

PEKING REVIEW

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March 6, 1964

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Vice-Chairman Soong and Premier Chou Visit Ceylon

1. Reports and joint communique.
2. Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling's lecture at Sri Palee Institute.
3. Premier Chou En-lai's address at Colombo mass rally.

Chinese and Rumanian Party Delegations Hold Talks

China Fully Supports Viet Nam Against Intensified U.S. Aggression

Foreign Minister Chen Yi's message and *Renmin Ribao* editorial.

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

MAO TSE-TUNG

Statement Expressing the Chinese People's Firm Support for the Panamanian People's Just, Patriotic Struggle

This pamphlet contains the statement made on January 12, 1964, by Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, to a *Renmin Ribao* correspondent concerning the struggle of the Panamanian people against U.S. imperialism. In this statement he expresses the Chinese people's firm support for the just, patriotic struggle of the Panamanian people, and calls upon all countries subjected to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying to unite and form the broadest possible united front to oppose U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.

The pamphlet also includes the joint message from Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to the President of Panama, the message from Chairman Chu Teh to the Speaker of the National Assembly of Panama, and three *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) editorials concerning the events in Panama.

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

March 6, 1964 Vol. VII No. 10

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March 6, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, returned home after a goodwill visit to Ceylon.

- Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi also returned by the same plane after friendship visits to Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon.

- A delegation of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party arrived in Peking.

- Foreign Minister Chen Yi pledged China's full support for the just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and expressed resolute opposition to the intensified aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists in south Viet Nam.

- The Chinese press reported the proceedings of the three-day session of the Korean Workers' Party's Central Committee which closed on February 27. The session called on the Korean people to strive for the liberation of south Korea and reunification of the fatherland, to rally still closer round the Party and bring about a new upsurge in socialist construction.

It also published excerpts of an article in the January issue of the Vietnamese journal *Hoc Tap*, giving an account of the situation in south Viet Nam and pointing out that the south Vietnamese people were on the eve of complete victory.

Vice-Chairman Soong and Premier Chou Return Home

On their return to China from Colombo, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China Soong Ching Ling and Premier Chou En-lai received a rousing welcome home from thousands of people at the airport in Kunming, capital of the multi-national province of Yunnan. The special plane carrying them and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, his wife and others who accompanied them, reached Kunming on the morning of March 1. Vice-Chairman Soong had paid a goodwill visit to Ceylon, while Premier Chou was returning from friendly visits to Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon.

The airport that morning, bright with Kunming's famous spring sunshine, was aglitter with colourful flags and national costumes of the many minority peoples who had gathered to welcome their leaders. Vice-Chairman Soong, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen stepped from the plane to a burst of applause. Yen Hung-yen, First Secretary of the Yunnan Provincial Com-

mittee of the Chinese Communist Party, and other leading members of the provincial Party committee, government and army units in Yunnan led the cheers. Yunnan's family of nationalities expressed their gladness in a medley of tongues. The welcome had an extra warmth of appreciation for the deep friendship of the people of southern Asia which the nation's distinguished envoys had brought back with them.

Boundary Agreement Anniversary

The first anniversary of the signing of the Boundary Agreement Between China and Pakistan (March 2) was marked in Peking with a reception given by the China-Pakistan Friendship Association. It was attended by diplomatic officials of the Pakistan Embassy and members of the technical and operations delegation of Pakistan International Airlines now visiting Peking.

Chinese and Pakistan Foreign Ministers Chen Yi and Z.A. Bhutto exchanged greetings. "The signing

Rumanian Workers' Party Delegation in Peking

A DELEGATION of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party led by Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, arrived in Peking by special plane on March 2.

On hand to welcome the Rumanian comrades at the airport were Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee; Peng Chen and Kang Sheng, Member and Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee respectively; and more than 2,000 people from various trades and professions in the capital.

When Ion Maurer and other members of his delegation stepped down from the plane, Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and their colleagues met them with warm hand-shakes, and a group of Young Pioneers presented them with bouquets. As the Rumanian comrades waved to the welcoming crowd, they were greeted with cheers of "Welcome to the Rumanian Workers' Party delegation!" "Long live Marxism-Leninism!" "Long live the unity of the international communist movement!" "Long live Sino-Rumanian friendship!" "Workers of all lands, unite!"

The Rumanian delegation has come on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and to exchange views with the Communist Party of China on various questions. These include the relations between the two Parties and the two countries and the question of the unity of



Rumanian Workers' Party delegation receives a warm welcome at Peking airport

the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers' movement.

On March 3, the Chinese Communist Party's delegation and the Rumanian delegation held talks. Taking part on the Chinese side were Liu Shao-chi, head of the Chinese delegation, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen and Kang Sheng. On the Rumanian side were Ion Maurer, head of the Rumanian delegation, E. Bodnaras, N. Ceausescu and Chivu Stoica, Members of the Political Bureau of the Rumanian Workers' Party's Central Committee. The talks proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

That same evening, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party gave a banquet in honour of the Rumanian comrades. Later, they were entertained at a performance of songs and dances specially arranged by the Ministry of Culture.

of the boundary agreement," said Chen Yi in his message, "is a great event of historic significance in the friendly relations between our two countries. It plays an important role in promoting solidarity and cooperation among Asian-African countries and the cause of peace."

Hailing the anniversary, *Renmin Ribao* said in its March 2 editorial that the agreement had set an example for other Asian-African countries to settle questions between them on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and

the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. "The speedy and successful solution of the boundary question between China and Pakistan," said the editorial, "shows that among Asian-African countries, so long as those concerned treasure the fundamental interests of friendship between their peoples and meet each other in sincerity instead of adopting an arrogant attitude of big-nation chauvinism and of imposing one's will on others, it will be possible to find satisfactory solutions to questions left over by history, no

matter how complicated they may be. China's successful solution of its boundary questions with Burma, Nepal and Afghanistan testifies to this. We are prepared to settle any outstanding question with other Asian countries in the same spirit, and we hope that the countries concerned will also adopt the same attitude."

Sino-Ceylonese Trade Agreement

A Sino-Ceylonese trade contract was signed in Peking on Feb-

(Continued on p. 23.)

Long Live the Unity and Friendship Of the Chinese and Asian Peoples!

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" March 3 editorial on the Chinese leaders' recent visit to Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

VICE-CHAIRMAN Soong Ching Ling and Premier Chou En-lai have returned to Kunming from their goodwill visit to Ceylon. Before going to Ceylon, the Premier, accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, visited Burma and Pakistan, China's close neighbours.

The Vice-Chairman and the Premier have brought back with them the deep sentiments of friendship of the peoples of the three countries for the Chinese people. We wish to express our best regards and respects to the Vice-Chairman, the Premier and the Vice-Premier and their party for their indefatigable efforts in the interests of strengthening China's ties of friendship and unity with Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon. We also wish to congratulate them on the important achievements of their tour.

The governments of the Asian countries they visited gave a grand and cordial reception to Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling and Premier Chou En-lai and they were warmly welcomed by the peoples. The Chinese people wish to express their sincere gratitude to these Governments and peoples for their kindness.

A Great Event, a New Triumph

The Chinese leaders paid these goodwill visits to the three Asian countries soon after the conclusion of a friendship tour of ten African countries. During these visits, they made joint efforts with the leaders of these countries to promote friendship, strengthen unity, develop relations of friendly co-operation and uphold world peace. The results they achieved were positive and significant. The tour of the Chinese leaders and the attendant results are a great event in the annals of Afro-Asian solidarity and a fresh triumph for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference.

Traditional ties of friendship link China closely with other Asian countries. But since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, China's friendly relations with other Asian countries have grown steadily on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexist-

ence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. The leaders of China and other Asian countries visit each other frequently. China's friendly contacts and economic and cultural exchanges with other Asian nations have increased. China has amicably settled boundary questions—a legacy of the past—with Burma, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan through negotiations on an equal footing. It has concluded treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression with Burma, Afghanistan and Cambodia; treaties of friendship with Yemen and Indonesia, and a treaty of peace and friendship with Nepal. These daily growing relations of goodwill serve as a shining example of peaceful coexistence and cordial relations among countries with different social systems.

Common Principles for Harmonious International Relations

Facts have shown that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference constitute common principles for the establishment of harmonious international relations among Asian-African countries and among countries with different social systems. All Asian-African countries have suffered from imperialist oppression and exploitation and are fighting to safeguard their national independence and develop their national economies. Their common historical experience and their present common militant tasks have led to mutual sympathy, support and close co-operation in the cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism, safeguarding national independence, developing their national economies, strengthening Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace.

All Asian-African disputes left over by history can be settled fairly and reasonably in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference and through negotiations on an equal footing. It will be of no avail for anyone to adopt an imperialist or great-nation chauvinistic attitude—one in which the big browbeats the small and the strong bullies the weak—and impose his will on others or even to bully others by relying on outside forces.

In its dispute with India over the boundary question, China has consistently stood for a peaceful settle-

Itinerary of Chinese Leaders' Asian Tour

Burma	February 14-18, 1964
Pakistan	February 18-26, 1964
Ceylon	February 26-29, 1964

The visits to Burma and Pakistan were made by Premier Chou En-lai, the visit to Ceylon was made by Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling and Premier Chou En-lai.

ment through direct negotiations, on an equal footing, between the two countries. The tension over the Sino-Indian border has been eased, thanks to a series of important measures taken by the Chinese Government on its own initiative including the ceasefire and withdrawal of troops. It will surely be possible to ease the Sino-Indian border situation further and to settle the boundary question peacefully if the Indian side agrees to return to the conference table without any preconditions. This stand and desire of the Chinese Government have gained deeper sympathy and greater support among friendly Asian-African countries.

An Advanced Asia and Africa Are Rising

An excellent revolutionary situation has now emerged in Asia and Africa. The Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in 1955 was an important turning-point in the history of the Asian-African peoples. Since then, more than 30 countries in Asia and Africa have attained independence. The Asian countries have achieved tremendous victories in their struggle to win and defend their national independence, oppose armed suppression and subversion by old and new colonialism, and build up their own countries. As Premier Chou En-lai pointed out at a mass rally in Colombo, the imperialists' entire position of aggression in Asia has been shaken to its foundations. The great awakening of the Asian and African peoples is an event of immense importance in the present-day world. An advanced Asia and an advanced Africa are rising in dazzling glory. They will exert an inestimable influence on the development of the history of mankind.

Playing a Bigger Role

As a new emerging force the Asian-African countries are exerting an ever greater influence and playing an increasingly great role in international affairs. It is no longer possible to ignore the independent will of the new emerging countries of Asia and Africa, to deny their role in international affairs, to discriminate against them and to adopt an unjust and unreasonable attitude towards them. The Chinese Government has always maintained that the Asian-African countries should play a positive role in in-

ternational affairs. In our opinion, the greater their role, the greater will be their contribution to defeating the imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguarding world peace.

During the Chinese leaders' tour, many leaders of African and Asian countries expressed the opinion that the time is ripe for the convocation of a second Afro-Asian conference and that active preparations should be made to this end. We believe that the holding of such a conference will undoubtedly contribute to the unity of the Asian and African peoples in their struggle against imperialism and in defence of peace.

Mutual Support and Co-operation Necessary

Premier Chou En-lai highly lauded the unceasing efforts of the Governments and peoples of Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon for the development of their independent national economies. The Chinese people heartily rejoice over the achievements of the people of the three countries in national construction. The building of an independent national economy is an integral part of the struggle of the Asian countries to uphold their national independence. We believe that the Asian countries can assuredly overcome the poverty and backwardness left over by colonialism and become more prosperous and powerful by mainly relying on the efforts of their own people and on their own natural resources and by co-operating with friendly countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

It is most important for the Asian countries to support and co-operate with each other in order to oppose our common enemy—imperialism and old and new colonialism—and bring about a common economic upsurge. The Chinese people always regard it as their internationalist duty to support the struggle of other Asian peoples against imperialism, and for winning and safeguarding national independence, and for building up an independent national economy. They, in turn, receive the support of other Asian peoples in the struggle against imperialist aggression and in building socialism. As a result of the Chinese leaders' visit to the Asian countries, China's relations of mutual support and co-operation with the other Asian countries have been further strengthened. The Governments of Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon have reaffirmed their support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and opposed the "two Chinas" scheme. The Chinese people express their heartfelt gratitude for this righteous stand.

The Chinese leaders' visit to the Asian countries has opened a new chapter in the continued development of relations of friendship and co-operation between China and other Asian countries. This will exercise a far-reaching influence on the maintenance and consolidation of peace in Asia and the world as a whole. The 650 million Chinese people will always closely unite with the other peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the rest of the world, support each other and march forward shoulder to shoulder with them.

New Landmark in History of Sino-Ceylonese Friendship

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE four-day visit to Ceylon of Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China Soong Ching Ling, Premier Chou En-lai, and Vice-Premier Chen Yi is a new landmark in the history of Sino-Ceylonese friendship, a friendship which extends back through 2,000 years of history. The Ceylonese Government and people highly valued this visit because three of China's leading public figures were in their country at the same time. The enthusiastic welcome and generous hospitality which they extended to their guests are deeply appreciated by the Chinese people who consider them an expression of the deep friendship between the two countries.

Madame Soong Ching Ling and her party left China by special plane on February 26. They met Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi in Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan Province, on that same day and then flew on to Ceylon together.

