations has been a bitter pill to swallow. Open opposition to this move would amount to acknowledging the telling blow Washington has suffered in its scheme to control and manipulate the United Nations. Remaining silent in face of the daily expanding impact of Indonesia's action would be greatly to Washington's disadvantage. It was in these circumstances that Adlai Stevenson, U.S. representative to the United Nations, made a speech on January 26 at the U.N. General Assembly for ulterior motives, namely, to maintain Washington's position in the United Nations and save a situation which is extremely unfavourable to U.S. imperialism.

Stevenson did not dare mention a word about the Indonesian withdrawal. Seizing the question of so-called "paying assessments" to the United Nations, he talked in circles and took pains to prove that the United Nations is most indispensable. According to him, what a mighty role the United Nations can play!

To begin with, in Stevenson's view, the United Nations is an international body "for keeping the peace."

Secondly, in his eyes, the United Nations is the smaller countries' "primary reliance for peace and security and welfare" because the United Nations can set up a "peaceful and secure system of world order" and "move towards building the law and institutions of a world community."

Thus, Stevenson sounded the call to "withstand the winds of controversy blowing outside and inside its halls," claiming that "we could not afford" a U.N.

failure which would "subtract from the prospects for world order and world peace" and would very likely bring about "disasters."

**The U.S. representative has waxed eloquent to show the greatness of the United Nations and how terrible the world would be without it. But, after all that, he failed to give any evidence that the United Nations is such a wonderful thing that people cannot do without. On the contrary, the more Stevenson tries to cover up, the more he reveals that the United Nations is indeed a U.S.-manipulated tool of aggression which must be thoroughly reorganized.**

In parading the U.N. part in "keeping the peace," the only "fruitful role" of the U.N. in this field he could mention are the following: one is the "agreement . . . reached on a direct communications link between Washington and Moscow" and the other is the conclusion of the partial nuclear test ban treaty. But it is common knowledge that these two "fruitful" accords were reached between the United States and Khrushchov, and the United Nations had no part at all in them. Moreover, the sole aim of these is to maintain Washington's nuclear monopoly and enable it to continue nuclear threats and blackmail against the peoples of the world. And they are poles apart from U.N.'s "peace-keeping" role.

This was the case in the past. What is the present situation?

Using "reduction of arms" as the pretext, Stevenson asked the United Nations to do two things promptly "to keep the peace." One was that the United Nations should "deal with conflicts and violence," and that the U.N. General Assembly should be able to "perform its proper functions in the event of an emergency." Translated into plain language, Stevenson's diplomatic terminology means that the United Na-

tions should continue to serve the U.S. policy of war and aggression, just as it was used as a tool for aggression in Korea and the Congo (Leopoldville) and for intervention in Cyprus. Moreover, in order that the United States may use the United Nations more freely, **Stevenson hoped to bypass the Security Council which has the right of veto and that decisions of intervention would be made by the Assembly where Washington can manipulate the majority vote.** Just how clever is this calculation by U.S. imperialism!

Another thing Stevenson wanted the United Nations to do was to "pursue with the urgency it merits the objective of stopping the spread of lethal weapons and halting the multiplication of nuclear armament among those already possessing them." Since dropping the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima the United States has made large quantities of nuclear weapons, and has used them to intimidate people everywhere. In the last 20 years or so, the United States has never thought its nuclear weapons too many, nor has it ever felt the "urgency" of the need to halt the multiplication of nuclear weapons. Now that China has exploded its first atomic bomb in defence of peace, U.S. imperialism raises a hue and cry. **What Stevenson really wants the United Nations to do is to help the United States keep its nuclear monopoly, which is tottering, and not "keep the peace."**

Stevenson's speech showed that so long as the United Nations remains under U.S. control, it can never "keep the peace." On the contrary, it can only help Washington play the bully and pave the way for the aggressive U.S. plot of world domination and violation of peace. U.S. imperialism today is the biggest threat to world peace. Because the United Nations has become a tool of U.S. aggression, to try to rely on the United Nations for maintaining world peace, or to hope that it may pass any resolution condemning U.S. imperialism or take any concrete action to halt U.S. aggression is sheer illusion. To do so is tantamount to asking the U.S. imperialists to chop off their own claws. **It is not the United Nations as it is constituted today, but the people, who are the defenders and upholders of world peace.** The only correct road to defending and safeguarding peace is for the peoples of various countries to resolutely stand up to U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention, subversion and control and tear off the U.S. aggressive talons.

**Stevenson's boast that the United Nations is what the small countries can rely on has been refuted by his own speech which reeks of imperialism.**

He not only divided the U.N. members into big and small countries but listed the United States as the

latter's benefactor and proclaimed that the United States has given over \$2,000 million to support the activities of the United Nations. At the same time, he added, the United States is not "uniquely dependent" upon the United Nations to safeguard its own security, and in its economic development it does not "especially look to" it for guidance and help. What Stevenson means is that the security and economic development of small countries must depend on the United Nations and by doing so they are sponging on the United States. This is sheer nonsense.

In international affairs, all countries should have equal rights. There should be absolutely no distinction between big and small ones and it is even more impermissible for any country to set itself up as a big power and bully the small ones and browbeat the weak. The United Nations, manipulated by the United States, is instrumental to U.S. bullying, aggression, subversion and penetration against the small countries. It is certainly not something for the small countries to rely on. The benefits the United States has gained by using the United Nations in aggression against Korea and the Congo (Leopoldville), and in economic penetration and subversion against the Asian, African and Latin American countries have far surpassed the more than \$2,000 million paid out. The United Nations collects membership fees from all member countries but it works only for the United States. Is it not very obvious that it is not a case of the small countries sponging on the United States but one of the United States battenning on the small countries and bleeding them white?

The deeds of the United Nations during the past 20 years have proved that this international organization is nothing but the forked tongue the giant U.S. serpent uses to lure its prey. **Whoever relies on the United Nations for security and development is in danger of being swallowed up by U.S. imperialism.** Stevenson has made it very clear that the United States wants to create a so-called "world community" through the United Nations, and in this "community" no country can "decide with impunity" which activities they "considered to be legal or illegal" and which "they chose to support or not to support." In other words, the United States wants all other countries to give up their sovereignty and to open their doors wide to allow the United States, under the U.N. flag, to do what it pleases anywhere in the world. This is the "decent human world order" which Stevenson wants to create, a world order that completely suits the needs of U.S. imperialism and subjects the world to U.S. domination.

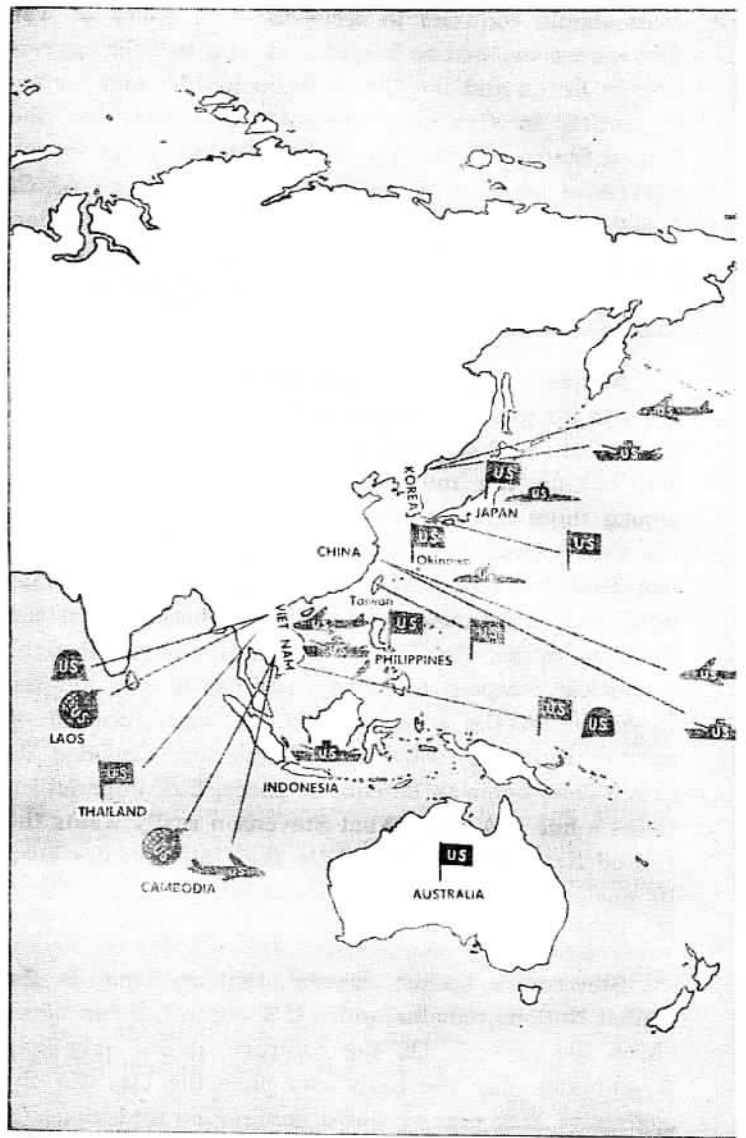
Facts have long shown that whether or not a country can safeguard its political independence and achieve

economic development does not depend on its size, still less on whether it relies on a self-styled "peace-keeping" international organization. China has always been regarded as a big country, but when it was under the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique's rule it was a paradise for imperialist adventurers and a living hell for the people of China's various nationalities. When the Japanese militarists launched an aggression in China's northeastern provinces, the so-called League of Nations not only failed to halt the Japanese invaders but actually legalized their aggression. Cambodia provides another example. As far as its territory and population are concerned, it is a small country. But because Prince Sihanouk has firmly followed a policy of independence and self-reliance and refused to allow the United Nations to intervene in Indo-China, Cambodia has not only safeguarded its own independence but has exerted an influence and played a role in international affairs far exceeding certain countries with territories and populations many times its own. In economic construction, too, Cambodia has had great success. Korea and Viet Nam also do not have large territories or populations, and both are not members of the United Nations. But they have kept U.S. imperialism at bay, and their people are leading a prosperous and happy life.