Welcome in Colombo

Arriving at Colombo on the afternoon of February 26, the Chinese visitors were given a rousing welcome. Thousands upon thousands of waving, cheering and applauding people lined the two sides of the decorated ten-mile-long road from the airport. Colombo, proud of its record in the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity, was in a festive mood. Shouts of friendship and solidarity resounded above the lusty applause.

A formal welcoming ceremony was held at the airport. Two gaily attired children presented a bouquet to the Vice-Chairman and a garland to the Premier. In a speech of welcome on behalf of the Ceylonese people and Government, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, said: "The relations between our two countries have been traditionally close and friendly. They are based on the

principles of peaceful coexistence and the recognition that states with differing political, social and economic systems can live together in peace and harmony and co-operate with each other for mutual benefit. Your visit to Ceylon will, I am confident, strengthen further the close ties between our two countries."

Speaking on behalf of Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling and himself, Premier Chou En-lai extended the deep respect and friendly greetings of the Chinese Government and people to Governor-General William Gopallawa, Prime Minister Bandaranaike and the people of Ceylon.

The newspapers in Ceylon gave much space to the visit of the distinguished guests and the warm welcome accorded them and published special articles, pictures and other features. An article in *Kamkaruwa* of February 22 said that Premier Chou En-lai's visit had special significance because of China's co-operation with Ceylon in the anti-imperialist struggle. The people of Ceylon who love freedom, peace and progress, welcome Premier Chou En-lai with friendship, trust and joy, it said.



(From right to left) Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling, Ceylonese Prime Minister Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi at the Colombo airport

Explaining the particular importance and urgency of Premier Chou's visit to Ceylon and his recent visits to other newly independent countries of Africa and Asia, the article said, "When imperialism is fighting tooth and nail to preserve its hold on Asia, Africa and Latin America against the rising tide of the people's struggle for freedom, when retreating imperialism is disguising itself as neo-colonialism to continue its domination and exploitation in other forms, the visit of Chou En-lai is urgent indeed."

Spontaneous Cordiality

The visitors spent a crowded four days. Accompanied by Prime Minister Madame Bandaranaike they paid homage to the late Ceylonese Prime Minister Solomon Bandaranaike by laying wreaths at his mausoleum. They attended formal functions and friendly gatherings. An evening reception was given by Madame Bandaranaike in their honour in the garden of the Prime Minister's official residence. Under the silvery beams of a full moon and the rays of multi-coloured lights glittering among tropical trees, the guests and hosts chatted cordially and watched performances of Ceylonese folk songs and dances.

In his speech at the state banquet for Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling and Premier Chou En-lai, Governor-General William Gopallawa said that he was particularly pleased because he was not only welcoming the leaders of a great Asian neighbour, but also renewing old friendships and meeting new friends from China, where he had spent three years as Ambassador. For Her Excellency Madame Soong Ching Ling, the Governor-General said, this was her first visit to Ceylon and he was sorry that it was so brief. His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai was no stranger to Ceylon for he had visited the country before [in 1957].

"The spontaneous cordiality with which the people of Ceylon have welcomed you is the true index of the relations between our two nations. I am sure that this friendship will now, as a result of Your Excellencies' visit, be stronger and closer than ever before," the Governor-General stated.

"China today is a worthy example of what determination, hard work and the co-operation of all sectors of the population can achieve in a comparatively brief period," he added.

Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling, in the name of Premier Chou En-lai and herself and on behalf of the 650 million Chinese people, extended cordial greetings and high respects to the Ceylonese people who had a glorious tradition in struggle. "What is particularly gratifying is the fact that this garden-like country has already begun to take the road of independent development through the long and heroic struggles of her people and is now engaged in building a promising future for herself," she said.

The Vice-Chairman pointed out that in the past decade or more there had taken place a continuous development in the relations of friendly co-operation

between China and Ceylon and that in this connection outstanding efforts had been made by the late Prime Minister Solomon Bandaranaike and Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike. "The friendship between China and Ceylon has a deep and firm foundation and can stand the test of time. There is no doubt that, with the joint efforts of both sides, this valuable friendship will be maintained and developed from generation to generation," Madame Soong Ching Ling concluded.

An Example of Economic Co-operation

Wilmort A. Perera, President of the Ceylon-China Friendship Association, and the executive committee of the association also gave a tea party to greet the visitors. Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen attended and more than 400 people including workers, artists, writers, doctors, lawyers and others were present.

Wilmort A. Perera in his address extended a very warm welcome. He said that in recent times the age-old friendship between the two countries had been strengthened with the first Ceylonese-Chinese rubber-rice agreement signed in 1952. "The visit of our present Prime Minister to your country [in 1963] and the trade and cultural exchanges that have been developed over the last few years have further consolidated this friendship," he said.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi in his speech at the party described the development of economic and trade relations between the two countries as "an example of economic co-operation between Asian-African countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit." He praised Ceylon highly for being the first to break through the barriers raised by imperialism against trade with China.

"The economic co-operation between us Asian-African countries is totally different from the unequal economic relations between imperialism and the Asian-African countries," added the Vice-Premier. "Imperialism invariably wants to plunder, weaken and control the Asian-African countries. Its so-called prosperity is built, to a great extent, on the impoverishment of the Asian-African countries, whereas the economic co-operation between us Asian-African countries is aimed at a quicker removal of the poverty and backwardness caused by imperialism and colonialism so as to achieve development and prosperity for all.

"We Asian-African countries can best understand each other's needs. The economic co-operation between us is based on equality and mutual benefit and meets practical needs; it is reliable and beneficial to the independent development of the countries concerned. Along with the development of the national construction of the Asian-African countries, the economic co-operation between us will certainly expand with each passing day, both in scope and in scale," Vice-Premier Chen Yi stressed.

On February 28 Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling gave a lecture at the Sri Palee Institute which was

founded in 1934 and named by the great poet, Rabindranath Tagore. Her speech was entitled "United, the People Are Invincible." (Full text below.) On the same day a mass rally presided over by the Ceylonese Prime Minister and attended by thousands of people was held at Independence Square to welcome China's Premier. (For full text of Premier Chou's address to the rally see p.13.)

During the visit of the Chinese leaders, the Chinese and Ceylonese Prime Ministers held talks in a sincere and friendly atmosphere and exchanged views on a wide range of international problems of common in-

terest as well as on questions relating to the further strengthening and development of Sino-Ceylonese relations. A joint communique was issued after the talks. (Full text on p.17.)

The aeroplane which carried the Chinese leaders away from this land known as the Pearl of the East left with a full cargo of the friendship which the people of Ceylon had extended to them and their party. They have now arrived home but the influence of their visit will remain. The new seeds of Sino-Ceylonese friendship sown during their stay will grow rapidly and soon burst into full blossom.

Lecture at Sri Palee Institute

United, the People Are Invincible

by SOONG CHING LING

Imperialism is still the most vicious enemy of man's progress and the sole source of war in the world today.

The power of the united people is many times greater than the power of any weapons and it is the people who decide the fate of mankind, not weapons that decide.

Unite all the forces that can be united to bring about the end of imperialism and colonialism, of oppression and all forms of exploitation, of imperialist-inspired wars as quickly as possible!

No matter how the imperialist disguises himself or how those in his service try to prettify him, the true colours will show through to the people's perceiving eyes.

There are those who would have us believe that imperialism and colonialism are already finished. They would lull the people into a dangerous sense of inalertness.

They are willing to accommodate the imperialists to reach agreements at the risk of other's sovereignty and security, to treat brothers as enemies and enemies as brothers.

Those who seek to isolate China are themselves being isolated. The Chinese people know they have friends everywhere.

If we are united and struggle resolutely, the people are invincible.

Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered a lecture at Sri Palee Institute, Ceylon, on February 28. Following is the full text. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

IT is an honour to have been selected among those who take part in the Sri Palee lectures, and to be associated with the name of that great democrat and poet, that friend of the Chinese people, Tagore.

It is also an honour to add to the ties between the peoples of Ceylon and China, to express in this way the growing friendship between us.

I think we should make every effort to further develop this friendship through close economic and cultural exchange. More important, as members of the new emerging forces, we face a common enemy—imperialism—against whom we must unite, so as to protect our independence and afford ourselves the

peaceful atmosphere we need in which to reconstruct our two nations. It can be seen that although Ceylon and China are separated by vast oceans and high mountains, we have much that truly makes peoples brothers and sisters.

The nature of the world in which we live today is that it is in a period of transition, a period for which our poet Tagore has sung. The old world built by capitalism and imperialism on the ruins of feudalism is crumbling but by no means ended. The old systems have outlived their historical usefulness. They can no longer supply the answers to the burning questions of mankind, nor provide the mental and physical security which human beings require. As before in the annals of man, he has set out to build a new world, one that will give him the things that the old world could not.

Political Awakening of the People

The main characteristic of this epoch of transition is the political awakening of the great masses of people. They are ridding themselves of superstitions and belief in the immutability of the old order. Armed with a new outlook, they are determined to eliminate the source of oppression, exploitation and war from life. They are determined to create relations between men based on political, economic and social equality. They see in this the road to a peaceful world.

A significant aspect of this grand political awakening is the recognition by the people that imperialism is the main obstacle impeding the realization of the new world. Although the old world is heading for demise, it has **not yet ceased to exist**. There are those who try to hide this reality from the people in an attempt to disarm them politically, but imperialism itself does not assist in this great deception. By its continued assaults against the people in many places around the globe, imperialism lets us know that it is still alive, that it is still the most vicious enemy of man's progress and the sole source of war in the world today.

Thus, our world in transition is one in which two great forces are pitted against one another: the vast majority of the people on one side, and imperialism on the other. This is a fact that no one can escape. The question arises: What to do about it?

In making this decision, one must first decide on which side he stands. Are you with the people and for the satisfaction of their material and spiritual aspirations? Are you with those who deny these to the people, and instead bring them only despair, poverty and suffering?

The decision must rest on principle. As we know there are two sides to every question, but only one side is right. Which side is right is established by facts. Then, it is a matter of knowing and understanding those facts and using them to conceive the principles upon which you will act.

There can be no such principle in a system that rests on a pragmatic philosophy, that fills the larders of a few who plunder and corrupt the vast majority. Principle is with those who uphold the cause of freedom and people's democracy against the rule of autocracy by the exploiting classes. It is with those who uphold the cause of economic and social progress against the degradation of economic and social inequality. It is with those who uphold the cause of fraternal relations and mutual benefit and peace between nations against national subjugation, the divide and rule tactics and the incessant warfare which the imperialists carry out against anyone who does not submit to their pressures.

For the more than 90 per cent of the world's people, there is little choice. Their inferior position in the old societies forces them to take as their principles those of freedom, democracy, national liberation, social justice and world peace. Simply by going through their lives their perceptual cognition of their position deepens and grows into conceptual cognition, at which time they understand the situation they face, understand who is their main enemy and understand the absolute necessity to wage a thorough and unremitting struggle against the enemy.

Great Lesson of the 20th Century

The great lesson of this, the 20th century, is that if the people have their objectives clearly in mind, firmly unite their own ranks and unite with their allies and courageously engage their oppressors in battle they can win. The people may start out with every odd against them. The enemy may be overwhelmingly superior in every material way. Yet the people can and do win final victory, getting stronger by the day as the enemy gets progressively weaker.

This is what the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia led by the great Lenin told us. It is what the millet and guns of the Chinese people against the tanks and planes of the Japanese invaders and later of Chiang Kai-shek and the U.S. imperialists told us. It is what the twelve men and seven guns of the Cuban heroes against the U.S. armed might of the Batista hordes told us. It is what the ill-equipped Algerian guerrillas against the 800,000-strong French imperialist regular army told us. It is what the successive victories of Viet Nam's people's forces against the inhuman "special warfare" of the U.S. imperialists tell us even today.

Surely the struggle is an uphill one. Surely it is bitter. Surely the cost is great. But there can be no victory without struggle; there is no bitterness greater than that of national oppression and being in bondage to a master whether he uses the whip or the lash of wage slavery; the cost of struggle is far less than the losses sustained in prolonged oppression and exploitation.

This is the militant mood in the rank and file of the world's people, and particularly among the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There is a just cause; it is a matter of national urgency which every man, woman and child feels in a personal way. Therefore, it is a surging tide that is impossible to stop. The innumerable people's victories since World War II prove this, and show clearly enough that the revolutionary process is far from over. On the contrary, it is at the zenith of the development.

What must be borne in mind is that these victories and this unparalleled display of high political consciousness and unwavering revolutionary will have been in the face of the imperialist enemy armed to the teeth with weapons unprecedented in destructiveness. What does this simple fact mean? That the power of the united people is many times greater than the power of any weapons, that it is the people who decide the fate of mankind, not weapons that decide. The conclusion to be drawn from this is: struggle is correct in order to fulfil the people's just cause; therefore, unite all the forces that can be united to bring about the end of imperialism and colonialism, of oppression and all forms of exploitation, of imperialist-inspired wars as quickly as possible!

Imperialists' Varying Tactics

It is a law of struggle that to win one must know his adversary as well as he knows himself. Under the rule of oppressors and exploiters, their "university of hard knocks" provides the education by negative example whereby the people learn of their rapacious nature. But in order to give manoeuvrability in the face of the people's movement, the imperialists have to disguise their real intentions and adopt varying tactics. The crude actions of the past no longer will be tolerated. The people's desires must be taken into account, but only to be distorted and utilized to sow confusion in the minds of the masses, to lead them to believe that their own worst enemy could really have their interests at heart. This makes knowing your enemy more complicated. In the final analysis, however, an imperialist will act like an imperialist and nothing else, and no matter how he disguises himself or how those in his service try to prettify him, the true colours will show through to the people's perceiving eyes.

Nominal independence might be granted to some nation, but economic shackles will make the bonds to the imperialists all the tighter. This may be done by the old colonialists or the neo-colonialists. Those patriots who attempt to break these shackles are murdered out of hand. We have the classic example of the brave Lumumba as an unforgettable reference. Democracy may be prated about, but the most reactionary placemen are put into power and kept there by imperialist arms. We have the classic examples of the out and out fascist regimes of south Viet Nam and

south Korea. The imperialists will declaim loudly that every nation has the right to self-determination, but if you deviate the slightest from their dog-eating-dog conceptions of life, your system will be subverted in a hundred different open and hidden ways. We have the classic example of U.S. imperialism constantly harassing Cuba and declaring that the socialist system is neither acceptable or negotiable in Latin America. Likewise, the imperialists make a lavish display of the world peace, at the same time that the U.S. imperialists alone are spending more than 60 billion dollars a year for wars which it has instigated here and there and in preparation for plunging the world into a nuclear conflagration.

Peddling Dope for the Imperialists

There are the facts. They are there for everyone to see. Yet, incredibly, there are those who decide not to see them, even to the point of repudiating their own words spoken in the past. These persons would have us believe that imperialism and colonialism are already finished. They would lull the people into a dangerous sense of inalertness by having them believe there is no need to be vigilant against a still dangerous enemy, that they have but to wait for a better day to be handed on a silver platter to them; meantime there is no need for struggle and they can peacefully coexist with their oppressors. The enemy is now pictured as "wise," "understanding" and "peaceful." These persons deplore action by the masses as "rashness," and would settle all the world's problems via the private "hot line" between several heads of states, regardless of what the rest of the earth's population might consider as the appropriate solution. In international affairs they are willing to accommodate the imperialists to reach agreements at the risk of other's sovereignty and security, to treat brothers as enemies and enemies as brothers.

Such persons say they do this because the situation in the world has changed, but they cannot provide a shred of evidence to prove this. Nor can there be any. The truth is that we are in the epoch of transition, the people are still the people, and imperialism is still imperialism, they have by no means switched roles or places, and the final issue between them has not yet been solved. Were Tagore living with us today, the poet would vehemently protest against the present imperialist policy of divide and rule in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It happens that the epoch of transition takes place during the age of science. Science also extends to the planet's political life, so we can accurately comprehend the forces at work and measure their relative strength. A scientific analysis tells us that due to the people's struggles in the past twenty years in particular, there has been a realignment of forces, with those of national liberation becoming superior over capitalism, with the will of the people for peace becoming stronger than

the imperialist lust for profits from war. But this has in no way changed the essential nature of imperialism, nor has it lessened in the slightest degree its undying hope that the entire trend of history can be reversed. All the wishful thinking in the world cannot obliterate the deeds of the imperialists themselves. It seems that each time those who would in fear surrender their principles and embrace the imperialists, they get a good box on the ears for their efforts. They can never surrender enough to suit the wooed. And no wonder. The imperialists want them to disappear altogether from the face of the earth!

An honest evaluation of history and present-day facts can arrive at only one result: the revolutionary precepts which have inspired the oppressed everywhere to rise up and take their fate into their own hands, are still valid today and their logic and reason defy all the sordid attempts to revise them out of existence.

In recent years a sharp controversy has grown up between those who defend the truths of our era and those who have thrown them away. The latter, in their haste to collaborate with the imperialists, have forsaken the interests of their own people, the interests of those still struggling against the oppression of the imperialists, the interests of all the peoples striving for peace. In their frantic flight before the nuclear threats of the imperialists, in the name of peace they have concocted deals that make war precipitously dangerous. And when this shameless conduct is exposed, there is no slander or malicious invention they will not stoop to use against those who refuse to respond to their baton including the most reactionary racist insults.

Dishonest Attitude Towards China

A common marking of such people is their dishonest attitude towards China and the Chinese people. Seldom in the history of modern times has such a campaign of calumny been unleashed against the truth and against a nation and its people. They have tried to turn China's unwavering stand for peace and its willingness to settle all problems by means of negotiation on the basis of principle, into a warlike stance. They have tried to twist China's earnest expressions of sympathy and support to all those struggling against oppression and exploitation into a psychotic wish to reduce the world to a cinder. They have tried to mutilate China's insistence on standing by principle as a blind dogmatic concept of the world.

It is indeed a sad thing to see such persons sink into moral degeneracy as they try to turn black into white. But it is also alarming to notice the ease with which they abandon their friends and the recklessness with which they make decisions that could mean untold suffering for multitudes throughout the earth. Of course such people must be exposed and refuted. The truth of life is at stake. And because China has stood in the forefront of this struggle, it has become the

target of a converging attack politically, economically and militarily. Patriotism, a factor of true internationalism, enabled Tagore to really appreciate the problems of his neighbouring countries. While passing through Singapore on his way to visit Japan in 1916, he was particularly attracted by the skilful labour of the Chinese wharf workers. Thereby he predicted that once the Chinese people mastered modern science and technology, there would be nothing standing in the way of their rapid progress. Further, he said that the more China advanced as a nation, the more actively the selfish powers would turn against her, attempting by all means to destroy her. He understood so well the nature of, and the need to struggle against imperialism.

The arch imperialists intend to frighten the Chinese people into submission. It meant assuming many heavy burdens, and this alone was supposed to have weighed us down to the extent we would then bow our knees. But, after all, a person has to live with himself, and to those who are honest, it is impossible to live with a lie and deceit in your heart, especially when it involves the security, welfare and progress of all humanity. There was no other way but to straighten the back and take up the load.

There is an old saying: Pure gold fears not the fire. To paraphrase: Truth fears not the flames of slander and injustice. The defence of the truth always goes through the same process of growth, from the support of a few to the support of the majority. For the moment there may be confusion in the minds of some about what China and the Chinese people stand for, but this can only be temporary. Time works on the side of truth, works on the side of those who uphold the rights of the people and remain staunch against the sell-out of those rights to the people's bitterest enemy.

Crucible of Common Struggle

Those who seek to isolate China are themselves being isolated, and that is becoming clearer by the minute. The people are finding out for themselves that such persons have traded their revolutionary traditions for a mess of imperialist promissory notes which can never be cashed. The Chinese people know they have friends everywhere, because the ties of steel that bind them with the peoples in the rest of the world are out of the crucible of common struggle against a common enemy.

The Chinese people think the future of mankind is bright. They think their own future is bright. They feel they are in step with the times, that our hearts beat as one with the other peoples. If we are united and struggle resolutely, the people are invincible. Shoulder to shoulder, assisting one another, we can march towards a world in which all nations will be independent and equal, all peoples will enjoy democracy and social justice, and in which peace will reign as an expression of unity of man and his culture.

Sweeping Advance of National-Democratic Revolutionary Movements

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at Colombo Rally

- In Asia: great changes have taken place – the peoples' political consciousness is continuously rising – their solidarity is being constantly strengthened – imperialism's entire position of aggression there has been shaken to its foundations.
- Africa today: an awakened, fighting and advanced continent.
- In Latin America: the flame of national-democratic revolution is blazing.
- Anyone who scorns or opposes this great historical current will in the end be punished by history.
- Hail to the Ceylonese people for their valour in upholding independence and persevering in struggle and for their successes achieved along the road of independent development.
- Sino-Ceylonese friendship will continuously strengthen and develop.

Premier Chou En-lai addressed a mass rally at Independence Square in Colombo on February 28. The full text of his speech follows; subheads are ours. — Ed.

Your Excellency Respected Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike,

Your Excellency Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Mr. S.D. Bandaranaike,

Dear Friends,

Seven years ago, I paid a visit to your beautiful country and joined the Ceylonese people in a joyous celebration of the glorious festival of the ninth anniversary of the independence of Ceylon. And now Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling and I have come to your country, bringing with us the sincere friendship of the 650 million Chinese people for the Ceylonese people, and we have been accorded a splendid reception and warm welcome by the Ceylonese Government and people. At this grand rally, allow me, on behalf of Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling and in the name of Vice-Premier Chen Yi and of my own, to express our hearty thanks to you. I would also like to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our cordial greetings and high respects to the citizens of Colombo and the entire Ceylonese people.

Honour of the Ceylonese People

Ceylon is a country with an ancient cultural heritage. The Ceylonese people are a people with a glorious tradition of fighting imperialism and colonialism. After the independence of Ceylon, the Ceylonese people have maintained and brought this glorious tradition into fuller play, and waged unremitting struggles to safe-

guard and consolidate their national independence and oppose foreign intervention. The imperialists and colonialists are not reconciled to their defeat. Resorting to such means as political blackmail, economic sanctions, infiltration and subversion, they have interfered in Ceylon's internal affairs and infringed upon Ceylon's sovereignty in a vain attempt to continue their control of this new emerging state. However, the Ceylonese people, fearing no tyranny and pressure, have persisted in marching along the road of independence advocated by the late Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, thus winning one victory after another. Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has rightly said that Ceylon "was not prepared to barter away the independence and honour of the people." Recently, Madame Bandaranaike has solemnly declared that foreign warships or aircraft carrying nuclear weapons will not be allowed to enter Ceylon. The valour of the Ceylonese people in upholding independence and persevering in struggle has won the respect and praise of the Chinese people and people all over the world.

We are glad to see that since the independence of Ceylon and especially in recent years, the Ceylonese people have achieved marked successes on the basis laid by the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike and under the leadership of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike in safeguarding state sovereignty, eliminating colonial forces and developing national economy and culture. Having forced the withdrawal of foreign military bases from Ceylon and taken over foreign educational institutions and some foreign enterprises, Ceylon has not long ago further taken over the insurance business and the distribution of petrol previously dominated by foreign monopoly capital. All these proper measures

are of significance to the consolidation of national independence and the development of national economy and culture. In recent years, an increase has been registered in Ceylon's agricultural and industrial output, especially in the output of food grain. This is a result of the Ceylonese Government's call for self-sufficiency in consumer goods and for greater efforts to increase grain production. The Chinese people rejoice in each and every success achieved by the Ceylonese people along the road of independent development and wish you still greater successes in the days to come.

In international affairs, the Government of Ceylon has consistently pursued a policy of independence, peace and neutrality, opposed imperialism and colonialism and made positive contributions to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of peace in Asia and the world. Ceylon is one of the sponsors and participants of the Bandung Conference. Ceylon has made fruitful efforts in preserving and developing the Bandung spirit. In order to promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike initiated the Colombo Conference of six Asian-African countries and personally paid a visit to China and India. We admire Madame Bandaranaike for her spirit of working for the preservation of Asian-African solidarity and the promotion of Sino-Indian reconciliation. Ceylon is playing a daily enhancing role in international affairs and occupying a more and more important position in the international arena precisely because the Ceylonese Government has pursued a genuine policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment. Facts prove that nations, big or small, can play an important and positive role in international affairs so long as they uphold independence and justice. The Chinese Government and people fully respect and firmly support the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Ceylonese Government. We resolutely oppose any great-nation chauvinist attitude of discriminating against or looking down upon small nations.

Socialist China Makes Headway

Like the Ceylonese people, the Chinese people had suffered under the aggression and oppression of imperialism and colonialism. Through their protracted struggle for national liberation the Chinese people found a revolutionary path which suits their actual conditions. In the course of its revolutionary practice, the Chinese Communist Party formed its correct leadership headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and built up an army of the people. By relying closely on the worker-peasant alliance, it united the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, patriotic intellectuals and patriotic national bourgeoisie, who account for more than 90 per cent of the entire population, and all other forces that could be united to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism and its agents so as to isolate the enemies to the fullest extent and wage resolute struggles against them. In this way, complete victory had been won in the national-democratic revolution.

Throughout the period of national-democratic revolution, the Chinese working class held aloft the banner of opposing imperialism and striving for national liberation and stood in the forefront of the national-democratic revolutionary struggles. While carrying on day-to-day struggles for their own economic and political rights, the Chinese working class understood full well that the interests of the working class were at one with the interests of the entire nation, and that it was possible to bring about a fundamental change in the plight of the working class and other labouring people only after complete victory for national liberation had been won. It was precisely because the Chinese working class had all along held aloft the banner of national liberation, mobilized and united the broad masses of people throughout the country that they were able to lead the national-democratic revolution of China to complete victory.

After the liberation the Chinese people continued to push ahead the revolution to the stage of socialist revolution, while actively carrying out socialist construction at the same time. Through the practice of their construction work, the Chinese people became increasingly aware that only by persevering in the policy of self-reliance and the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, was it possible to build up an independent national economy and raise step by step the living standard of the working class and the entire working people on the basis of the normal development of industrial and agricultural production. Imperialist blockade and trouble-making have not frightened the Chinese people into submission but have instead strengthened the Chinese people's confidence and determination to rely on their own efforts. In the final analysis, one should rely on the strength of one's own people in carrying out national construction. The strength of one's own is, after all, the most reliable. The Chinese people are now closely united around the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, striving to build China into a socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology.