It can be seen, therefore, that a country, big or small, can neither have independence, security or economic development nor obtain its due place in international affairs if it does not follow the path of independence and self-reliance. More and more countries have come to understand this iron-clad truth.

In order to maintain Washington's position in the United Nations, Stevenson has spared no efforts to extol the role that body plays and sent out appeals not to let it meet with the same fate as the League of Nations. His loud-mouthed protestations may have some effect on those people who are trying to use the United Nations to achieve co-operation with U.S. imperialism and, together with the latter, deceive the revolutionary people. But to the world's revolutionary people, Stevenson's speech is nothing but U.S. imperialism's unwitting confession to use the United Nations as a tool for aggression.

Stevenson is trying to frighten people with such words as "disaster," forbidding them to touch the United Nations. But the fact is that, in the eyes of the world's people, the United Nations has long ceased to be sacrosanct. His speech will only make people see more clearly the truth about U.S. imperialism's control over the United Nations and galvanize them to demand its thorough reorganization.



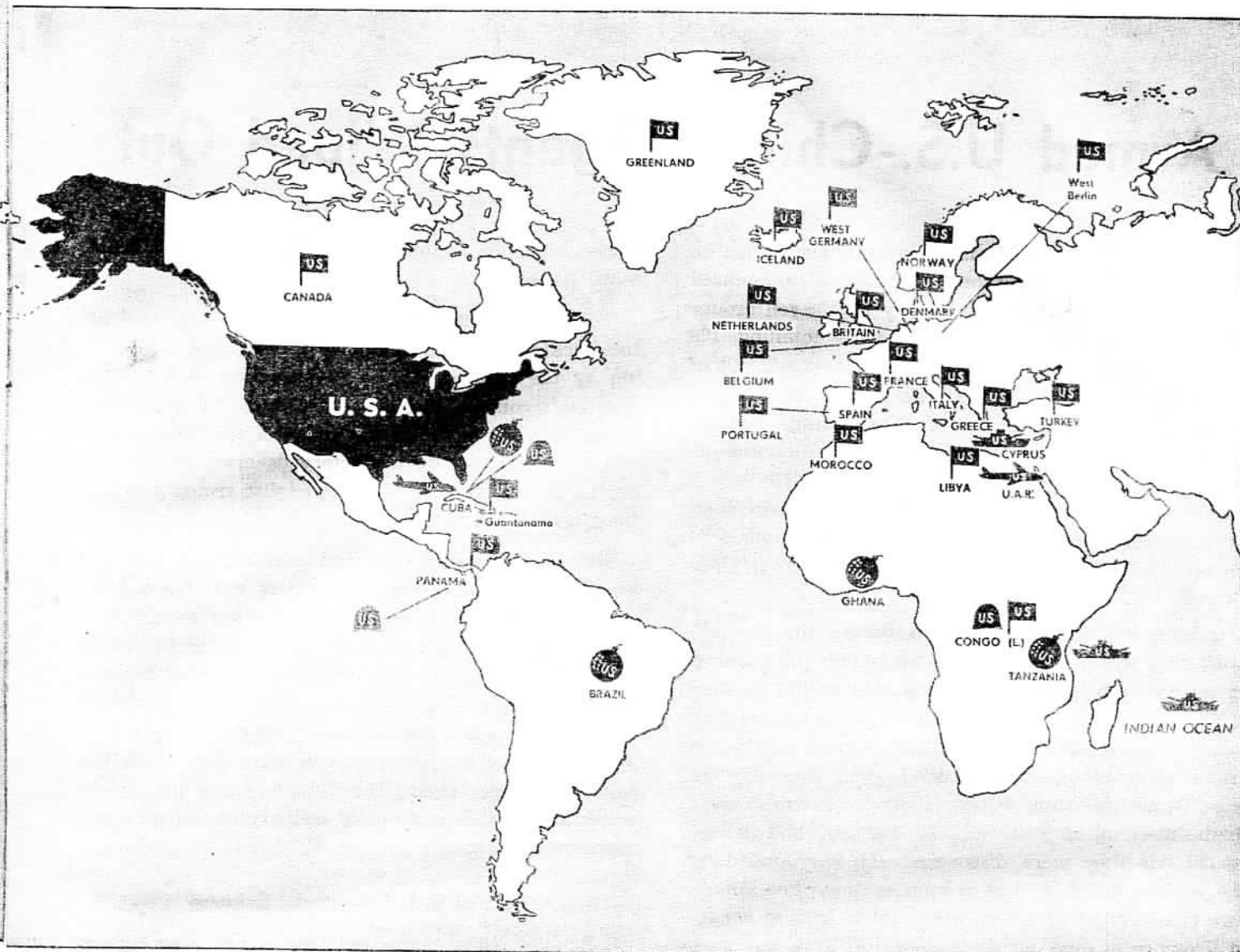
#### Acts of direct military aggression and armed repression by U.S. imperialism in 1964.

The Johnson Administration took over its predecessor's criminal activities and not only carried these on, but compounded them by adding some of its own. It continued and intensified its aggressive "special warfare" in south Viet Nam. It bloodily suppressed the Panamanian people's patriotic struggle for the recovery of their sovereignty over the Canal. It egged on the Laotian Rightists to attack the liberated areas and U.S. aircraft took a direct part in the bombing. Its troops stationed at Guantanamo engaged in repeated military provocations against Cuba. It also launched naked military aggression against the Congo (L) in collusion with Belgium and Britain.



#### U.S. bases and troops stationed overseas.

According to official Washington statistics, the U.S. has over one million troops stationed in more than 60 countries, and over 2,000 bases and military installations overseas. These not only violate the sovereign rights of the countries concerned but also serve as means for U.S. con-



Sketch Map by Su Li

## U.S. IMPERIALISM HAS STRETCHED ITS HANDS TOO FAR

trol, intervention, subversion and aggression. The map shows only places where large U.S. forces are stationed or large bases are situated.



**Violations of other countries' territorial air, waters and territory by the U.S. Air Force and Navy.**

In 1964, such provocative U.S. acts were especially flagrant in Asia and Africa. The U.S. Air Force and Navy continuously violated the Korean Armistice Agreement and made incursions into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; they made repeated intrusions into the territorial air and waters of China; in collusion with the south Vietnamese puppet troops, made repeated intrusions into the territorial air and territory of Cambodia; and repeated intrusions into the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The U.S. 7th Fleet ceaselessly engaged in threats and provocations against Indonesia; the U.S. also sent a fleet into the Indian Ocean to provoke and menace Zanzibar; its Mediterranean Fleet threatened Cyprus; its air-

craft violated the U.A.R.'s air space; in the Caribbean, it carried out repeated provocations against Cuba.



**Subversive U.S. activities in other countries.**

In 1964, the U.S. engineered a coup in Laos to undermine the Government of National Union; a coup in Brazil while egging on the military dictatorship in Brazil to persecute Chinese personnel there; U.S. subversive activities were uncovered in Ghana, Cambodia, Tanzania, etc.



**U.S. nuclear submarines.**

Besides using conventional armed forces for expanded aggression, U.S. imperialism also brandishes nuclear arms in threats to world peace. In October 1964, in defiance of opposition from the Japanese people, it sent a nuclear submarine into the port of Sasebo; posing a nuclear threat to all the Asian countries, it recently sent to the Western Pacific nuclear-powered submarines capable of launching missiles with nuclear warheads.

# Armed U.S.-Chiang Agents Wiped Out

**A** PUBLIC Security Ministry communique issued on February 1, the eve of the Spring Festival, announced that between July 1964 and January 1965 seven groups of armed U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents totalling 196 men who tried to harass the mainland were put out of action by the P.L.A. and people's militia units in the southeastern coastal areas of Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang and Kiangsu Provinces. The communique states that 28 enemy agents were killed, 168 taken prisoner, and eight boats in which they came were sunk or captured. This raised to 40 the total number of groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents wiped out since October 1962.

These operations once again proves the strength of China's people's democratic dictatorship. The enemy agents came up against the impregnable wall of a nation under arms. Some were rounded up upon landing; others did not even have a chance to get ashore. A group of three agents who landed, as they thought secretly, near a fishing village in Fukien Province early in the morning of September 11 last year had to surrender for they were discovered and surrounded by the people's militia almost as soon as they came ashore. Two boatloads of 80 agents who tried to land in Kiangsu Province at dusk on the eleventh of July last were

either killed or captured when intercepted by P.L.A. naval patrol boats.

The last group of enemy agents was captured off the Chekiang coast last January 8. This and the downing by the Chinese Air Force of a U.S. high-altitude pilotless reconnaissance plane on January 2 and a high flying U-2 spy plane on the tenth of the same month added up to a resounding victory ushering in 1965. It dealt a serious blow to U.S. imperialist armed provocations against China.

In its February 1 editorial comments on this victory, *Renmin Ribao* reminds readers that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism will never change, and it will never of its own accord cease being hostile to the Chinese people. The editorial notes that for the last six months, U.S. warships have violated China's territorial waters with increasing frequency, penetrating deeper and for longer periods than they did in the past. The paper says: "The Chinese people are closely watching the U.S. aggressors' military moves near our southeastern coast."

## Part of U.S. Adventurist Scheme

*Renmin Ribao* points out that armed provocations against China form an integral part of the premeditated U.S. adventurist scheme to create tension and expand aggression throughout Southeast Asia and the Far East. In an attempt to save itself from defeat in south Viet Nam and stabilize its aggressive positions in Asia, Washington over the past six months has pushed its plans with ever greater vigour to spread the war in Indo-China, and stepped up its military deployments for aggression in the Far East.

It is clear to the whole world, says *Renmin Ribao* that it is U.S. imperialism that has been instigating the Chiang Kai-shek gang to send armed agents group after group to harass China's mainland, while it is itself dispatching spy planes and warships to violate China's territorial air and waters, surrounding China with a nuclear ring and posing a nuclear threat to it.