Sino-Ceylonese Friendship

Profound friendship has existed between the peoples of China and Ceylon since ancient times. Cultural exchanges and trade contacts between our two peoples started as early as the dawn of history. In modern times our two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in their struggles against imperialism and colonialism. After China and Ceylon won victories respectively, our traditional friendship has greatly developed on a new basis. Our two countries have jointly affirmed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference as the principles guiding the relations between the two countries. Our economic and cultural contacts are daily broadening and friendly exchanges between our two Governments and peoples have become ever more frequent. In international affairs, China and Ceylon have also worked in good co-ope-

tion. The Government and people of Ceylon have always stood for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and opposed the imperialist plot to create "two Chinas." On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I would like to take this opportunity to express once again our hearty thanks to the Government and people of Ceylon for their just stand.

An important aspect in the relations of friendly co-operation between China and Ceylon is the continuous development of economic and trade relations between the two countries. Ceylon is the first Asian country to conclude a long-term trade agreement with China. The Government of Ceylon took the lead to break through the imperialist "embargo" against New China and enter into rice-rubber trade with our country. Our two countries have also concluded an agreement on economic and technical co-operation, an agreement on air traffic and an agreement on maritime transport. The economic and trade relations between China and Ceylon were established in the course of struggles against imperialism. These relations are a brilliant example of mutual assistance and co-operation among Asian-African countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The relations of friendly co-operation between China and Ceylon not only conform to the fundamental interests of our two peoples but are also important to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of peace in Asia and the world. We are sure that with the joint efforts of our two countries the friendship between China and Ceylon will be continuously strengthened and developed.

Great Changes in Asia

Dear friends! Since my first visit to your country seven years ago, tremendous changes have taken place in the situation in Asia. The political consciousness of the Asian people has constantly risen; their solidarity is being continuously strengthened. The national-democratic revolutionary movement of the Asian people is surging forward in ever broader scope and with greater intensity, dealing increasingly heavy blows to imperialism and old and new colonialism.

Over the past seven years, in the vast regions of Asia occupied and controlled by foreign powers, the people of various countries have vigorously unfolded great struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. From Japan to Turkey, and from south Korea to south Viet Nam, the earth beneath the feet of the U.S. occupationists is constantly being shaken, and its puppets have collapsed one after the other. Facts have proved that foreign military occupation cannot arrest the struggles of the Asian peoples for independence and freedom, and that change of lackeys cannot save the imperialist policy of aggression from utter bankruptcy. To serve as the puppet of foreign powers will never have a good ending. The imperialists' entire position of aggression in Asia has been shaken to its foundations.

Over the past seven years, the people of many Asian countries have won brilliant victories in their revolu-

tionary armed struggles against the anti-revolutionary armed suppression carried out by old and new colonialism. The inhuman "special warfare" launched by the United States in south Viet Nam cannot prevent the patriotic armed forces of the south Vietnamese people from winning victories one after another. The repeated instigation of civil wars in Laos by the United States cannot stop the Laotian people from taking the road of independence, peace and neutrality. The armed suppression being carried out by the colonialists against the people of North Kalimantan cannot extinguish the torch of independence and freedom held high by the people there. Facts have proved that the armed suppression by old and new colonialism serves only to accelerate the enhancement of the political consciousness of the people and hasten the growth of the forces of the people.

Over the past seven years, in order to consolidate their national independence and uphold their state sovereignty the new emerging countries in Asia have waged repeated struggles against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and won important victories. The Royal Government of Cambodia with Prince Norodom Sihanouk at its head and the Cambodian people have earned the wide sympathy and support of the people of Asia and the world in their adherence to the road of independent development, persistence in the policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment and opposition to the interference and subversive activities of the United States and its followers. Facts have proved that no force on earth can prevent the new emerging countries in Asia from advancing victoriously along an independent path, as it represents the unshakable will of the peoples of Asia.

Over the past seven years, the people of the new emerging Asian countries have broken through one obstacle after another raised by imperialism and old and new colonialism, successfully resisted their pressures, and achieved marked successes in developing their national economies and building up their respective countries. The people of these countries have made fruitful efforts in eliminating colonial forces, nationalizing foreign enterprises and developing their national industry and agriculture. We are convinced that by relying on the hard work of their own people and fully utilizing their rich domestic resources, and by entering into mutual assistance and co-operation with friendly countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, the new emerging countries of Asia are fully capable of eradicating the state of poverty and backwardness left over by colonialism and gradually making their countries prosperous and strong.

Of course, the imperialists and old and new colonialists will never withdraw from Asia of their own accord. They are redoubling their efforts to arrest the development of the national-democratic revolutionary movement in Asia and to put the Asian countries once again under their control and enslavement by means of colonial war, military threats, political subversion, economic infiltration and cultural erosion, etc. The United

States is stepping up its "special warfare" against the people of south Viet Nam. The U.S. Seventh Fleet is preparing to enter the Indian Ocean to further jeopardize peace and security in this region. By pursuing these policies in Asia, U.S. imperialism is only landing itself in ever tighter encirclement of the Asian peoples and hastening the advent of its final expulsion from Asia.

In order to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism, Asian countries have every reason to strengthen their solidarity and co-operation and support each other. It is entirely possible to settle the disputes left over by history among Asian countries fairly and reasonably through peaceful consultation on the basis of equality, mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. China has already settled peacefully her boundary questions with such neighbouring countries as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan. We also consistently stand for the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question and have made untiring efforts in this direction. China was reluctant to see the occurrence of armed conflict along the Sino-Indian border. Thanks to the measures taken by China on her own initiative and the efforts made by the Colombo Conference nations for reconciliation, the situation along the Sino-Indian border has now relaxed. We believe that the Sino-Indian boundary question will sooner or later be settled peacefully, and that the great friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples will be maintained and developed.

Asia, Africa and Latin America – Centres of Revolutionary Storm

Dear friends! We have just concluded our visit to ten independent African countries. We saw with our own eyes that the African people who have stood up are enthusiastic, courageous and full of vigour, daring to act as the masters of their own house and heroically fighting all kinds of enemies. They are now managing the affairs of their own countries and engaged in national reconstruction with full confidence in themselves, opposing the aggression and interference of imperialism and old and new colonialism and continuing to carry forward the national-democratic revolution. Those African peoples who still remain under colonial rule are waging heroic struggles to shatter the colonial shackles and win national independence. The morning sun of freedom is dawning before them. The Africa of today is no longer the Africa of the late 19th century, nor the Africa of the early 20th century, but an awakened, fighting and advanced continent. On this beautiful land in south Asia, I would like once again to pay brotherly tribute to the African people on the other side of the ocean.

Since the First Asian-African Conference held in 1955, the Bandung spirit has gone deep into the hearts of the people and there has been tremendous development in the Asian-African countries' cause of unity against imperialism. Now, it is acknowledged by the leaders of a good number of Asian-African countries

that the time is ripe for the convening of a second Asian-African conference and that active preparations should be undertaken for this purpose. We believe that the holding of such a conference will certainly make important contributions to the further strengthening of the Asian-African countries' cause of unity against imperialism, the promotion of economic cooperation between Asian-African countries and the defence of world peace. As for the second conference of non-aligned countries, the scope of its participants differs from that of the second Asian-African conference. However, we also hope that it will make useful contributions to the cause of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, winning and safeguarding national independence and defending world peace.

Today, alongside the great struggle of the Asian-African peoples, the flame of national-democratic revolution is also raging in Latin America, one in support of the other. Holding aloft the revolutionary banner of the Havana Declaration and towering in the Caribbean as firm as a rock the Cuban people fear no threats and fall for no tricks; they have time and again smashed the imperialist acts of aggression and intervention. The hardships and bitterness suffered by the Panamanian people for the last sixty years have now turned into an angry force against foreign occupationists. Mass struggles of all forms against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have swept the vast land of Latin America. The Chinese people will for ever stand on the side of the Cuban people, the Panamanian people and the people of all the Latin American countries. We firmly believe that the Cuban people will certainly continue to march forward victoriously along the road of revolution, that the Panama Canal will eventually return to the hands of the Panamanian people and that the Latin American peoples will assuredly win final victory in their revolutionary struggles.

The Asian, African and Latin American peoples who have been subjected to untold sufferings of enslavement, oppression and exploitation for the past few centuries are now standing up one after another and are carrying on earth-shaking struggles; they are determined to take their destiny into their own hands. This is a great event of contemporary history. Asia, Africa and Latin America are at present the storm centres of revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism. The 2,000 million people of these three continents, heroically standing at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, have become a mighty force in our times, which weakens and contains the imperialist forces of war, defends world peace and promotes human progress. No amount of schemes and plots on the part of the imperialists and their followers can check the victorious development of the national-democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Anyone who slights or opposes this great historical current will in the end be punished by history.

Dear friends! The present international situation is favourable to the struggle of the people of various

countries to win and safeguard national independence and to the world people's cause of defending world peace, but unfavourable to the imperialist policies of aggression and war. So long as all the peace-loving forces in the world, including the forces of the socialist camp, the forces of the national-democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the forces of the working class and the revolutionary people in the world and the forces of all peace-loving countries and peoples unite and resolutely oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, a new world war can be prevented and world peace can be preserved. The future of mankind is bright.

Document

China-Ceylon Joint Communique

Following is the full text of the China-Ceylon joint communique issued in Colombo on February 29. — Ed.

AT the invitation of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike, Her Excellency Madame Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, paid an official visit to Ceylon from February 26th to 29th, 1964.

2. They were accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and high-ranking officials.

3. The distinguished visitors received a warm and enthusiastic welcome, expressive of the feelings of deep friendship which the people of Ceylon have for the Chinese people and their representatives.

4. In the course of the visit, the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China had meetings and conversations with the Prime Minister of Ceylon. Taking part in these talks on the Chinese side were: Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister; Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs, State Council; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tung Hsiao-peng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; and high officials of the Chinese Government. On the Ceylon side were: Hon. C.P. de Silva, Minister of Lands, Irrigation and Power; Hon. T.B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Finance; Hon. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Commerce and Industries; Hon. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Agriculture, Food and Co-operatives and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence and External Affairs; and high officials of the Government of Ceylon.

5. The talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship which characterize the relationship between the two countries. The two parties exchanged opinions on a wide range of international problems of common interest as well as on the problems relating to the further strengthening and development of Sino-Ceylonese relations.

6. The two Prime Ministers noted with deep satisfaction the emergence into freedom and national independence of many countries in Asia and Africa. They expressed their

The 650 million Chinese people will for ever stand on the side of the Ceylonese people, the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the peoples of all continents in the world; they will support each other and fight shoulder-to-shoulder in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the defence of world peace and the promotion of human progress.

Long live the friendship between China and Ceylon!

Long live Asian-African solidarity!

Long live world peace!

firm opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and hoped that its last vestiges would soon be eradicated.

The two leaders agreed that the national governments of countries that have newly won national independence should be helped in their endeavours to attain full economic independence as rapidly as possible. They were of the view that aid so given without any political conditions or privileges, and on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, respect for the sovereignty of the recipient countries and non-interference in their internal affairs, would help to strengthen their national independence and serve the cause of world peace and security.

7. The Prime Ministers of Ceylon and China considered that disarmament is an important problem of our time. They expressed their determination to strive, in co-operation with other nations, for general disarmament and for complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

8. The Prime Minister of Ceylon declared her Government's continued support for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of her legitimate rights in the United Nations. She also re-affirmed Ceylon's view that Taiwan is an integral part of China. The Chinese Prime Minister expressed his appreciation of Ceylon's stand.

9. The two leaders supported the establishment of nuclear free zones in various parts of the world and held that nuclear powers should undertake due obligations towards such zones. In this connection, the Chinese Prime Minister commended the initiative taken by the Ceylon Prime Minister to refuse entry into Ceylon's territorial waters, ports and airfields of ships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons or equipped for nuclear warfare. They expressed the hope that other states would take appropriate action on these lines.

10. The Ceylon Prime Minister explained to the Chinese Prime Minister Ceylon's active interest in the holding of a second non-aligned conference. Both Prime Ministers hoped that a second non-aligned conference would contribute to the cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism, of supporting the national-independence movement and safeguarding world peace.

The two Prime Ministers noted that since the First Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung in 1955 more than 30 new nations in Asia and Africa had attained freedom and independence, and that the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity had been greatly advanced. The Chinese Prime Minister was of the opinion that the time was right for convening a second Afro-Asian conference and that active preparations should be made for that purpose. The Ceylon Prime Minister agreed that such a conference would serve a useful purpose and indicated that Ceylon would participate in such a conference.

The two Prime Ministers also agreed that the second non-aligned conference and the second Afro-Asian conference were not mutually exclusive.

11. The two Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that the situation along the Sino-Indian border has eased. The Chinese Premier expressed thanks to Ceylon and the other Colombo Conference nations for their efforts of mediation between China and India, and expressed the readiness to continue to seek direct negotiations with India on the basis of the Colombo proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Ceylon Prime Minister indicated that, together with the other Colombo Conference nations, Ceylon would continue her efforts to promote Sino-Indian reconciliation.

12. The two Prime Ministers expressed great satisfaction that the friendly relations between Ceylon and China have continued to grow. They considered it a demonstration of the fact that countries with different political, economic and social systems can live together in peace and harmony and co-operate for their mutual benefit on the basis

of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of Bandung.

13. Trade relations between the two countries were reviewed and the two leaders agreed that the trade between the two countries which had been based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit had expanded satisfactorily over the last ten years. They recognized the desirability of further development of trade between the two countries in new fields, particularly of processed and semi-processed materials to promote the growth of industrialization.

14. The two delegations also reviewed the present position with regard to economic aid. They discussed and decided upon new items of economic aid by China to Ceylon including assistance for the construction of an international conference hall and related buildings and for the supply of textiles and rice. The Ceylon Prime Minister thanked the Chinese Prime Minister for these generous offers of assistance.

15. Both parties stressed the value of personal contacts between leaders of the two countries in contributing towards the strengthening of friendship and unity between China and Ceylon. The visit of Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling, Premier Chou En-lai and other distinguished members of the Chinese delegation has helped to bring the two countries and peoples closer together.

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

Chou En-lai

Colombo, February 29, 1964

Prime Minister of Ceylon

Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike

Press Interviews

U.S. "Two Chinas" Scheme Will Never Succeed

Premier Chou En-lai's Press Conference in Dacca

Premier Chou En-lai held a press conference on February 25 in Dacca, at which Vice-Premier Chen Yi was present. Premier Chou answered a number of questions put to him by newsmen of Pakistan and other countries. Following is a report of the press conference. — Ed.

PREMIER Chou En-lai in his press conference strongly denounced the U.S. Government for persisting in a policy of hostility towards China. He declared that U.S. imperialism would never succeed in its scheme to create "two Chinas."

A U.S. correspondent asked whether the principle of self-determination was applicable to Taiwan. In a stern reply the Premier pointed out that the question itself clearly reflected the U.S. Government's attempt to create "two Chinas." He said that "two Chinas" meant severing Taiwan from the territory of the People's Re-

public of China and creating another country. The Government of the People's Republic of China and the entire Chinese people resolutely opposed "two Chinas." Even the Chiang Kai-shek group opposed "two Chinas." All those countries that had formally established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China opposed "two Chinas." The majority of the people throughout the world opposed "two Chinas." The scheme of U.S. imperialism to create "two Chinas" could never succeed. This U.S. State Department scheme hostile to the Chinese people will rot in its own archives, he declared.

Premier Chou En-lai said: Taiwan is a province of China; the inhabitants there are all Chinese, the majority being Hans. In the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 the corrupt Chinese dynasty was defeated and Taiwan was annexed by Japan. During World War II, China,

Britain and the United States in the Cairo Declaration affirmed that Taiwan should be returned to China after the war. When Japan was defeated in 1945, the then Chinese government sent representatives to Taiwan to accept the surrender of Japan and formally took it over from the hands of the Japanese rulers. Since then Taiwan has returned to the fold of the motherland and become a province of China enjoying the same status as the other provinces. Even the Chiang Kai-shek group recognizes this fact. The question now is that since the Chiang Kai-shek group was driven off the Chinese mainland by the Chinese people, it has entrenched itself in Taiwan under the protection of U.S. troops and has continued the civil war with the Chinese people. The liberation of Taiwan is entirely an internal affair of China which brooks no foreign interference. Therefore, with regard to this inalienable Chinese territory of Taiwan, there can simply be no such questions as whether it is of indeterminate status, whether there should be a plebiscite, and so on; they are questions of a different nature.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi added: Isn't it ridiculous that Chinese should hold a plebiscite to decide whether they are Chinese?

ASKED by a Pakistan correspondent what role Pakistan could play in bringing about a normalization of Sino-U.S. relations, Premier Chou said this question had, in fact, been dealt with by President Ayub Khan. China's stand, he pointed out, had always been crystal clear in regard to the question of settling Sino-U.S. disputes. He said: Everybody knows that U.S. armed forces are occupying China's territory of Taiwan and that the United States is threatening the Chinese mainland by deploying its Seventh Fleet in the Taiwan Straits. In spite of this, as far back as 1955 at the Bandung Conference, I, on behalf of the Chinese Government, announced to the world that the Chinese people wish to be friendly with the American people and that the Chinese Government wishes to hold negotiations with the U.S. Government to settle all disputes between China and the United States, including peaceful settlement of the question of withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits without resorting to force. This proposal of the Chinese Government led to the Sino-U.S. talks at the ambassadorial level which have been going on for eight and a half years. These talks have so far failed to yield any results because the U.S. Government has repeatedly refused to reach agreement with China on peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles and to agree in principle to withdraw its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits first so that specific problems may be settled later. In spite of this, we are prepared to continue the talks with the U.S. Government. We are convinced that as the situation develops, the day is bound to come when U.S. imperialism will have to withdraw from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. If the U.S. Government regards this reasonable attitude of the Chinese Government as a manifestation of weakness and launches further aggression against China, the Government and people of China will resist resolutely to the end.

PREMIER Chou then explained the Chinese Government's position on the question of peaceful coexistence. He said: A clear and precise definition is needed for peaceful coexistence. We have always stood for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems in accordance with the Five Principles. These are: respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. On the basis of these principles, China has concluded treaties and agreements with many Asian and African countries, and established and developed relations of friendship and co-operation with them. Only by strictly adhering to these Five Principles is it possible to practise peaceful coexistence; otherwise peaceful coexistence becomes meaningless. When one country occupies the territory of another, the latter is bound to resist. How then can there be peaceful coexistence? When one country maintains military bases in another and meddles in its internal affairs in order to control it, how can peaceful coexistence be possible? How can there be peaceful coexistence between colonial powers and oppressed nations? We are firmly opposed to the view that countries which are subjected to imperialist aggression should put up with this aggression and beg for peaceful coexistence with the imperialists.

Premier Chou then pointed out: It is possible to practise peaceful coexistence with imperialism if it gives up its policies of aggression and war and acts in accordance with the Five Principles. But the principal question is: Will U.S. imperialism give up its policies of war and aggression? For this, the most important test at present is the U.S. policy towards China and other countries of the world.

REFERRING to the situation in Indo-China, Premier Chou En-lai said that in order to guarantee its peace, the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements must be fully implemented and that first and foremost, the United States must withdraw all its aggressive troops and military personnel from the southern part of Viet Nam and put an end to its armed intervention in the internal affairs of Laos.

A correspondent of a U.S. magazine asked Premier Chou En-lai what his opinion was in regard to President Ayub Khan's views concerning SEATO and CENTO? Premier Chou En-lai replied: In initiating and organizing the Southeast Asian military alliance, the U.S. Government's aim is wholly aggressive and it has sabotaged peace in this region. But President Ayub Khan has explained that Pakistan's aim in joining in this treaty organization was defence, not aggression against others. The Government of Pakistan has, on several occasions, explained its position to the Chinese Government. Particularly after President Ayub Khan took office, many of the actions of the Pakistan Government in international affairs as well as its friendship with China have confirmed this; that is why we have confidence in the Pakistan Government's explanations. As to the U.S. Government, just a glance at its acts of sabotaging peace in Southeast Asia and particularly its

armed aggression against the southern part of Viet Nam tells one how the U.S. Government has been making use of this military alliance. This is a contradiction existing at present.

REFERRING to the Sino-Indian border question, Premier Chou En-lai said: In our talks with many heads of state during our visits in Africa and Asia, it was clear that they all realized that the Sino-Indian border situation has eased. They appreciated China's position and stood for direct negotiations between China and India. We explained to them that the Sino-Indian border question could only be settled amicably and reasonably through peaceful negotiations and by no other means. The proposals of the six Colombo conference countries also aimed at promoting the realization of this objective. We are firmly convinced that the Sino-Indian border question will be settled peacefully some day even if for a time it cannot be settled. China has settled its border questions with Burma, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan; why then cannot the Sino-Indian border question be settled? Actually, the question can be settled immediately if there is a sincere desire for a settlement.

The Premier finally pointed out: Asia belongs to the Asians. Asian countries should unite; Asian affairs should be settled by the Asian people themselves; they should not tolerate foreign interference, still less should they allow themselves to become victims of plots to sow discord instigated by foreign forces so as to prevent the latter from realizing their object of using Asians to fight Asians. Of course, this does not in the least mean that they should not be friends with the people of other continents. We Asians are friendly with all the peoples of Africa, Latin America, Europe, Oceania and North America. It is only the imperialist policies of aggression and war which we oppose. The United States is the most aggressive imperialist power at present. It wants to monopolize and dominate the world; it pushes its way into everything and meddles in the internal affairs of every country. U.S. imperialism has stretched out its hands too far. If it goes on like that, in the end it will find itself at loggerheads with all other countries. I would like to reaffirm here that the Chinese people oppose only the imperialist policies of the U.S. Government and that they are willing to be friends with the American people.

Asian-African Countries' Unity Against Imperialism

Premier Chou En-lai Answers Pakistan Correspondent

In his interview given to Safdar Ali Qureshi, chief correspondent of the Associated Press of Pakistan, on February 25 in Dacca, Premier Chou En-lai answered a number of questions put to him by the correspondent. Following is the full text of the questions and answers. — Ed.

Question 1: Sir, President Ayub Khan told a press conference yesterday that if the good offices of Pakistan are required to bridge the gulf between the United States of America and China, Pakistan would be glad to help. Do you think the good offices of Pakistan or any other common friend can be helpful in bringing some sort of agreement between China and the United States of America?

Answer: The Pakistan President and other friends wish to see a relaxation of Sino-American relations. Their good desire is fully understandable. For many years, the Chinese Government has consistently worked for the relaxation of tension between China and the United States and has shown utmost restraint and patience.

Despite the fact that the United States occupies China's territory Taiwan with armed forces, the Chi-

nese Government still strives to seek a peaceful settlement of the dispute between China and the United States without resorting to force. Back in 1955 during the Bandung Conference, I proposed on behalf of the Chinese Government that the Governments of China and the United States should sit together and negotiate the settlement of the disputes between them, including a peaceful settlement of the question of the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. This proposal led to the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks which have lasted for eight and a half years. These talks have thus far failed to yield any result because the U.S. Government has refused to reach an agreement on peaceful coexistence with China on the basis of the Five Principles, and refused to agree in principle to withdraw its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits.

The root cause of the tension between China and the United States is the persistence of the U.S. Government in its hostile policy towards China. It is for the doer to undo the knot. The only way to improve Sino-American relations is for the U.S. Government to prove by deeds its willingness to change its hostile policy towards China. We would welcome the helpful efforts in this direction by our friends who are willing

to offer their good offices between China and the United States.

Question 2: Sir, it is presumed that the President and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan have had talks with you on the question of Kashmir. A memorandum from the people of Kashmir has also been sent to you. What has been your reaction?

Answer: With regard to the Kashmir dispute, we have already expressed our views in the China-Pakistan joint communique. It is our hope that this dispute would be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan.

The disputes between Asian-African countries should and can all be settled fairly and reasonably in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference in a spirit of equality and friendly consultation. Refusing to do so and adopting instead a big-nation chauvinist attitude of imposing one's will on others will get one nowhere.

Question 3: What have been the positive results of your talks with President Ayub Khan? Is there any likelihood of a treaty of friendship between the two countries for positively expanded trade and other contacts?

Answer: We held amicable and frank talks with President Ayub Khan and other leaders of the Pakistan Government; we had a full exchange of views and achieved a fuller mutual understanding on international questions of common concern to both parties and on the further development of the relations of friendly co-operation between China and Pakistan. The important results of the talks have been recorded in the China-Pakistan joint communique which has been released.

The talks did not cover the question of a treaty of friendship between China and Pakistan. However, time will prove that the mutual understanding and trust shown by both parties in the talks will open up broader prospects for the development of relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries.

Question 4: Sir, would you like to assess the significance of French diplomatic recognition of China and your successful tour of Africa?

Answer: Our recent visit to ten friendly African countries has further strengthened the friendship between the people of China and Africa and achieved positive results in promoting the cause of Asian-African countries' unity against imperialism. This is what the imperialists hate to see, but they have no power to forestall this development.

As for the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, this is an important event in current international development. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France is not only in the interests of the Chinese and French peoples, but also helpful to the development of economic, trade and cultural relations between the

two countries, the realization of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems and the cause of world peace. The United States tried its utmost to obstruct the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, but it failed to achieve its purpose.

Both of the two matters you have mentioned prove that China is making more and more friends and that the attempt to isolate China is mere wishful thinking. Those who try every possible means to isolate China have in the end isolated themselves.

Question 5: Sir, are you desirous of going to India to settle the Sino-Indian border dispute with Prime Minister Nehru? What has been the reaction of the Indian Government?

Answer: The Chinese Government has done everything in its power for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question and will continue its efforts to this end. In 1960, I myself visited New Delhi and held talks with Prime Minister Nehru. Later, the Chinese Government has stated a number of times that it would welcome Prime Minister Nehru for a visit to Peking to reopen negotiations and that if the Indian Prime Minister should find it inconvenient to do so, the Chinese Premier would be ready to go once again to New Delhi. This remains our stand today. It is regrettable that the Indian Government has so far failed to give any positive response.