Four of the militia heroes of Fukien Province who caught a group of armed U.S.-Chiang agents last September



*Renmin Ribao* concludes its leader by sternly warning the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen the Chiang Kai-shek gang: "No matter what you send — armed agents, aircraft or warships, or even nuclear submarines, none of your armed threats and provocations

can cow the great Chinese people. . . . The firm will of 650 million Chinese people to defend their motherland is a wall of bronze that is impregnable to U.S. imperialism. 'The enemy will be destroyed wherever they come' — such is the Chinese people's pledge to their country."

# The Role of People's Militia

by LIU YUN-CHENG

*"The Militia in Chinese People's Revolutionary Wars," published in "Peking Review" No. 34 last year, elaborated the important role of the people's militia during the new democratic revolution. Here is another article by the same author explaining the great significance of the people's militia in socialist revolution and construction. — Ed.*

OVER a century ago, Marx and Engels already stressed the significance and role of arming the people. Engels predicted that after the proletariat and other revolutionary people had taken political power into their own hands, then under the new social system, "every member of society who is fit for war can be taught, along with his other activities, to master the use of weapons, as much as is needed, not for taking part in parades, but for defending the country," so that "in the event of war, a member of such a society . . . must defend his *real* motherland, his *real* home, and will consequently fight with a spirit, resolution and bravery that will put to rout like chaff a modern, mechanically trained army."<sup>1</sup>

Later, Lenin also raised the slogan of "arming the whole people." He said, "Let the hypocritical or the sentimental bourgeoisie dream of disarmament. So long as there are oppressed and exploited people in the world — we must strive, not for disarmament, but for the universal arming of the people. It alone will fully safeguard liberty. It alone will entirely overthrow reaction."<sup>2</sup> "But," he added, "it is precisely now, at this revolutionary moment that the general arming of the people is a particularly urgent necessity. It would be a deceitful and lying evasion to say that it is superfluous to arm the proletariat when there is a revolutionary army, or that there are 'not enough' arms. What is needed is to begin immediately to organize a general militia on a really universal basis, which will master the use of arms, even though there are 'not enough' for all. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's complete set of theories on turning all the people into soldiers, advanced while leading the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles, is an important development of Marxist-Leninist thinking on arming the people. Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great military thinking on people's war, our Party not only built up an extremely proletarianized and extremely militant people's army — the People's Liberation Army — but also mobilized, organized and armed the masses to form a powerful people's militia force. Comrade Mao Tse-tung worked out a series of important directives on general and specific policies and principles concerning the building of the militia, as well as its character, tasks and methods of struggle, thus charting for us the best way for turning all the people into soldiers.

## A Measure of Strategic Significance

The system of turning all the people into soldiers played an inestimable role during the protracted revolutionary wars. It also has been a basic measure for consolidating national defence and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and an important guarantee for defeating armed imperialist aggression and preventing a capitalist restoration during the new period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Consequently, turning all the people into soldiers was not only a basic policy of our Party during the democratic revolution, which took armed struggle as the main form of struggle, but in the new period, is also a major strategic measure for defending the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is the unshakable policy of our Party and

<sup>1</sup> Marx-Engels, "Elberfeld Speeches," Feb. 8, 1845, *Works*, Russ. ed., State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1955, Vol. II, p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> Lenin, "The Army and the Revolution," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, Vol. III, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> Lenin, "On the Proletarian Militia," 1917, *Works*, Russ. ed., State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXIV, p. 151.

state for building up our military might. So long as imperialism exists, so long as there is still class struggle, we cannot for a moment relinquish this correct policy.

Since the victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war, the liberated Chinese people have been determined to build their motherland with their own hands into a powerful socialist country with a modern agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology. But, U.S. imperialism, part of whose nature is to slaughter others, is not reconciled to its failures in China and other parts of the world, and it is still frantically making war preparations and pursuing an aggressive policy. It seizes by force our territory of Taiwan and incites its flunkey, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, to harass and attack the Chinese mainland. U.S. imperialism establishes many military bases surrounding China, organizes aggressive military blocs, and carries out a military encirclement and economic blockade against China. It launched military aggression and intervention in Korea and the Indo-China region, both China's close neighbours. In spite of repeated warnings from the Chinese people, it continues to intrude into our territorial air and waters and engages in frenzied military provocations. The danger of imperialism launching an aggressive war poses a serious threat to us.

From Comrade Mao Tse-tung we have been taught: "At a time when the imperialists are bullying us in such a manner, we have to deal with them seriously. True, we have a powerful regular army, but we still need to organize the people's militia on a great scale. Against a powerful regular army and a nationwide militia, the imperialists would find it difficult to move a single inch in our country in the event of invasion." Guided by the correct policy of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have continuously strengthened their armed forces while speeding up socialist construction and national defence. Now, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has been built into a revolutionary army with a firm political orientation and modern technical equipment, and has raised its combat effectiveness enormously. At the same time, the building of the people's militia has also entered a new historical period.

Agricultural collectivization, especially the development and consolidation of the people's communes, creates still more favourable conditions for turning all the people into soldiers. The organization of the people's militia has developed on an unprecedented scale, expanding swiftly from a force of tens of millions to a powerful army of hundreds of millions. Its organizational forms have changed from the early contingents



A veteran militiaman instructs a new recruit

Watercolour by Sergeant Chiao Paohua and Senior Captain Lei Chu-han of the P.L.A.

and detachments into such tightly knit regular units as regiments and divisions. Militia units are not only found throughout the rural areas, but are universally organized in urban factories, mines, enterprises, government offices and schools. In addition to hundreds of millions of peasants, tens of millions of industrial workers, staff members and revolutionary intellectuals have also joined the ranks of the people's militia. Having a fairly high cultural level in general, they are in a better position to learn how to master and use various kinds of modern weapons and equipment. This can provide powerful reserves for the various technical arms of a modern army, thereby making the building of a militia serve to build a modern army. As the people's militia becomes stronger and stronger, its weapons and equipment have also been greatly improved.

### Putting Militia Work on a Solid Footing

In view of the demands of building up a people's militia during the socialist period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in 1962 called on us to put the people's militia work on a solid political, organizational and military footing.<sup>4</sup> Putting the work of the people's militia on a firm footing has clarified the direction in which militia building should develop and raised concrete demands on militia work. The carrying out of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's directive on militia work throughout the nation has greatly strengthened the masses of the militia politically, and put the organization and arms of the militia more firmly in the hands of the most reliable class brothers loyal to the people, the revolution, and the socialist cause. The political consciousness of the people's militia has been greatly enhanced, its ranks made purer and sounder, and its organization and discipline strengthened. The fighting power of the militia has been greatly improved. While doing a good job in pro-

<sup>4</sup> See *Peking Review*, 1964, No. 48, pp. 26-27.

duction, they engage in military training after work and practise hard to improve their fighting skills so that they are able to assemble at the first call and be capable of fighting and winning.

The militia masses regard the defence of their socialist motherland and peace in Asia and the world as their sacred duty. They are always prepared to deliver a telling blow to imperialism should it dare to start an aggressive war. Militiamen in the coastal and border regions deserve special mention. Here, by actively co-operating with the People's Liberation Army in joint defence operations, they wage sharp and complex struggles against the enemy along the nation's long coastal and border lines and have repeatedly smashed the enemy's harassing and sabotaging activities. No matter whether armed enemy special agents are air-dropped or put ashore under cover, they cannot escape the ever present militiamen. Enemies once discovered are tightly encircled and completely wiped out. Since the adoption of the system of obligatory military service, the militia masses have inherited and developed the glorious tradition of enthusiastically joining the army and competed with each other to enlist. This enables the army to constantly recruit large numbers of physically strong and politically reliable young people.

Together with the long-tested, powerful Chinese People's Liberation Army, the masses of the people's militia with their long and glorious revolutionary history form an impregnable people's national defence and provide a reliable guarantee for the security of our motherland.

### Moral Atom Bomb

In frantically carrying out its policies of aggression and war, U.S. imperialism often tries to intimidate the people of all countries by brandishing nuclear weapons and vainly attempts to blackmail them into submission. The modern revisionists are also shamelessly serving imperialism. The more the imperialists try to intimidate us, the more the modern revisionists slander us, the more we must seriously implement Comrade Mao Tse-tung's concept of a people's war, closely rely on and arm the masses and turn all the people into soldiers. Only in this way can we deal with imperialism which brandishes nuclear weapons.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung hit the nail on the head when he pointed out: "The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon."<sup>5</sup>

Our country has successfully conducted its first nuclear test. This is a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of all countries engaged in struggle, and a big contribution towards safeguarding

world peace. However, we are developing nuclear weapons not because we believe them all-powerful, and want to use them. On the contrary, we are developing nuclear weapons to break the nuclear monopoly, to oppose nuclear blackmail, and to do away with such weapons. In the past we considered the atom bomb to be a paper tiger; we still do today. We have always believed that the outcome of war is decided by man, not by weapons of any kind. The destiny of China is decided by the people of China; the destiny of the world is decided by the peoples of the world, not by nuclear weapons.

We know that nuclear weapons and guided missiles are powerful weapons and we are determined to go forward in science and technology, spare no effort to scale the peaks in these matters and catch up with and surpass the most advanced imperialist countries in modern science and technology. On the other hand, it is more important for us to know that no matter how powerful the new types of weapons, they can never alter the truth that the army and the people are the foundation of victory. It is true that the atom bomb is very powerful, but the moral atom bomb is thousands of times more powerful. This moral bomb is the just stand of our opposition to aggressive wars, a common hatred for the enemy, and the heroic, stubborn fighting spirit of hundreds of millions of people. Taking positions and deciding the outcome of a battle ultimately depends on man. Reliance on the masses of the people is our greatest advantage, while antagonism to the masses is the enemy's fatal weakness. The material atom bomb is something we have already mastered, while the moral atom bomb is a thing which the enemy can never obtain.

### Militia's Role in Modern War

Judged by the basic characteristics of war under modern conditions, turning all the people into soldiers is of still greater significance.