Question 6: The joint communique issued after your talks with General Ne Win of Burma said that the conditions on the Sino-Indian border had improved. What do you think are the reasons for this improvement and do you think a further improvement is likely?

Answer: The situation along the Sino-Indian border has been eased mainly because the Chinese Government took a whole series of important measures, such as ceasefire and withdrawal on its own initiative. The mediatory efforts of the Colombo conference nations have also been helpful. At present, conditions are ready for the opening of direct negotiations between China and India on the basis of the Colombo conference proposals. Further relaxation of the Sino-Indian border situation and peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question are entirely possible provided India agrees to return to the conference table without any preconditions.

Question 7: Could you kindly say in some detail what kind of matters you would like to see discussed at the second Afro-Asian conference?

Answer: In my view, extensive discussions can be held at the second Asian-African conference on strengthening the Asian-African people's unity against imperialism, winning and safeguarding the national independence of Asian-African countries, promoting their economic co-operation and defending world peace, so as to give more concrete expression to the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference under the present-day conditions. As to the specific topics to be taken up at the conference, they should be discussed and decided upon at the preparatory meeting.

U.S. Policy in Asia Going Bankrupt

Premier Chou En-lai Gives Interview to Japanese Newsmen

On February 29 Premier Chou En-lai received Japanese correspondents in Colombo and answered their questions. The correspondents were Tadashi Nogami of the "Asahi Shimbun"; Shigeru Aoki of the "Chubu Nippon Shimbun"; Ryojiro Toba of "Yomiuri Shimbun"; Tazuo Izawa of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation and Imamura of the Kyodo News Agency. Following are the questions and answers. — Ed.

Question 1: Your Excellency, what is your view about the future relations between China and Japan? Do you think it is possible for the two countries to continue what we call the "accumulate system" for the improvement of Sino-Japanese relations?

Answer: In recent years, thanks to the joint efforts of the peoples of China and Japan, there have been quite some developments in the relations between the two countries in various fields. But this still falls far short of what the two peoples desire. Our peoples strongly demand an early restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Japan. Continuation of the "accumulate system" helps to improve the relations between China and Japan, and we are in favour of it. But it cannot speedily realize the aim of restoring diplomatic relations between the two countries. Therefore, in order to fulfil the earnest desire of the two peoples as speedily as possible, we wish to see the Japanese Government adopting resolute methods to change the present state of Sino-Japanese relations.

Question 2: The biggest obstacle facing the Japanese Government is how to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in the presence of the Kuomintang government in Taiwan. If China can solve this problem for herself, there is no obstacle to Japan normalizing diplomatic relations with China. What is your view on this question?

Answer: Taiwan is China's territory, and the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affairs. The Chinese Government can resolve this question by itself and would brook no interference from outside. Countries which have established formal diplomatic relations with China all recognize that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate government representing the Chinese people and that the Taiwan question is China's internal affairs. The United States alone has adopted an ostrich policy alleging that the Chiang Kai-shek clique represents whole China and coerced some countries into refusing to rec-

ognize the People's Republic of China. However, the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and China shows that the U.S. policy is going bankrupt and that it is more and more disgraceful to follow such a policy.

Question 3: What is your assessment on the current Asian situation?

Answer: Revolutionary prospects are excellent in Asia. That is to say, the struggle of the Asian people to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence continues to develop. The new emerging countries in Asia are determined to take the road of independent development. This is the irresistible trend of history.

The U.S. policies of aggression and war in Asia are extremely unpopular. These policies infringe on the vital interests of Asian countries and the interests of various strata in these countries. It is only a handful of people who are servilely acting as U.S. puppets. They will never have a good ending. To follow the U.S. policies doggedly will only isolate oneself more and more. Conversely, to defy U.S. control and maintain one's independence will win the support of one's own people and increasingly higher prestige in the world. No desperate endeavour on the part of U.S. imperialism can save its policies in Asia from utter bankruptcy.

Question 4: Of what significance do you find a second Asian-African conference and a second conference of non-aligned countries?

Answer: The First Asian-African Conference held nine years ago and the Ten Principles formulated by it had a great effect in promoting the cause of unity of the 1,700 million Asian-African people against imperialism. In these nine years the Bandung spirit has gone deep into the hearts of the people and profound changes have taken place in the situation of Asia and Africa. Now it is acknowledged by the leaders and public opinion of many Asian-African countries that the time is ripe for convening a second Asian-African conference and that active preparations should be made for this purpose. I am convinced that the holding of a second Asian-African conference will make significant contributions to the promotion of the cause of the Asian-African peoples' unity against imperialism, the winning and safeguarding of national independence by Asian-African countries, the enhancement of their economic co-operation and the defence of world peace.

Thanks to the joint efforts of many participating nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the first conference of non-aligned countries held in 1961 yielded positive results in opposing imperialism and colonialism, defending world peace and supporting national independence. It is hoped that the second conference of non-aligned countries will act in the spirit of the first conference and produce helpful effects on the international situation.

Question 5: What do you think about present and future relations between your country and Pakistan? Pakistan is one of the allies of the United States through SEATO and CENTO. In this sense, do you not feel ideological contradiction on the rapprochement between your country and Pakistan?

Answer: The Chinese Government has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace, stood for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles, and is ready to develop relations of friendly co-operation with Asian and African countries on the basis of the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. In recent years, the Pakistan Government under President Ayub Khan has shown the same desire. As a result of our joint efforts, major developments have taken place in the relations of friendly co-operation between China and Pakistan. These relations are based on the common aspirations of the Asian and African peoples and the common interests of Asian and African countries. I am confident that broad prospects lie ahead for the development of these relations.

In organizing military blocs in Asia, such as the SEATO, the United States claims that her purpose is to help the Asian countries resist aggression, but in fact she is trying to tie these countries on to the American war chariot and jeopardize their interests. Now many facts show that these military blocs are heading

towards disintegration and lead to the belief that this policy of the United States is bound to end in utter bankruptcy.

Question 6: What is your estimate about the possibility of a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question? What is your opinion on the prospects of the relations between China and India in future?

Answer: The possibility for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question always exists. Despite the present difficulties, the Chinese Government remains optimistic about the prospects of a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Government has long stood for the immediate opening of direct negotiations between China and India on the basis of the Colombo proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question; it sticks to the same stand today.

During my recent visit to more than ten Asian and African countries, the leaders of many of these countries expressed appreciation for the stand taken by the Chinese Government and earnestly hoped that direct negotiations would be held between China and India for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. It is our hope that the Indian Government will take to heart the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples and the solidarity of Asian countries, agree with the views of the Chinese Government and come back to the conference table.

The Sino-Indian boundary question can only be settled peacefully and there is no other way out. I believe that this question will eventually be settled through peaceful consultation no matter how long it may be dragged out. Great traditional friendship exists between the 1,000 million people of China and India, and this friendship will be maintained and developed from generation to generation.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

ruary 23. It provides that China will supply Ceylon with 20 million Ceylonese rupees' worth of cotton piece-goods. The agreement concluded negotiations between trade delegations of the two countries to develop Sino-Ceylonese economic co-operation. Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade Yeh Chi-chuang gave a banquet after the signing ceremony.

The Ceylonese trade delegation which arrived in Peking on February 25 was led by R.S. Perera, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Co-operatives, and S.K.K. Suriarachchi,

Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance. During its short stay in the capital, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien had a cordial talk with its members. The delegation gave a farewell banquet on February 29 before leaving Peking the next day on a tour of south China.

Condolence on Death of Japanese Statesman

Tatsunosuke Takasaki, well-known Japanese statesman and adviser to the Liberal Democratic Party, died on February 23 in Tokyo at the age of 79.

In his message of condolence, Premier Chou En-lai paid tribute to Takasaki's efforts at the Bandung Conference in 1955. "In the years that

followed," the message continued, "he made important contributions to promoting trade and friendship between China and Japan. These are bound to have a far-reaching influence on the normalization of relations between the two countries."

Praising Takasaki for his devotion and contributions during the last years of his life to the cause of Sino-Japanese friendship, Vice-Premier Chen Yi in his message described the death of this eminent Japanese statesman as a great loss to this cause. Vice-Premier Chen expressed confidence, however, that Takasaki's family and friends would carry forward his unfinished work and continue efforts for the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations.

U.S. Aggressors Heading for Complete Defeat in South Viet Nam

Following is a slightly abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of March 4, 1964. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

RECENTLY, the south Vietnamese people's armed forces have won successive major victories in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors. Time and again they have smashed large-scale "mopping-up" operations and concentrated attacks by the enemy. Moreover, wresting the initiative, they have wiped out company after company of puppet troops. Not only have they wiped out enemy effectives and demolished large numbers of strongholds in the countryside, but they have attacked major military centres and command posts in the cities. The situation is highly favourable to the south Vietnamese people who are engaged in their struggle.

Why the Outcries?

Developments in south Viet Nam came as a jolt to the U.S. rulers, both inside and outside the government. A raging foreign policy debate is taking place within U.S. ruling circles centred around the south Vietnamese question. Inside the Johnson Administration a major uproar has taken place among officials, military men and braintrusters. All are talking about the dilemma confronting the aggressors in south Viet Nam. No longer do they boast of "brilliant victories" in their "special war." Instead, they complain that the aggressive war is "going badly," and that "the military situation is deteriorating." No longer do they call for a quick military decision. Instead they are saying that the "U.S. still has a long way to go in south Viet Nam" and that the war "will go on indefinitely." Forecasts of victory being "within reach" are no longer forthcoming. Rather, they are saying the "war cannot be won," the "U.S. may face a real debacle in south Viet Nam this year." Amidst this hullabaloo, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Hilsman, who was in charge of the south Viet Nam problem, has lost his post. U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara, who was on an "inspection" trip in south Viet Nam only two months ago, is again heading posthaste for Saigon to check on the progress of the war. In an effort to soothe public alarm, Johnson and Rusk have made a number of speeches of late. To use an expression from the U.S. press, Washington's "pot is boiling."

That the south Vietnamese situation has caused such a stir among the U.S. rulers reveals that their aggression against south Viet Nam has met with defeat. And this is no ordinary defeat. South Viet Nam being

a "testing ground" for U.S. "special war," if the experiment fails there it can hardly hope for success in other areas either. Suppressing the national-liberation movement by such a war forms an important part of U.S. "global strategy." If "special war" fails, then the entire strategy is as good as lost.

Military Defeats

In a sense, south Viet Nam is indeed a "testing ground" for the American aggressors who are trying out various up-to-date weapons and new tactics: quick helicopter attacks, hell-on-earth "strategic villages," poisonous chemicals against the liberated areas, etc. However, all these have proved to no avail. Recently American papers have been saying U.S. forces should no longer rely on helicopters but more on the mobility of the foot soldier. Actually, "special war" has gone bankrupt tactically under the hammer blows of the south Vietnamese people.

It will be recalled that U.S. imperialism drafted the "Staley Plan" which envisaged "complete pacification" in south Viet Nam in 18 months, by the end of 1962. When 1963 came Washington announced that it would be the "crucial year" in the war in south Viet Nam and pledged to win "decisive victory." However, the armed forces of the south Vietnamese people have grown stronger than ever in the course of the bitter struggle. They have wrested the initiative and the U.S. aggressors are suffering heavier and heavier blows. It is this situation which forced the U.S. imperialists to give up their "quick victory" policy and announce that beginning this year they will follow a policy of concentrating attacks on important sectors. This shows that U.S. "special warfare" also has gone bankrupt strategically.

Not only is the U.S. defeat in south Viet Nam military, it is also political.

Political Defeats

In south Viet Nam, Washington's various political schemes to deceive and weaken the people have all been exposed. The handful of traitors they have collected and nurtured are torn by internal strife and badly split. Far from consolidating puppet rule, the two coup d'etats engineered by the U.S. have furthered the instability of the south Vietnamese political situation.

The U.S. colonial war in south Viet Nam is strongly condemned and widely opposed on a world scale. The frantic massacre and persecution of the people of

China Stands Four-Square Behind Viet Nam

Foreign Minister Chen Yi affirms full support for the just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and expresses resolute opposition to the intensified aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists in south Viet Nam.

Following is the full text of a message sent by Foreign Minister Chen Yi on March 2 to Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. — Ed.

Comrade Xuan Thuy, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Hanoi

Respected and Dear Comrade Minister,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your cable of February 27, 1964 opposing the intensified aggressive war waged by the United States of America in the southern part of Viet Nam. The Chinese Government fully supports the just stand and reasonable demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam set forth in your cable.

Recently, the south Vietnamese people have won successive major victories in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. The situation in southern Viet Nam is developing in a direction increasingly favourable to the south Vietnamese people. In an attempt to save themselves from their inevitable defeat there, the U.S. imperialists have redoubled their efforts in the war of aggression they are waging in southern Viet Nam, and at the same time are clamour-

ing for extending the war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. These desperate activities and wild outcries on the part of the U.S. imperialists can in no way intimidate the heroic south Vietnamese people, the whole people of Viet Nam and all peace-loving people; they merely demonstrate that the U.S. imperialists have landed in a fix in their war of aggression in southern Viet Nam.

The Chinese Government and people are deeply concerned about the grave situation created by the U.S. imperialists in southern Viet Nam and are firmly opposed to the U.S. imperialists' crime of stepping up their war of aggression there. The Chinese Government holds that the only correct way to solve the south Viet Nam problem and bring about the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam is through the strict implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreements. The United States must stop its aggression and intervention in southern Viet Nam and clear out its aggressive forces and military personnel so that the south Vietnamese people can settle their own questions. We are deeply convinced that no force can stop the patriotic and just anti-U.S. struggle of the south Vietnamese people and that the aspiration of the entire people of Viet Nam for the peaceful reunification of their motherland will certainly come true.

Please accept the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Chen Yi

Minister of Foreign Affairs of
the People's Republic of China

March 2, 1964

south Viet Nam, the inhumanity of U.S. crimes, has shattered America's painfully created "peace image."

Within the imperialist bloc, even Washington's NATO "allies" have failed to show zealous support for the U.S. imperialist aggression against south Viet Nam. Of late, in contradistinction to the American policy of military aggression, there has been a proposal to seek a political solution of the south Viet Nam problem by President de Gaulle of France.

Tactically and strategically, militarily and politically, U.S. imperialism has stubbed its toe in south Viet Nam. What White House officials and Pentagon generals never can understand is this: why is it that the U.S. imperialists who breathe fire and thunder are being beaten by the guerrillas in south Viet Nam?

The imperialists and all reactionaries always have blind faith in weapons and might. The Americans are playing for big stakes in south Viet Nam; they have equipped half a million south Viet Nam puppet troops with modern arms and sent more than 16,000 of their

own soldiers and other military personnel to take part in the war. The aggressors thought they had overwhelming superiority: they controlled the skies, they controlled all cities in south Viet Nam, they controlled the railways, the seaports and all transport arteries.

Transient and Decisive Factors in War

However, all these are merely transient factors. In war man plays the decisive role, and the human factor is closely linked with the nature of this war. The "special war" launched by U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam is an unjust and aggressive war while the south Vietnamese people's armed struggle is a just, revolutionary war. All unjust wars inevitably are opposed by the people. All just wars inevitably are supported and backed by the people. The White House and Pentagon have always complained about the low morale of the south Vietnamese puppet troops. What they do not understand is that the junior officers and the rank-and-file puppet troops are not willing to die for U.S. imperialism. They are unwilling to use Ameri-

can weapons to massacre their own compatriots. By setting up "strategic villages," the enemy thought it could fortify its colonial rule in south Viet Nam and weaken and throttle the people's armed forces. What it did not understand was that this inhuman crime of aggression can only arouse the people's indignation and further mobilize them to participate in the anti-U.S. struggle, and thus bolster the people's armed forces.

The discrepancy in material strength between the belligerents has been narrowed and upset by the nature of the war and the human factor. The Yankees, after crossing the Pacific, swaggered into the jungles and deltas of south Viet Nam, only to discover that their modern, long-range weapons were nowhere as effective as they thought they would have been. At the same time, bamboo spears and bows and arrows in the hands of the militant south Vietnamese can destroy the enemy.

A Highly Significant Victory

The heavy blows dealt American imperialism by the south Vietnamese people add up to a highly significant victory. The tangible examples set by these blows teach the people that U.S. imperialism is not so formidable. As long as they persistently fight back, they can defeat the aggressors. It is true that in the initial stage the revolutionary forces might not have been very powerful or indeed might be very weak while the aggressors appeared to be very strong and fierce. The path taken by the south Vietnamese people proves that the relative strength between the enemy and themselves can and will change. In order to turn this possibility into reality, it is necessary to wage a stern struggle against the aggressors. When U.S. imperialism, banking on its military superiority, launched

"special war" in south Viet Nam, if the people of south Viet Nam had cowered in the face of aggression and did not wage a tit-for-tat struggle, then American imperialism would have been a man-eating tiger. It is precisely because the people waged a heroic struggle that American imperialism was exposed for the paper tiger it is. Whether a living and real tiger can be turned into a paper and dead tiger, and an iron tiger into a bean-curd tiger, depends on the people—it depends on what attitude they take towards U.S. imperialist aggression. This is an incontrovertible truth that is universally applicable. In countries and places suffering from U.S. aggression, so long as the people are not frightened by the seemingly powerful American imperialists, dare to struggle, and are adept at struggling, they can always defeat the enemy. In this sense, the victory of the south Vietnamese people has universal significance.

Isolation of U.S. Imperialism

The victory of the south Vietnamese people encourages and supports the oppressed nations and peoples of the world. The U.S. aggressors have been dragged down by the feet and forced to sink into a quagmire out of which they cannot pull themselves. By their courageous struggle, the south Vietnamese people have smashed U.S. imperialism's policy of war and aggression, making the latter's counter-revolutionary "global strategy" still more difficult to carry out. Likewise, the struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples also support the people of south Viet Nam. These tie down American imperialism, thereby making it impossible for it to loose its full force against the south Vietnamese people. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Ever since that monster imperialism came into being, things in the world have been organically connected with one another and it is impossible to attempt to separate them." Contrasted to the situation of the people of different countries who are joined and united in struggle, the U.S. imperialists are completely isolated morally. Everywhere they try to expand and aggress and thus have enemies all over the world. As a result, they find themselves frustrated wherever they go and are unable to draw on their full strength. U.S. imperialism has sent troops to south Viet Nam, Laos, Panama, to hundreds of military bases spread over the globe so that its five fingers cannot make a fist. It is like the clownish boxing instructor in the Peking opera *The Fisherman's Revenge* who comes on stage already in a posture which makes defeat unavoidable.



—Perhaps we'd better try the north now?

Complete defeat in south Viet Nam for U.S. imperialism is inevitable. Undoubtedly the south Vietnamese people will win final victory. Of course, the struggle will be long and arduous. This is because the aggressors are far from acknowledging defeat. "They won't shed tears until they see the coffin." They will continue to put up a struggle. They still hope to avert defeat. President Johnson's recent speeches show that the U.S., far from giving up, will continue its aggressive war and even intensify its military activities in south Viet Nam. It will be remembered that in May 1961, when he was Vice-President, Johnson met with Ngo Dinh Diem in south Viet Nam to work out the "eight measures" to step up aggression there. The "Staley Plan" was mapped out on the basis of these measures. It is clear that the aggressive design of Johnson, whose hands are stained with the blood of the south Vietnamese people, has not disappeared with the "Staley Plan."

Dangerous Game

It is worth noting that within American ruling circles there are those who advocate extending the aggressive war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to extricate themselves from defeat in south Viet Nam. They think the farther off the flames are spread the

easier it will be to escape the conflagration. Muddle-headed gentlemen! It is easier said than done; you see things too simple! Let us take Johnson's own words uttered a few days ago to refresh your memories: "Remember that this type of aggression is a deeply dangerous game!" If the U.S. aggressor, already knee-deep in south Viet Nam quicksand, should try to lay his hands elsewhere, will he achieve anything better?

Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has already warned the aggressor: "Should the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen be rash enough to infringe upon the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, they must bear sole responsibility for the serious consequences of their criminal action." Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi has cabled the Vietnamese Foreign Minister expressing full support for the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

There is a way if the U.S. Government wants to crawl out of the mire it finds itself in in south Viet Nam. It must faithfully observe and implement the Geneva agreements of 1954, get out of south Viet Nam immediately and let the south Vietnamese people settle their own problems. If the U.S. refuses to take this wide road and persists along its present adventurous path it can only succeed in smashing its head.

Chinese Communist Party Vilified in New Soviet Publications

These intensified attacks again show up the C.P.S.U. leadership's deceptive call for "an end to public polemics"

On March 1, "Renmin Ribao" published a news item concerning the publication of six new books in the Soviet Union further intensifying attacks on the Communist Party of China. Following is a translation; boldface emphases are identical with those appearing in "Renmin Ribao." — Ed.

CONTINUING the anti-China propaganda among the Soviet people, six books have been published recently in the Soviet Union intensifying the distortion and attacks on the correct Marxist position of the Chinese Communist Party. This followed the publication of the anti-China book, *Talks on Political Subjects*, whose chief editor, Leonid F. Ilyichev, is a Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

In continuing their anti-China propaganda, the C.P.S.U. leaders once again reveal the trickery of their outcry for "an end to public polemics."

An anti-China booklet entitled *The Treaty Which Makes the Atmosphere Healthy. . .*, published by the Moscow Social-Economic Literature Publishing House,

is now on sale in Moscow. It endeavours to bolster the tripartite treaty, a hoax concocted by the Soviet leaders in league with the imperialists. It sordidly distorts and attacks the correct position taken by the Chinese Government on the question of banning nuclear tests and nuclear weapons.

"Joining in the hue and cry against this greatest document of our age," the booklet says, "are the revanchists of West Germany, the presumptuous ruler of France, the American 'madmen' and the Peking dogmatist-sectarians."

It brands the Chinese leaders for "dogmatically interpreting Marxism-Leninism and taking an unrealistic attitude towards the settlement of contemporary international issues."

Attacking the Chinese government statement on the Moscow Tripartite Treaty, it says that these documents are "replete with misquotations and distortions, which show that in their activities, the Chinese leaders use methods and tactics fundamentally alien to the principles of the peace-loving policies of the socialist

countries, principles which guide the international communist movement.”

It adds, **“At the bottom of the Chinese leaders’ wicked attack on the treaty lies narrow nationalism, the desire for war, and not peaceful coexistence.”**

While trying to justify the Soviet leaders’ efforts to attain a “nuclear monopoly” with the United States, the booklet inadvertently reveals the Soviet leaders’ intention to prevent China from possessing atomic weapons in the name of preventing “nuclear proliferation.” It states: **“The desire and intention of the Chinese leaders to possess atomic weapons is not just an internal affair of China. As a matter of fact, it is a question of the proliferation of nuclear arms, closely linked with the whole problem of the threat of nuclear war. . . . Proceeding from its own general position on the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the Soviet Government stands firmly opposed to further proliferation of nuclear armaments.”**

Playing up nuclear horror, the booklet viciously distorts China’s Marxist-Leninist view on thermonuclear war by saying: “Under present-day circumstances, when the power of weapons grows unusually, mankind cannot and does not wish to reconcile itself with the prospect of the destruction of what preceding generations have achieved. Nor is it interested in ruins covered by radioactive fall-out, on which, it is said, ‘a higher civilization’ could be built quickly. The people of the world will not forgive those who dare to play irresponsibly with the fate of millions of people. They repudiate the groundless statement that ‘the atom bomb is a paper tiger’ and it is ‘not terrible at all.’”

The booklet says, **“No Communist-Leninist can help feel repelled, as is only natural, by the statements of the Chinese leaders who declared their readiness to sacrifice in a thermonuclear war 300 million Chinese and even half the world’s population. Thus it seems that the fate of the whole planet is in the hands of the Peking leaders alone.** They publicly said that ‘on the ruins of destroyed imperialism,’ that is, as a result of the launching of a thermonuclear war, ‘the peoples will build a beautiful future.’”

The booklet declares: **“The U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries cannot but most resolutely censure this adventurist line. By their negative attitude towards this treaty, the Chinese leaders have once again made it clear that on the question of war and peace, they follow a dangerous course which runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and that they do not believe in the possibility of preventing a new world war.** Underrating the strength of peace and socialism, overrating the strength of imperialism, actually not bothering to mobilize the masses of the people for a struggle against the danger of war, attempting to sabotage the realization of the possibility, existing under present-day conditions, to take practical steps to strengthen peace—this was the self-same course of aggravating the international situation and rejecting the policy of peaceful coexistence taken by the Chinese leaders at the

time of the Caribbean crisis and in the Sino-Indian border conflicts. These actions of the Chinese Government have crudely violated the fundamental principles guiding the socialist countries in their foreign policies, principles to which the Chinese leaders twice affixed their signatures at the 1957 and 1960 meetings of fraternal Parties.”

The booklet adds: **“The position of the French imperialists, West German revanchists, U.S. ‘madmen’ and Chinese dogmatists is contrary to the will of the peoples for disarmament and for the consolidation of universal, lasting peace. This position is likewise contrary to the progressive development of mankind and to the fundamental principles of modern international law governing relations among nations.”**

Attacking venomously the Chinese Communist Party by name is the book *Our Leninist Party* (143 pages, 100,000 copies), recently issued by Moscow’s Political Literature Publishing House.

The book was written as an apology for the C.P.S.U. leaders’ new “theory” about the “Party of the entire people.” It brands as “nonsense” the sound criticism of this revisionist viewpoint made by the Central Committee of the C.P.C. in its letter to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated June 14, 1963. It alleges that “changes in historical conditions inevitably lead to individual theories, worked out for a given period, becoming outmoded and calling for revision.”

It goes on to say that “to regard the thesis that the working-class party in the Soviet Union represents the entire people, as a deviation from the class position of the proletariat means either complete ignorance of present-day Soviet society or a deliberate attempt to confuse the issue and to resort to a demagogic play of words instead of making the necessary Marxist-Leninist analysis of the social and political essence of this society.”