Modern conditions have greatly increased the chances of having to fight a sudden war, and in three dimensions. The perfidious imperialists are accustomed to launch sudden attacks in starting an aggressive war, and new techniques create more favourable conditions for carrying out sudden military attacks. Once imperialism starts a large-scale aggressive war against us, it will certainly be dreaming to destroy, at one stroke, our military strength, economic centres and communications hubs by launching sudden raids, and thus try to deprive us of the ability to resist. Therefore, the war will inevitably be fought in three dimensions and on an extensive front and in great depth. Be it on land, in the air or on the sea and at the front or in the rear, there are battlefronts everywhere. And it is possible that the rear will be attacked first. Under such circumstances, only by turning all the people into soldiers, integrating the regular army with the people's militia and waging a genuine people's war, can we effectively resist the enemy's attacks. Turning all the people into soldiers can ensure the expansion of the army at any time and the immediate

<sup>5</sup> "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.

organization and sending of hundreds of regiments and divisions to the front. Moreover, it will turn every people's commune, factory, mine and school into a strong fighting unit which will engage in comprehensive struggles against air raids and air-dropped enemy forces, effectively maintain social order, steadfastly carry on production, safeguard communications, consolidate the rear and co-ordinate operations with and support the fighting at the front. By relying on the armed forces of the masses, we can turn every mountain peak, ditch, stretch of forest and house into a stronghold and attack the enemy from every direction. Thus, no matter what methods the enemy adopts and what weapons he uses, he cannot find any way to escape his destiny — failure.

The development of military technology, the employment of new weapons, and the use of large numbers of modern technical arms in fighting have increased the destructiveness of modern warfare and the drain on manpower and materials. Once a war breaks out, we have to have powerful reserves which can ensure a continuous supply of manpower and materials to meet war needs. The existence of a large-scale people's militia provides an inexhaustible source of replacements for the army. Most of the militia have had some military and combat training, which enables them rapidly to become a strong fighting force on joining the regular army. The existence of a militia on a large scale also solves the contradiction of keeping few soldiers under arms during peace-time and using many soldiers in wartime. The masses in the militia, combined as a fighting and productive force, defends production and acts as a shock force in carrying it out. Even under difficult conditions this force can guarantee continued industrial and agricultural production, military and civilian supplies, and provide ample grain to feed the soldiers.

Under modern technological conditions, when a war breaks out, fighting will be fiercer and more arduous than ever. In order to cope with the eventuality of imperialism starting an aggressive war, we must take into consideration the various difficulties which may confront us and be mentally well prepared. This demands that the people of the whole country have a staunch fighting will and a strong sense of organization and discipline in order to overcome difficulties and vanquish the enemy. Consequently, we must pay greater attention to the work of building up the people's militia, and by organizing and training it, arm the working masses, raise their ideological level, heighten their ability to destroy the enemy and strengthen their sense of organization and discipline, and in every way make adequate preparations to battle imperialism should it start a large-scale war of aggression.

### **Powerful Weapon of Proletarian Dictatorship**

Organizing and training the people's militia on a wide scale and turning all the people into soldiers are also of deep and far-reaching significance in thoroughly completing the historic task of the socialist revolution and furthering socialist construction.

The historic task of socialist revolution is the gradual elimination of all classes through the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to enter into the classless society of communism. And Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly pointed out that in a socialist society, after the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, class contradictions continue to exist; class struggle has not been extinguished and this struggle is long-term, recurrent, devious, complicated, and at times may even become very acute. He also warns us that throughout the entire socialist period, there exists the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, and the question of which of the two roads will win, in other words, the danger of a capitalist restoration. Throughout the historical period of socialism, we must, following Comrade Mao Tse-tung's directive, uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry the socialist revolution through to the end, and prevent a capitalist restoration. Strengthening the work of building up the militia and turning all the people into soldiers is precisely an effective guarantee for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Because the militia masses come from among the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, they are not only highly revolutionary, but also possess the broadest mass character. Since militia organizations are found in every corner of the country, no counter-revolutionary activity of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements can escape the eyes of the people's militia; as soon as a counter-revolutionary spark appears, it will immediately be put out by the militia. This is an effective way to keep landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements under surveillance, and remould them into new men through labour. The militia masses also help the Government to maintain social order and protect the interests of the great masses. At the same time, the organizing and training of the people's militia, the policy of turning all the people into soldiers is also an important measure to guarantee that the guns will be for ever in the hands of the Party and the people, and will never become tools of careerists. With this and the thoroughgoing work of socialist education and other measures, we can effectively prevent capitalism from making a come-back, and we can consolidate and carry the cause of socialism to final victory.

The Chinese people love peace. We need a long period of peace in order to build up our great motherland. Our socialist system determines that we shall never invade and occupy an inch of anyone's territory. Nor will we ever allow anyone to invade us. We have always advocated peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and pursued a peaceful foreign policy, but we are not in the least afraid of imperialism starting an aggressive war. Should imperialism dare force a war on us, by turning all the people into soldiers we shall be a people in arms, ready to fight and engulf the enemy in a sea of fire.

# The Philippines: America's Show-Window Of Democracy in Asia?

by C.K. CHENG

The Philippines has often been flaunted by the United States as an American show-window of democracy in Asia, and American-Philippine relations a model of amity between two equal and independent countries. The truth is that the Philippines is neither independent in the strict sense of the word nor is the relationship one between equals. The recent outburst of angry demonstrations in Manila and other parts of the country, calling for the expulsion of the Yankee oppressors, makes a mockery of Washington's claim. If anything, the Philippines is a show-window of American chicanery and hypocrisy, a clear illustration of its abject failure to preserve Yankee imperialism by adopting the tactics of neo-colonialism.

WHEN Washington allowed the Philippines to become independent in July 1946 after subjugating it for nearly half a century, it made sure at the time, by treaties and agreements, that actual control of the country — political, military and economic — remained in American hands. Thus, although the Philippines had all the outward attributes of an independent nation, the Americans were the real power behind the government even after independence. They continued to lord it over what they contemptuously called the "little brown Americans" and plundered the country's riches, while U.S. servicemen killed Filipinos at will on the military bases they occupied. But the wind of change raging through Asia also swept Manila Bay and resentment and hate turned into an open challenge of the oppressors. On January 25, demonstrations, which had broken out one after another since December, reached a new height in militancy and in the number of people involved.

U.S. imperialism was the target. In these demonstrations the Filipino people demanded the abrogation of the unequal and humiliating treaties and agreements signed with the United States, including the scrapping of the hated U.S. military bases. They also strongly voiced their opposition to the recruiting of mercenaries in the Philippines for the American war of aggression in south Viet Nam.

## No Cannon-Fodder for Wall Street

Ever since last April's SEATO meeting in Manila the United States has been trying to get other SEATO bloc members to help pull its chestnuts out of the south Viet Nam fire. The plea met with stony silence. Pressure was exerted and the Philippines was asked to

provide 3,000 "volunteers." The *New York Telegram and Sun* (January 20, 1965) explained why the Johnson Administration wanted cannon-fodder from Asia. "The U.S. is spending 2 million dollars a day in Viet Nam. But it is not enough. Something else is needed. The volunteers from the Philippines are one good answer." As the *Manila Daily Mirror* (January 19) pointed out, "the sending of U.S.-paid volunteers will make the Philippine soldier a mercenary." The move was strongly opposed by the youth and other sections, and opposition to the recruitment of mercenaries by the Americans formed one of the main slogans in the recent demonstrations. Like the people of other countries in Asia the Filipinos are also opposed to the American scheme of using "Asians to fight Asians" and "internationalizing" the war in south Viet Nam.

But the long-standing issues that brought thousands of Filipino demonstrators on to the streets and marching down Roxas Boulevard to denounce U.S. imperialism at the door of the U.S. Embassy on January 25 were the unequal treaties rammed down the throats of the Filipino people since independence. To list them is to catalogue the crimes of U.S. imperialism in that country. But suffice it to name some major ones:

**The Parity Rights Amendment.** In 1946 the United States forced the Philippines to amend its Constitution and add a "parity rights" amendment. By virtue of this, U.S. citizens enjoy the same rights as Filipinos to exploit the Philippines' natural resources, operate public utilities and retain assets acquired during the days of American colonial rule. It enables American monopoly capital not only to control the key branches of the economy but also to crowd out or swallow up enterprises run by the Philippines' national bourgeoisie.

**The U.S.-Philippine Trade Agreement** (Bell Trade Act). Under this agreement, which was imposed on the Philippines at the time of the proclamation of "independence," the United States exported commodities into the Philippines without restrictions and free of tax, while ceilings were placed on Philippine exports to the United States. It deprived the Philippines of its sovereign right to manage its own foreign exchange and ban or restrict the outflow of foreign exchange. It operated solely to the advantage of the United States. This agreement was strongly opposed by the Filipinos and was finally revised. In 1955 what has since become known as the "Laurel-Langley Agreement" came into force.

**The Laurel-Langley Agreement.** To head off growing opposition, the United States made some unimportant concessions. But under this agreement American capital in the Philippines obtained a still greater measure of protection than under the "Bell Trade Act." The agreement stipulated that the Philippine authorities must take no nationalization measures that would affect U.S. interests, thus perpetuating control of the Philippine economy by American Big Business.

**The U.S.-Philippine Military Bases Agreement.** Concluded in March 1947, this agreement provided a 99-year lease on 23 places to the United States for use as military bases. By this agreement the United States built the Clark Field air base north of Manila, which is the largest of all the U.S. military bases in the Far East, and the Subic naval base now being enlarged to make it the biggest U.S. naval base in Asia. Under this agreement the American military enjoy extraterritorial rights, tax exemption and other privileges. Shielded by extraterritorial rights, American servicemen in the Philippines speculate and smuggle, rape and kill without fear of punishment. In June 1950 an additional agreement was signed by which the United States made further inroads into Philippine sovereignty. All places of strategic importance came under U.S. occupation. Inside the military bases the United States has its own administrative setup, levying taxes and interfering in local Philippine administration. In a word, these military bases are a state within a state.

**The U.S.-Philippine Military Aid Agreement.** This 1947 agreement provided for the establishment of the notorious JUSMAG (Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group) in the Philippines. The United States equipped the Philippine Army, while retaining ownership rights over the weapons supplied. On the other hand, the Philippines had to set aside a considerable "counterpart fund" for the maintenance of JUSMAG. By this agree-

ment the United States exercises direct control over the Philippine Army.

**The U.S.-Philippine Mutual Defence Treaty.** This treaty, signed in August 1951, stipulated that each contracting party, in the event of "an armed attack in the Pacific area on the other," would "act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes." The treaty thus tied the Philippines to the U.S. war machine and obliged it to provide cannon-fodder for U.S. wars of aggression in Asia. It is this treaty and the SEATO machinery which the United States has used to press the Philippines to provide "volunteers" for its war in south Viet Nam.

This brief account of the treaties forced on the Philippines shows how the United States has contrived to maintain a firm grip on its former colonial possession. The struggle waged by the Filipino people to liquidate these humiliating treaties and bring an end to the iniquities of colonial rule is therefore one to defend the sovereignty and national interests of the Philippines. It is not a struggle that aims merely at ameliorating certain obvious injustices. As the President of the Philippine Labour Party put it, "We are not asking for palliatives, for simple reforms within the colonial order. We are demanding basic changes—a fundamental departure in our national life."

This struggle has won the immediate sympathy and support of people in other parts of Asia who are facing and fighting the same common enemy. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the All-China Students' Federation have voiced their support and solidarity with the Filipino people. So have mass organizations in Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The struggle by the Filipino people is very much a part of their own battle against the same enemy—U.S. imperialism.

## International Communist Movement

# Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph in Revisionism-Breeding Europe

**I**N the Europe Which Breeds Revisionism, Revolutionary Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph" is the title of an article by the Editorial Department of *Zeri i Popullit*, organ of the Albanian Party of Labour, published on January 6, 1965.

"The revolutionary traditions and victories of the workers' and communist movement in Europe are brilliant," the article said. "However, this is only one of its aspects. History has proved that, as the principal stronghold of capitalism and world imperialism, Europe and North America are also the cradles of opportunism

and revisionism in the international workers' movement."

After describing the struggles waged by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin against the various forms of opportunism and revisionism in the history of Europe, the article said: "Europe has remained the field of violent battles between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and opportunism and revisionism on the other. The example of Europe has proved better than elsewhere that the struggle of opposites is the basic law of development of the communist and work-

ers' movement: wherever there is revolution, there will also be counter-revolution; wherever there is Marxism, there will appear openly or in disguise anti-Marxist currents; and wherever opportunism and revisionism raise their heads, a struggle against them by revolutionary Marxists becomes inevitable.

"The struggle of opposites between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and opportunism and revisionism on the other is going on. Today, it has become more acute than ever. Modern revisionism, particularly Khrushchovian revisionism, has taken over the mantle of the old anti-Marxist trends. As a direct sequel to all revisionist and opportunist currents in the past, Khrushchovian revisionism today has become the greatest danger known in the history of the international communist movement, a danger that has brought and is still bringing great damage to it. The great danger of this revisionism lies in the fact that it has appeared in the oldest and most authoritative Party in the world—the Communist Party founded by Lenin, that it affects the first and most powerful socialist country of the world—the Soviet Union, and that, being a revisionism in power, it resorts to all the means at the disposal of the socialist state to realize its traitorous purpose."

The article went on to analyse the cause of the spread of revisionism in the Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe and North America after World War II. It said: "The spreading of revisionism in the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe and North America became more serious particularly after Stalin's death, when the renegade Khrushchov group appeared on the scene and hoisted its revisionist banner at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U." Europe today had become the main bulwark of revisionism of the most rabid type, it declared.

"The revisionists are bent on paralysing the fighting will of the European working class, making it depart from the path of revolutionary struggle and become apathetic by spreading all kinds of pacifist and reformist illusions. The revisionists try to push their line of betrayal to turn some European Communist and Workers' Parties with glorious traditions from Parties carrying out the social revolution into parties for social reforms, from militant, organized and disciplined revolutionary vanguards of the working class into amorphous organizations, with no clear objectives and devoid of sound Party discipline, where all kinds of bourgeois elements, careerists and opportunists can join or leave as they please."

The article pointed out that having made common cause with imperialism, monopoly bourgeoisie, the Tito clique, the chieftains of the socialist democratic parties, Christian or Catholic democratic parties, and all kinds of reactionary forces, "the European revisionists have unleashed a rabid attack on the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour, all other Marxist-Leninist parties, and all the healthy forces of the revolutionary Communists in their Parties and countries."

"They gave unreserved support to the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and splittist activities of betrayal of Khrushchov and his group and themselves committed numerous acts undermining the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement," it added.

"With their opportunist, traitorous and divisive line and manoeuvres, the European revisionists are entirely responsible for the grave situation created in the world communist movement, and, in particular, for the great harm and damage done to the European workers' and communist movement."

The article continued: "The revisionists of Western Europe demand that the revisionists of the socialist countries quicken their steps on the path of degeneration from socialism to capitalism and of rapprochement with imperialism."

Referring to the European revisionists' reaction to Khrushchov's downfall, the article said that "the European revisionists tied to Khrushchov's war chariot have shown great anxiety over the inglorious end of their chieftain and unanimously expressed their regret and disapproval at the fall of Khrushchov." "The present Soviet leaders—Khrushchov's old collaborators," it said, "hastened to reassure the revisionists of all shades and in all places that they would unswervingly and faithfully follow the line of their chieftain, Khrushchov."

"The European revisionists, who are in the service of the monopoly bourgeoisie of their countries and U.S. imperialism, are deeply disturbed by the mounting struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. In order to hide their true colours and enhance their influence in their own countries, the revisionists sometimes had to make a statement or a gesture pretending as if they were in support of these struggles. But if their policies and activities as a whole are examined, their real attitude towards the national-liberation movement becomes quite evident: the European revisionists adopt a completely anti-Marxist attitude and spread all sorts of harmful illusions. They are in fact aligned with the imperialists and colonialists in opposing, obstructing and suppressing the national-liberation movement."

The article continued: "The attitude of the modern revisionists towards the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of these continents is clear proof of their betrayal of the cause of world revolution, their chauvinism and their assistance to the imperialists and reactionary forces in stifling the just struggle of the peoples."

"The revolutionary movement of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation has great historic significance not only for their own destiny but also for the destiny and future of the people of Europe and for the progress of mankind."

"One can say with certainty that Europe which breeds revisionism can never free itself from the yoke

of capitalism without defeating modern revisionism completely, without uniting the revolutionary forces in Europe with the anti-imperialist struggle for liberation of the oppressed people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and without a decisive victory by these people in this struggle."

Forecasting that a new revolutionary upsurge will take place in Europe, the article stressed: "The revisionism that Europe breeds today will not last for ever. There were periods in the past when opportunism and revisionism became the predominant current in the European workers' movement. That was during the Second International. At that time, the European imperialist bourgeoisie clapped their hands and raised a hue and cry that Marxism-Leninism had been buried and that the revolution in Europe had come to an end. Before long, however, their joy was rapidly turned into sorrow. The opportunist and reformist parties were replaced by new revolutionary parties of the working class, and the treacherous Second International by the Third Communist International. It was Marxism-Leninism, and not opportunism and revisionism, that triumphed, and the ebb of the revolution gave way to the great revolutionary torrents which began with the October Socialist Revolution.

"Likewise, the ebb of the revolution in Europe today will change eventually. A new revolutionary upsurge will emerge. It will not be checked by the temporary 'boom' of capitalism in Europe, by the fascist-type bourgeois dictatorship, or by the demagogy and acts of betrayal on the part of the Khrushchovian revisionists, Titoites and others.

"Historical experience shows, as it did in the past, that an upsurge in the revolutionary movement of the working class does not come by itself. It is necessary to fight and work for it every day. The main obstacle on the path of revolution in Europe today is Khrushchovian revisionism which strangles revolutionary enthusiasm, paralyses the fighting will and spirit of the working class and all other working people of Europe, and keeps the Communist Parties of Europe far away from the revolutionary path. Therefore, without a resolute struggle against opportunism and Khrushchovian revisionism of today in all their forms and manifestations, the European workers' movement and its vanguard, the Communist Parties, will not be able to shake off their evil influence, a genuinely revolutionary workers' movement will not be able to take shape and the great cause of the working class cannot be guided to victory.

"The imperialists and Khrushchovian revisionists try their utmost to stamp out completely the revolutionary spirit in Europe and make Europe and North America the citadel of political and ideological reaction in an attempt to suppress the revolutionary movement and revolutionary ideas throughout the world. But they will never achieve this. The Europe of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Europe of the Communist International, of the heroic Paris Commune and the Great

October Socialist Revolution, of the Spanish War and the anti-fascist war of resistance, possesses inexhaustible revolutionary force and energy that have not died out nor ever will. In the communist and workers' movement of Europe are found the tremendous forces of Marxism-Leninism, for ever full of vitality and fighting with growing determination and vigour.

"The struggle of the revolutionary Marxists of Europe and North America, as a component part of the struggle of all the Communists in the world, is of particular international significance today because this is carried out inside the citadel of modern revisionism, a citadel which must be demolished and smashed to smithereens.

"With their organized legal and illegal forces, the Marxist-Leninists in Europe are carrying out work inside and outside their Parties, to oppose the propaganda and organization of the revisionists, forming and strengthening Marxist-Leninist groups and new Parties and carrying on inner-Party struggles to defend the principles trampled upon by the revisionists, combat their tactics, reduce the sphere of their activity, expose their line and aims, isolate them from the masses of Communists and finally eliminate them."

The article continued: "The Marxist-Leninists should be especially vigilant towards the 'lull' and 'silence' that the Khrushchovian revisionists in power in the Soviet Union are striving to maintain. The present Soviet revisionist leadership is in serious difficulties, beset by concerns resulting from Khrushchov's downfall. The economic difficulties brought about by Khrushchov's anti-Marxist policy and methods, the purge of hundreds of thousands of staunch, revolutionary cadres in the Party and state, the sordid calumnies against Stalin, the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the shameful policy of capitulation and submission to imperialism which has discredited the authority and prestige of the Soviet Union, the rapprochement and alliance with U.S. imperialism and diverse reactionary forces detrimental to the interests of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the peoples, the chauvinist and divisive line of the Khrushchov group in regard to the international communist and workers' movement, the frantic attacks on and hostile attitude towards China and Albania, and the entire revisionist and treacherous course of Khrushchov stubbornly pursued by the present Soviet leadership—all these have aroused profound discontent among the Communists and people of various nationalities in the Soviet Union, opened the eyes of millions of persons who followed blindly at first, awakened them in the struggle against revisionism, and evoked resolute opposition and principled struggle by Marxist-Leninists of all countries.

"The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the Soviet Union are awakening and waging an active and determined struggle on all fronts against the Khrushchovian revisionist leadership. On the other hand, as a result of his policy of dictating to others, calling on them to



follow the 'baton,' Khrushchov caused serious breaches among his allies and the revisionist groups, and there have emerged tendencies to detach from the Soviet Union, to be more independent and to have more freedom for rapprochement with imperialism and the bourgeoisie, all of which have not only gravely damaged the authority and prestige of the Soviet revisionist leadership but also created new economic difficulties for the Soviet Union. The present Soviet leadership is at a transitory stage of finding a way out and determining new tactics so as to avoid struggles and blows from the Marxist-Leninists, affirm its fixed revisionist line and retain its friends who, if not remaining under its direct leadership as before, should at least not be allowed to pursue a policy independent of the Soviet leadership and over its head.

"It is precisely because of this difficult position and the contradictions with which they are confronted that the present Soviet leaders are trying to maintain 'silence' or 'lull.' In appearance, they try their best to present themselves as being more restrained than their chieftain, N. Khrushchov, creating a false impression that they can mend their ways while in reality they stubbornly pursue the original Khrushchovian line.

"Such a period of 'lull' and 'silence' benefits the imperialists and revisionists but harms the communist movement and the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, because in this period the revisionists endeavour to consolidate their positions with a view to launching more violent attacks on Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, under this situation of 'lull,' imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, continues to

be very active in its relations with the revisionists and brings manifold pressure to bear on them in order to force them to make new concessions and rapprochement with imperialism. The Soviet leaders, for their part, take advantage of this situation of 'silence' to re-establish all the ties and accords Khrushchov had with the imperialists. They have never disassociated themselves from these ties and accords or renounced them. Therefore, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary Communists should not be taken in by the new manoeuvres and tactics of the Khrushchovian revisionists, should not fall into the trap of 'silence' set by them, should not entertain any illusions about the present Soviet revisionist leadership and should not confuse this leadership with the Soviet Union and its revolutionary people but should wage consistently and unshakably the struggle of principle to unmask modern revisionism."

The article concludes: "Now is the time for revolutionary Communists to combat treason, liquidate modern revisionism, and re-establish the original Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist unity of all Communists of the world. This unity has brought many victories to the proletariat, consolidated the positions of socialism and communism and dealt fatal blows to imperialism and reaction throughout the world.

"Khrushchovian revisionism is an ulcer on the healthy body of the revolutionary movement and communist movement in Europe and the rest of the world, an ulcer that revolutionary Communists must remove with resolution and courage. Like its predecessors, modern revisionism is doomed to inevitable and ignominious defeat.

## "Australian Communist" on Complete Break With Revisionism

THE reconstruction of the communist movement in Australia resulted in the formation of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and the struggle for a complete break from revisionism ideologically, politically and organizationally.

This is said in an article entitled "Problems in Breaking Ideologically With Revisionism" in the eighth issue of the *Australian Communist* (November, 1964), a theoretical journal of the Australian Communist Party (M-L).

It says: "To break with revisionism politically is not so difficult. It became apparent to many people that the policies of revisionism were a complete departure from Marxism-Leninism and were fraught with grave danger to the working class and working people in their struggle for emancipation. It was not so difficult to see that on a world scale Khrushchov, the

leader of international revisionism, was collaborating with U.S. imperialism. Khrushchov's praise of Eisenhower, Kennedy and then Johnson as 'men of peace' and 'reasonable men' when in reality they were and are the leaders of the most vicious imperialism, made it fairly clear to large numbers of people that there was something wrong.

"When that was reciprocated by the representatives of that same vicious U.S. imperialism in praise of Khrushchov as the best leader the Soviet Union ever had, as the initiator of the 'winds of change' blowing through the socialist world and when the capitalist stock markets fell catastrophically on a report of Khrushchov's death, it was obvious that the capitalist class headed by the U.S. imperialists loved Khrushchov.

"When a Communist is loved by the imperialists then most certainly many people see that there is something wrong."

It says: "In Australia, the revisionist policy of following and supporting all these moves of Khrushchov has awakened many Australian people." The article continues: "The activities of the Australian revisionists have awakened many people to the need to restudy Marxism-Leninism and to restore it to its proper place as the most treasured possession of the working class."

Speaking in a general way, up to date the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) has put forward a correct political line, the article says.

It continues: "The political break is really subordinate to the ideological break and to achieve an ideological break with revisionism is much more difficult. Politics and organization are governed by ideology. There are some ideas that to make a political break and to set up another organization with a new name achieves the objective. That is quite wrong and would soon result in a case of the old firm under a new name. The break on all three fronts — ideological, political and organizational — needs actual fighting for — it is not something that comes of itself."

Another reason why it is not so difficult to make a break politically, it says, "is the splendid political line of the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China has a splendid ideology and flowing from that a splendid political line and a splendid organizational line. It inspires all Marxist-Leninists and, indeed, all oppressed people."

The article goes on: "The task for Australian Marxist-Leninists is to equip themselves fully, ideologically, politically and organizationally. The main battle must be fought on the field of ideology. Only the independent cultivation of Marxism-Leninism — the ideology of the working class will guarantee correct politics and organization. The cultivation of a Marxist-Leninist ideology requires protracted study and struggle."

The article says: "Only those who really put aside all selfish considerations, all pettiness, all the adverse influences of capitalism and really imbue themselves with the working-class ideology of Marxism-Leninism can effectively lead the workers in their struggle for emancipation. Continually bourgeois ideology and influences will press in on the Marxist-Leninists. Continually pressures towards the heritage from capitalism of selfishness, arrogance, group interests will operate to pull them back. Love of the workers and working people — hatred of the enemies of the workers and working people — based upon Marxist-Leninist ideology will offset the evil heritage of the past. But it is not easy."

It says: "The acquisition of a Marxist-Leninist ideology is not merely imbibing deeply of the Marxist-Leninist classics. That is absolutely essential but it is also a question of careful cultivation of a Marxist-Leninist outlook by each individual Marxist-Leninist assisted by each other Marxist-Leninist. It requires the full-sided integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of the conditions in which we live.

It requires the frank facing and overcoming of our shortcomings and failures — mutual help in this process. It requires the summing up of our progress in the acquisition of a Marxist-Leninist ideology for this is a long process and never attains perfection. By proper, mutual assistance big steps can be taken to develop a strong Marxist-Leninist ideology."

Referring to a break with revisionism organizationally, it says that the old Communist Party's [meaning the Australian revisionist group] "organization concretely, specifically serves two main political considerations — parliamentary elections and trade union politics (non-revolutionary trade union politics). In other words, it serves bourgeois ideology and politics. Of course, Marxist-Leninists and the Marxist-Leninist party in a country such as Australia must pay close attention to parliamentary elections and trade union matters, but from a point of view fundamentally different from that of the old Communist Party."

The article adds: "Extremely important as they are, the parliamentary and trade union struggles are but two aspects of life and are part of the revolutionary struggle which absolutely must embrace all sections of the working people."

The article says: "The Marxist-Leninist party must have an organization which can operate in all spheres and sides of social life and which is not subordinate to parliamentary elections. It must be an organization with its whole emphasis on winning the masses for communism, wherever the masses are. Its members must be engaged in mass work. As a Party it must have myriad connections with the masses and all the threads of mass work drawn together and directed under the leadership of its Central Committee. It must be an organization capable of carrying out that mass work in all conditions, legal and illegal, secret and open, and taking special account of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which is exercised in Australia under a constitutional monarchy — really bourgeois democracy."

The article goes on: "Its members must work in the sphere of mass work most appropriate to them — continually seek to broaden the numbers of their friends, of sympathizers to the Party and of Party members. More and more friends (non-communist) in more and more mass organizations, more and more sympathizers to the Party in more and more mass organizations and more members to the Party."

The article stresses that only Communists thoroughly equipped ideologically and politically with Marxism-Leninism can determine in concrete practice the correct step forward. A correct organizational line must be fought for and every ideological pressure drawing us back to the old must be resisted. The break with revisionism must be fought for and won ideologically, politically and organizationally and each aspect of it demands a very determined struggle. "Imbued with Marxism-Leninism there is no doubt we will be successful," it concludes.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Afro-Asian Opinion on U.N.

### Change or Give Way

Indonesia's walk-out from the United Nations and Premier Chou En-lai's January 24 statement that the United Nations must correct its mistakes and be thoroughly reorganized or else a revolutionary United Nations should be set up to stage dramas in rivalry with it have directed attention to the sorry state of affairs in New York.

Public figures and the press in Pakistan welcomed Premier Chou's statement. Rana Khudadad Khan, Rana Ghulam Sabir, and Malik Nur Khokhar, all members of the National Assembly, condemned the United Nations. Rana Khudadad Khan denounced it for "pulsating according to the wishes of the imperialists," to cite one opinion. He said the proposal for setting up a revolutionary United Nations was quite logical and that China, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Middle East and the African states could well form a large organization to solve their problems without the need of the Western powers.

The proposal for the formation of a revolutionary United Nations had met with serious response in many Asian and African countries. Karachi political circles noted. Many smaller nations in Asia and Africa, they pointed out, were of the opinion that the United Nations was being increasingly used by a handful of big powers for their own chauvinistic ends. The paper *Anjam* wrote editorially that Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations was the latest proof that the Afro-Asian peoples were completely disappointed in the United Nations. In these circumstances, it said, it would not be strange if they wanted to form an international organization of their own.

Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Algeria's Foreign Minister, demanded the reorganization of the United Nations in a speech at the U.N. General Assembly. He said it was high time that

adjustments were made. *Le Peuple*, the Algerian daily, in its January 28 editorial referring to Indonesia's withdrawal and Premier Chou En-lai's proposal to set up a competing body, said: "In point of fact, it must be admitted that the United Nations has not always been the stronghold or champion of liberty and peace it was meant to be." *Le Peuple* maintained that the composition of the Security Council must reflect a "more equitable distribution of responsibilities, especially concerning the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America whose present representation is not commensurate with their actual forces."

In a commentary on January 27, the Mali National News Agency stated that Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations "will actually contribute to the strengthening of the progressive and revolutionary forces which are fighting colonialism and imperialism." The commentary said it "requires a new diplomatic method, the name of which is explicitly pure and simple departure," to eradicate the disease eating away at the United Nations. It called for "an end to the utilization and erroneous interpretation of the U.N. Charter by the imperialists and colonialists."

Cambodian reaction was clearly expressed on January 30 by the *Depêche du Cambodge*. The paper completely endorsed Premier Chou's proposal on the United Nations. At the same time, the daily let it be known that Cambodia has no illusions about that body. It declared that there must be a U.N. reorganization if Afro-Asian nations are to play a role in proportion to their status. And, said the paper, U.S. intrigues at the United Nations must be ended once and for all.

### South Viet Nam

#### The Coup d'Etat Game

When the cat was away, the rats began to play. That was how things

shaped up as soon as Maxwell Taylor left Saigon on January 26 for a "lightning visit" to Vientiane. Scarcely had Taylor turned his back than General Nguyen Khanh, the puppet south Viet Nam commander-in-chief, and his cohorts threw out the U.S.-fostered "civilian government" of Tran Van Huong who had been sworn in just a week earlier. Taylor's own January 20 coup to prop up the Huong regime had been the 7th coup since the United States liquidated Ngo Dinh Diem 15 months ago. Thus Khanh's manoeuvre raised the score in Saigon's game of "coupsmanship" to eight.

Only a day before, U.S. Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had been assured by C.I.A. Director John McCone that there was no immediate danger of Huong being overthrown. After Khanh's coup Fulbright was quoted as saying that things in south Viet Nam were "very distressing." Other congressmen appeared to be equally dejected. Senator Mike Mansfield said: "It looks as if we are dealing with coup on coup rather than a stable government." Senator George D. Aiken admitted that he had "about come to the conclusion that ambassador Maxwell Taylor has about outlived his usefulness" in south Viet Nam. He added that "I'm not sure a successor would do any better there than ambassador Taylor." Representative Clement Zablocki went him one better: "If Taylor has outlived his usefulness, then we have, also."

For months opinion in the United States has reluctantly come to the conclusion that Washington's position in south Viet Nam is hopeless. On the one hand, the people's forces are growing continually stronger and winning victory after victory. On the other hand, the puppet regime, particularly within the puppet power groups, is torn by insoluble internal contradictions. The United States, with "Ambassador" Taylor acting as puppet-master, has been worsening the situation by pitting one group against another.

Coups and counter-coups in Saigon have led observers there to say that "now it's Taylor or Khanh, one

or the other has to go." Whether Taylor is recalled — which was what the recent demonstrations in south Viet Nam demanded — or whether Khanh is tossed overboard in favour of some other stooge, the American defeat has been spelled out in capital letters. Said the *New York Times* (January 28): "The latest coup d'etat in Viet Nam is one more blow at the United States. It is a defeat." The *New York Herald Tribune* editorially declared on the same day that the situation in south Viet Nam was beyond U.S. power to control and that the "adventure" in south Viet Nam was a "grievous error."

### Latin America

#### Embarrassed by U.S. Request

Latin American countries are showing few signs of being willing to get out on a limb to help the United States in its south Viet Nam war. The Johnson Administration has been urging Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela to throw in troops, or at least to send token forces, to south Viet Nam. But despite the big stick and economic pressure Johnson thus far has failed to squeeze out of these countries anything more martial than "powdered coffee and medical supplies." For the demoralized and war-weary American troops huddling in barracks during long vigils anticipating flash attacks by the people's forces, coffee may not be a strong enough stimulant.

Washington's attempt to internationalize its "special war" in south Viet Nam by involving Latin Americans as well as Asians has run into heavy weather south of the Rio Grande. Henry Raymond, the *New York Times'* man in Buenos Aires wrote on January 22 that "a number of Latin American governments were understood today to be embarrassed by a U.S. request for support of south Viet Nam's war against communist guerrillas..." The same reporter said that "in private conversations high government officials in several South American capitals expressed deep concern over the

possible internal repercussions if the replies were affirmative."

This comes as no great surprise. The struggle of the people of various Latin American countries against Yankee imperialism and its stooges has been going from strength to strength. Whoever tries to aid and abet the American aggressive war in south Viet Nam will only bring down the wrath of the people. Latin American governments also remember the costly experience of Colombia which not only paid heavily in lives by sending troops to fight for the U.S. against the Korean people almost 15 years ago but had to foot a 10 million dollar bill which the United States later presented it with for outfitting the Colombian soldiers.

### Tanzania

#### U.S. Spies Expelled

Two American diplomats in Tanzania have been expelled from the country for their subversive activities. They were Robert Gordon, U.S. embassy counsellor in Dar-es-Salaam, and Frank Carlucci, U.S. consul in Zanzibar. The two were given 24 hours to leave and the U.S. Ambassador, William Leonhart, was summoned by President Nyerere and asked to guarantee that both Americans left the country at the time specified. They did. Africans at the airport booed them as they boarded the plane. "Go away Yankees, we don't want you!" "Get off our soil!"

President Nyerere's order to expel the American spies was hailed in Tanzania. The press carried articles and letters from readers hauling the U.S. Government over the coals for sending agents to engage in subversive activities against Tanzania and other African countries. The *Nationalist*, English language organ of the ruling Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), printed a letter in which the writer referred to the recently uncovered U.S. plot against Tanzania and asked the Government to review relations with the United States.

*Uhuru* (Freedom), the Swahili language organ of TANU, exposed Frank

Carlucci as one of the advisers to Moise Tshombe and other stooges of imperialism in planning the 1961 murder of Patrice Lumumba. In a special article (January 23) *Uhuru* said, "Every person in Africa knows the filthy activities of the American imperialists." With reference to the expulsion of Gordon and Carlucci and the recent deportation of American newsmen by the Governments of Uganda and Kenya, it warned U.S. imperialism that "independent African countries will not take orders from Washington. If they want to come to these countries, they should come showing respect." The publication pointed out that Washington often began by searching for stooges and then turned to organizing assassinations of government leaders it disliked. It not only had a hand in murdering Congolese national hero Lumumba but was involved in the recent assassination of Pierre Ngendandumwe, the Burundi Prime Minister.

The expulsion of the two American spies in Tanzania was good riddance. It serves as a warning to the United States that it cannot get away with its foul scheming in the new emerging countries.

### German Democratic Republic

#### Normalization of West Berlin

In a statement appearing in *Neues Deutschland* on January 22 a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the German Democratic Republic declared illegal the visit of West German President Heinrich Lübke to West Berlin in connection with what was described as an inspection of "official duties." The visit was another provocation, he said, to create tension and a violation of international law.

The G.D.R. Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that Bonn and Lübke himself were fully aware that West Berlin was neither part of West Germany nor did it come under the jurisdiction of West German state organs in any shape or form. "The planned assumption of author-

ity in West Berlin by President Luebke," he said, "despite this legal situation which is fixed in international treaties, is clearly aimed at maintaining the role of West Berlin as a neuralgic point and centre of tension."

Luebke's illegal activities in West Berlin, according to the spokesman, showed that Bonn ruling circles

were pursuing their revanchist and annexationist claims on West Berlin at any cost. But that would not and could not alter the fact that West Berlin was not under the administration of the Bonn regime.

Only two weeks ago the G.D.R. had protested against meetings illegally held in West Berlin by West German government organs and

Bundestag committees, a move which the G.D.R. Foreign Ministry pointed out at the time was "a breach of international law and a gross violation of the status of the special entity of West Berlin." The statement of the G.D.R. Foreign Ministry reminded the world that normalizing the situation in West Berlin should brook no delay.

## Facts on File

### **Eight Coups d'Etat in Saigon**

**F**LINGING away Tran Van Huong's "civilian government" placard, Nguyen Khanh, chief of the south Vietnamese puppet armed forces, by dint of his January 27 coup, has again seized power. This was the eighth coup in south Viet Nam since November 1963. In the short space of a year or so, with hobgoblins running amuck and the situation in Saigon in utter confusion, infighting inside the puppet clique has turned into open strife between the boss and his stooges. This is a reflection of the fact that U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, under the mounting blows of the people's forces in south Viet Nam, are on their last legs.

Following is a brief account of the eight coups d'etat:

The first took place on November 1, 1963. Instigated by U.S. imperialism, Duong Van Minh, military adviser to Ngo Dinh Diem, launched a military coup d'etat. The Ngo Dinh Diem family which had ruled south Viet Nam for nine years was overthrown, and Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, faithful servants of U.S. imperialism for many years, were killed. A new military dictatorial regime headed by Duong Van Minh was then set up.

The second took place on January 30, 1964. Dissatisfied with Duong Van Minh, U.S. imperialism incited a group of pro-U.S. military men headed by Nguyen Khanh, then Commander of the puppet First Army, to set off a coup. Nguyen Khanh made himself "Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council" and "Prime Minister." Duong Van Minh was named the titular "Head of State."

The third took place on August 16, 1964. Nguyen Khanh announced the reorganization of his regime, removed Duong Van Minh from his post as "Head of State" and made himself "President." But he barely managed to keep his "presidency" for only nine days and had to yield in the face of powerful popular demonstrations against the U.S. and his dictatorship. A so-called "triumvirate" of Duong Van Minh, Nguyen Khanh and Tran Thien Khiem was set up with Nguyen Khanh remaining as "Prime Minister." Meanwhile,

contradictions between the puppet factions sharpened. On August 29, Nguyen Khanh announced his "retirement" because of "illness." Six days later, he returned to resume the "premiership."

The fourth occurred on September 13, 1964. Lam Van Phat, who had been removed from office as puppet Minister of the Interior by Nguyen Khanh, staged a military coup with the support of Duong Van Duc, Commander of the puppet Fourth Army, and demanded the ouster of Nguyen Khanh. The formation of a "People's Council of National Salvation" was announced to "lead the nation." The coup, however, was defeated by the Nguyen Khanh clique which was backed by the United States and Nguyen Cao Ky and other pro-U.S. "young turk" generals.

The fifth came on September 26, 1964. U.S. imperialism stage-managed the farce of setting up a supraparty "civilian government" in the form of a "National High Council," in an attempt to stabilize the Saigon situation. Nguyen Khanh relinquished his post as "Premier" in favour of Tran Van Huong and became "commander-in-chief" of the puppet armed forces, while pro-U.S. politician Phan Khac Suu was made "Chief of State."

The sixth coup occurred on December 20, 1964. It was staged by the pro-U.S. "young turk" generals led by puppet air force commander Nguyen Cao Ky. They dissolved the "National High Council," arrested most of the military and civilian officials who had worked under Duong Van Minh and openly called for the re-establishment of a military dictatorship under Nguyen Khanh.

The seventh coup took place on January 18, 1965. U.S. imperialism managed to bring about a temporary compromise between the puppet brasshats and leaders of the "civilian government" by thrusting a few of the "young turks" into the "civilian government." Stage-managed by Maxwell Taylor, the puppet "Chief of State" Phan Khac Suu announced this reshuffle of the Tran Van Huong cabinet on January 18.

The eighth occurred on January 27, 1965. This was again the work of Nguyen Khanh in his capacity as "commander-in-chief" of the puppet armed forces. Thus U.S. imperialism's dream to organize a "civilian government" to "stabilize" the situation in Saigon was once again dashed to pieces.

# BALLET

## First Success

### In Revolutionization

A major attraction among the capital's Spring Festival entertainments is the eagerly awaited re-appearance of the new ballet the *Red Detachment of Women*. The ballet, after its Peking premiere last October, was taken on tour to Canton and Shumchun, and returned to Peking for performances over the New Year. It now incorporates many improvements suggested by the public.

This is the first time in China that a full-length ballet deals with a revolutionary theme, takes the working people as its heroes and heroines, and is understood and warmly liked by audiences of the working people. It marks a first big step towards revolutionizing the ballet in China, and making it national and popular.

The action of the story takes place in the 1930s on Hainan Island off the Kwangtung coast. A young slave girl Chiung-hua, rebelling against the cruelty of the local landlord despot, runs away. She meets a young political instructor of the local Red Army forces, who helps her to join the Detachment of Women. Trained by the Communist Party and tempered in battle, she becomes a staunch revolutionary fighter. After the heroic death of the political instructor, Chiung-hua takes his place and leads the fight.



Ballerina Pai Shu-hsiang (left) in the role of Chiung-hua

The ballet's scenario is adapted from the film of the same name, one of the most popular releases in 1961. But, comparing it with the film, the author of the original screenplay Liang Hsin says: "It is a re-creation, not an adaptation."

The production is by the Central Modern Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre's Ballet Theatre. Pai Shu-hsiang and Liu Ching-tang, the well-known ballerina and male dancer, danced the leading roles at the premiere.

### Need for Modern Themes

Ballet has a history of only some ten years in China, but development has been swift. Many critics have noted the fine technique of Chinese dancers as shown in *Swan Lake*, *The Corsair*, *Notre-Dame de Paris (Esmeralda)* and other Western classics. But the limitations of the old classical ballet with its princes and princesses, romantic lovers and fairy maidens, have long been felt here. In both content and form, it is far removed from the working people and from modern life. There is also the added problem of giving ballet a national form. Like the other arts it has been called upon to do revolutionary duty, to serve proletarian politics, the workers, peasants and soldiers, and become a powerful instrument in the cause of the class struggle and the struggle to build socialism. Dance-dramas such as the *Little Knives Society*, using Chinese classical dance and folk dance movements and mime and modern dance on a theme from the Taiping Revolution, or the *Five Red Clouds*, whose action is laid on Hainan before liberation, had already led the way to modern, revolutionary themes in the dance. With such examples before them, Chinese ballet artists, determined to bring their art into closer consonance with the life of today, decided on staging the *Red*

*Detachment of Women* as a new ballet early last year.

### How It Was Done

The ballet theatre formed a team of three young choreographers, a composer, a decor artist and the main dancers. To get a fuller picture of past revolutionary struggles in Hainan and of the life and customs of its people, they went to Hainan itself. Here they visited Feng Tseng-min, the woman company commander of the former Red Detachment of Women, who told them the full war-time history of her company. They learnt more from other women on the island, who told of their own lives as slaves in the old society and their participation in the revolution. With such instructors, the picture of the times and the images of the women fighters of the detachment grew more real and vivid in the artists' minds. The scenario, after seven revisions, was finally ready for production.

The second step was to bring the whole creative collective, including all the dancers, to identify themselves in thought and emotions with the revolutionary fighters whose images they would recreate. This was particularly important for young artists who had scant knowledge of the old society or military affairs. As part of this process, the whole cast twice went to stay with units of the People's Liberation Army, learning from the soldiers and getting training in military exercises. These experiences not only deepened their revolutionary outlook but also provided a more realistic basis on which to create and adapt ballet movements and create new dance movements suited to the new needs of their roles. Following their return, for instance, they choreographed for the *corps de ballet* a dance portraying young women of the Li national minority on Hainan, but they did it in two versions: one on *pointes* and the other strictly conforming to an original folk dance of the Li people. After both versions were rehearsed, they discussed the merits of each. The version we see today is a synthesis of the two.

### Revolutionary Content

The production, as it is now, has succeeded in adapting the form of



A pair of dancers during the joint celebration of Red Army fighters and villagers

the ballet to the content of modern revolutionary struggle. Solos, *pas de deux*, and dances of the *corps de ballet* often introduced in the Western classics simply as diverting interludes, have here all been conceived as integral parts of the dramatic development. For instance, in the first scene, the slave girl Chiung-hua has just escaped into the night forest. Exulting in a precarious freedom, she dances a solo that not only expresses her joy but also a certain sense of hesitation as to her next step. The *pas de deux* when she is caught by the landlord's henchman epitomizes the struggle between the ruthless rulers and the rebellious ruled. Chiung-hua, recovering from her swoon after being beaten and left for dead, becomes aware of the concern of political instructor Hung and his guard who chance to pass by. They tell her how to join the Red Army. At this the trio do a dance which shows Chiung-hua's elation at seeing the way out and the Red Army's deep sympathy for a sister from the same exploited class. In the solo of the political instructor before his execution by the enemy, he performs the conventional big leaps and turns of classical ballet but infuses them with a heroic spirit.

The typical *danseur noble* of the classical ballet is an idealization of the nobleman, somewhat aloof, impassive, magnificent in bearing. Here we have a new *danseur heroique* who is upright

in bearing and morals, vital, intelligent and courageous—a hero of the people.

All these dances have skilfully adapted the techniques of the ballet to the new content and to reflect the sentiments of modern heroes.

#### Chinese Characteristics

Since the ballet is about Chinese reality, changes in form were clearly needed to project this through the dance. The ballet achieves this, in fact, by skilfully incorporating elements of Chinese classical and folk dance into the ballet style. Chinese classical dance movements are used by Chiung-hua in her solo in the woods; folk dance is the basis of the Li men's *Double Knife Dance*, the Li women's dance and the joint celebration dance of the Red Army and the people. In the battle scenes, exciting acrobatic movements of Chinese opera, tumbling, somersaults and leaps, have been used to brilliant effect. Such dances of the *corps de ballet* portraying the Red Army's training as shooting and hand-grenade throwing are modern innovations evolved out of the real-life movements of P.L.A. soldiers.

In these and other ways, the new ballet has made a bold breakthrough in the conventions of the old ballet.

The music, played by a symphony orchestra, incorporates the theme song of the film, but has introduced elements of the music of the local *chiungju* opera of Kwangtung and folk songs of Hainan. This gives the musical accompaniment a strong national and local colour.

As China's first experiment in this direction, the production is suc-

cessful. Workers, peasants, fishermen, P.L.A. soldiers, students, office workers and other people who saw it in Peking, Canton and Shumchun have shown their appreciation by calling for half a dozen or more curtain calls after each performance. Those handclaps meant: Well done! The first step has been taken: it shows great promise.

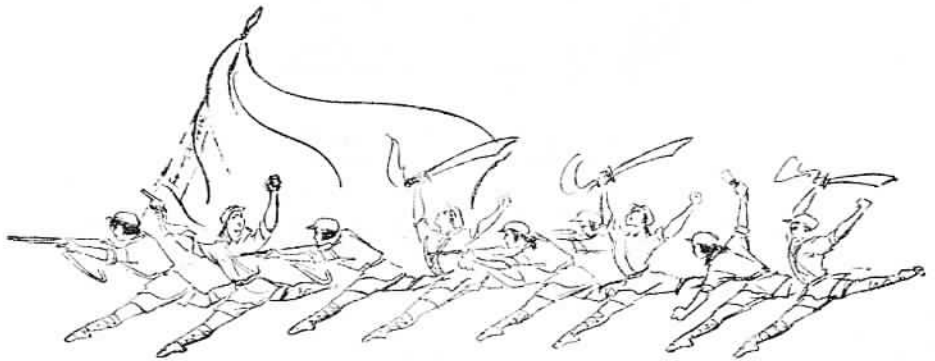
#### SHORT NOTES

**Other Highlights of Spring Festival activities in Peking include:**

- The new full-length documentary of the First Session of the Third National People's Congress which ended last month—a film record of scenes in the Great Hall of the People including the election of new state leaders by Deputies representing China's 650 millions. The documentary also filmed the explosion of China's first atom bomb last October.

- The third stage of the 1964 National Art Exhibition: the East China area. Of special interest are: new-year pictures from Shantung, posters and picture-story-book drawings from Shanghai, traditional Chinese paintings with contemporary themes from Kiangsu, woodcuts from Anhwei and oil paintings from Chekiang.

- Peking's annual Spring Festival round-the-city races on February 4. The largest number of participants ever—some 7,000 people—ran in three different races: around the "Forbidden City" (13,000 metres); in the eastern and northern suburbs (10,300 and 12,000 metres).



The Detachment of Women

Sketches by Li Ke-ju



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