Dealing with the differences in the world communist movement, the book, flying in the face of well-known facts and indulging in bare-faced lying, tried to place on the C.P.C. and other Parties which uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the blame due the leaders of the C.P.S.U. for having provoked the public polemics and disrupting the unity of the world communist movement. The book states, “Subjected to prolonged and abusive attacks by the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour under foreign instigation, the C.P.S.U. has set an example of forbearance and self-restraint. **When the public polemics provoked by the A.P.L. and C.P.C. assumed a character and magnitude dangerous to the communist movement, the C.P.S.U. proposed to end the quarrel and get down to the essence of the differences in a calm and comradely fashion. However, the leadership of the C.P.C. did not observe the agreement reached on putting an end to public polemics in the communist movement and published its letter of June 14, 1963, in which the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow Meetings of the Marxist-Leninist Parties were interpreted arbitrarily, the most important theses of these historical doc-**

uments were distorted and groundless attacks were levelled at the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties."

The correct stand of the C.P.C. on the questions of war and peace and on the Moscow Tripartite Treaty, too, comes under heavy fire in the book which says: "The C.P.C. leadership's peculiar position, different from that of the international communist movement, on the most important questions of our age, including war and peace, pains and puzzles all who have the destiny of mankind at heart. It is difficult to explain, for example, how the leadership of a socialist country can raise its voice against the treaty on a ban on nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space, which is greeted with elation by all mankind as the first step on the road of saving the peoples from the fear of a thermonuclear war. To understand what company the Chinese leaders have associated with, it is enough to mention that in the whole world, only the worst of the 'madmen' in the U.S.A., de Gaulle and the revanchists of the Federal Republic of Germany opposed this treaty."

The Political Literature Publishing House of Moscow issued in February a book entitled *The Leninist Theory on the Party and the Present-Day Communist Movement*. Its author slanders Chinese leaders for "having taken the path of splitting international communist ranks," and as "incapable of restraining themselves, and going over easily to 'revolutionary' extremes," and for "counter-posing themselves to the international communist movement and engaging in splitting activities."

The author alleges, "The Chinese leaders have taken the path of splitting international communist ranks, and embarked on a smear campaign against all Marxist-Leninist parties loyal to the Declaration and the Statement adopted at the meetings in 1957 and 1960.

"Distorting the most important theses of the line which was mapped out jointly, the Chinese leaders are enlarging more and more the scope of the differences, and assailing the most important theses of Marxist-Leninist theory."

The book, issued by the Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union and entitled *The Programme of the C.P.S.U. and the Foreign Policy of the U.S.S.R.*, attacked China on the questions of war and peace and peaceful coexistence. Writing about peaceful coexistence, the 107-page book says, "Running counter to the common course of the world communist movement on the question of war and peace, they [the Chinese leaders] do not believe in the possibility of preventing a new world war. They underrate the forces of peace and socialism and overestimate the forces of imperialism, and in fact do not bother to mobilize the masses of people for the struggle against the danger of war."

It falsely accuses the C.P.C. leaders of "being unaware of what consequences a new world war would have for the whole of mankind" and of "asserting that the main thing is to put an end to imperialism quickly;

but how and with what losses this will be achieved seems to be a secondary question."

Dealing with the question of war and peace, it says, "the leaders of the C.P.C. obviously underrate the great danger of a thermonuclear war and are not fully aware of the destructive power of thermonuclear weapons, calling these weapons 'a paper tiger.' Certain responsible Chinese leaders spoke of the possibility of sacrificing hundreds of millions of people in a war, asserting that after a nuclear rocket war, a civilization, higher than that of capitalism, would be created rapidly, that a 'truly beautiful future' would be built on the ruins of destroyed imperialism."

Echoing the slander against the leaders of the C.P.C. in the July 14, 1963 open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the book vilifies the Chinese leaders as envisaging "the creation of 'a thousand times higher civilization' on the corpses of hundreds of millions of people."

"Knowledge" Publishing House of the Soviet Union recently put out a pamphlet, *The General Crisis of Capitalism and Foreign Policy*—first of a series on international affairs to be published in 1964—which also assails China by name in connection with the Moscow Tripartite Treaty. It alleges that China's opposition to the treaty "has brought to itself heavy moral and political losses."

The anti-China campaign launched by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. has become so extensive that even a pamphlet, *Outlines of Reports at a Scientific-Technical Conference*, issued by the Leningrad Shipbuilding Institute early in February, makes an opportunity of vilifying the C.P.C. Speaking of the present-day national-democratic and socialist revolutions and the peace movement of the peoples, it openly slanders the political and ideological line of the leadership of the C.P.C. as one of "dogmatism and Left opportunism."

Simultaneous with the publication of the books mentioned above, Soviet newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, went so far as to carry on anti-China propaganda on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. They distorted facts about economic relations between China and the U.S.S.R. in recent years and slandered China.

An article in *Pravda* of February 14 said: "To our regret, beginning in 1960, Soviet-Chinese relations in all fields of economic, scientific-technical and cultural co-operation drastically deteriorated, for which we are not to blame."

In the same vein, an article in *Izvestia* of February 13 alleged that "The Soviet people are not to be blamed for the curtailment of economic co-operation between the P.R.C. and our country in recent years. On the initiative of the Government of the P.R.C., China's trade with the Soviet Union dropped to almost one-third, and the supply of complete sets of equipment was cut down to one-fortieth."

OPERA

"The Seal"

The success of *The Seal*¹ is remarkable. Latest news is that it is on the repertoire of 200 theatrical companies in various parts of the country and is being staged in 40 different dramatic and operatic forms ranging from realistic modern drama to all kinds of local opera. There are radio and television versions, and a screen version, just released by the August First Film Studio, chalked up new box-office records during the Spring Festival holidays.

The original was an opera written in early 1961 by four librettists belonging to the Yangchow Opera (a form of local opera) Company of Kiangsu Province. It was based on a reportage feature published in the *Renmin Ribao* around that time. The authors, struck with the importance of the theme and drama of the events described, went down to the scene of the story, collected material at first hand, returned and wrote their play. The opera company first staged it on its village tours and the peasants' response was overwhelming. Every one of 200 performances in the different people's communes it visited was crowded out. News of its success spread and before long theatrical circles all over the country had taken it up.

The Story

The action is set in a production brigade of a people's commune. Nominally led by Chen Kuang-ching, the brigade leader, its leadership has actually passed into the hands of Chen the Cripple, the treacherous ex-henchman of a former landlord, who has successfully concealed his real identity from the brigade members. Bitterly opposed to socialism, the

¹The official seal has traditionally been a mark of authority and power. Production brigades of the people's communes do not usually use a seal, but the playwrights have named their drama *The Struggle for the Seal* in symbolic allusion to counter-revolutionary attempts to wrest power from the people.

Cripple, a representative of the overthrown ruling classes, is out to ruin the people's power. Chen succinctly characterizes himself in one of his own opening lines: "*The commune cadre is my big red umbrella; I'll use it to hold off the sun!*" Blinding the politically sluggish brigade leader by flattery and simulated enthusiasm for public work, the Cripple installs his men in all the key posts in the brigade. Production goes steadily downhill as a result of his machinations. The brigade members, though deeply distrustful of the Cripple's goings-on, have as yet not recognized him for what he is.

This is the situation when Ho Wentsin, a young Communist, is sent to be the brigade's new Party secretary and to find out the cause of falling output. The story reveals the many traps the Cripple sets to snare this new arrival. Ho's keen political sense and his perfect sympathy and understanding with the peasants in the brigade enable him first to suspect the Cripple's intentions, later to get to the heart of the matter, and finally to expose and thwart him. The "seal," perilously near being lost, is wrested back by the people.

The Theme

The great interest which *The Seal* has aroused lies in the fact that it has successfully dramatized a most important theme: the contemporary class struggle in the countryside. In China, the rural people's communes are here to stay. Commune leadership is securely in the hands of the people. But counter-revolutionaries, hidden in more subtle guises than ever before, will always try to usurp the leadership and gain a foothold wherever they can. *The Seal* looks frankly and penetratingly at this acute and complex form of class struggle in a socialist society and unmasks it in all its intensity. This is the reason why everywhere the peasants particularly have taken to it, as



The Cripple (right) and his crony cook up a fishy plot

an eye-opener and a reminder to them not to relax their vigilance and efforts to safeguard their people's power.

Drama of Suspense

This theme is presented by the playwrights with great artistic skill. The sustained suspense of their opera grips its audiences. In the opening scene young Ho, unaware of the trap that is baited for him, walks along the village road to his new post. One moment he is relishing the fine scenery, the next he is being rushed away to the Cripple's home and a sumptuous feast. The brigade members, anxiously waiting for the new Party secretary to set things to rights, gather outside in the street with mounting disappointment. Along comes one of the Cripple's men, holding high an empty bottle which he is going to fill with more wine, a subtle hint that the Cripple and his guest are getting along fine.

With a few vivid strokes, the authors have created a situation charged with drama. The audience, along with the waiting brigade members, are filled with suspense and



The new Party secretary (front right) refuses the Cripple's bribe
Sketches by Mao Ping-chuan

apprehension: will the young Communist see through the Cripple's trap? Or will he, like the fatuous brigade leader, fall in with the Cripple?

The audience has just had time to breathe with relief after it sees Ho, instinctively on guard in such a situation, refuse to sit down at the Cripple's table, when a new problem arises. The brigade members misunderstand the recent scene and refuse to take Ho into their confidence. Rather than have Ho making speeches to win the peasants' trust, the authors show him in action. During a sudden rainstorm at night, he is unobtrusively found working side by side in icy cold water with the peasants to prevent the fields from flooding. The peasants, finding Ho sharing their work and anxieties, are soon sharing with him their confidences.

"Three Laughs" Technique

The fourth scene is a minor masterpiece of dramatic irony. Ho and the Cripple have now taken each other's measure. Ho has by now nearly gotten to the truth in regard to the Cripple, but as yet has no conclusive evidence. The Cripple, on the other hand, knows Ho to be no mean opponent and is trying to cover up his tracks. But the fight has not yet come out into the open. Yu-tsai, a poor peasant, threatened and bribed by the Cripple to do some of his dirty work, falls ill. Sincerely concerned Ho comes to see him, bringing him some nourishing food. The poor peasant and his wife, moved by this act and sick at heart of their own part in the Cripple's schemes, are on the point of confessing all when the Cripple arrives also bringing a bag of food, to renew his threats. Ho and the Cripple, face to face, engage in a sharp battle of wits. The authors here employ to excellent effect the traditional opera technique of the "three laughs" — when the two adversaries, after three pistol-sharp exchanges of greetings fraught with underlying meaning, look straight into each other's eyes and each time burst simultaneously into the dry, falsetto laugh of opera convention.

Other traditional opera techniques are used. The language, too, has been composed by the authors with care.

Rich in double meaning and employing the sort of poetic imagery the peasants love, they are in rhyming couplets and fit each character like a glove.

All these factors combine to make *The Seal* outstanding among the crop of new productions portraying contemporary themes on the Chinese stage.

LANGUAGE

"Common Speech" Spreads In Shanghai

On Nanking Road, Huaihai Road, and other big thoroughfares of Shanghai, east China, standard Chinese "common speech" is being spoken by more and more salesmen, bus conductors and the ordinary man in the street. This is of no small significance when one considers the fact that the quick-rhythmed Shanghai dialect and other local dialects of Kiangsu and Chekiang Provinces have always dominated the speech of this city.

The spread of common speech in Shanghai is a notable result of its energetic popularization by the People's Government. This began on a nationwide scale in 1956, when the State Council issued a directive to the effect. The reason for the movement is simple: dialects spoken by the Hans (the majority nationality of China) differ widely from place to place, and people have long felt the inconvenience of a "language barrier" which makes it hard, and sometimes well-nigh impossible, to understand each other's spoken language. In a three-cornered conversation between Hans speaking only the Peking, Shanghai and Cantonese dialects respectively, as like as not you'll see them helping each other over incomprehensible words by "writing" them in the air or on the palms of their hands. (The written Han characters, of course, carry the same meanings for all literates.) The introduction of the common speech, however, does not mean abolishing the local dialects, which will exist for a long time to come.

The Han language "common speech" is based on the dialects spoken in most of north China and

pronounced with a standard Peking accent (so-called "mandarin"). This is now widely used. It is taught in schools all over the nation and is propagated by radio and the cinema. Its spread to the middle-aged Shanghai salesman, bus conductor or ordinary man in the street shows that it is reaching wider sections of the people than ever before.

Confirmation of this was given by a recent Shanghai conference reviewing achievements in this field. It was attended by over 800 representatives from the city's trade and public transport departments, the armed forces, post and telegraph offices, schools, nurseries and creches. All were "activists" in learning and promoting common speech. Those who had got the best results — 192 individuals and 51 organizations — were awarded prizes and commended by the head of the Shanghai Committee for the Popularization of Common Speech.

SHORT NOTES

New Tibetan-Language Tele-Service. Six major cities and towns in Tibet including Lhasa, Shigatse and Chamdo are now linked by a new telegraph system using the Tibetan written language. The system was devised by employees of the local telegraph offices after a year's study and try-outs. It is fast, accurate and easy to manage. An old system of Tibetan-language telegraphing, tried out at one time in the past, was so extremely involved and slow that it was soon discontinued.

* * *

"Heroic Amoy" Symphony Performed. Musical works on contemporary themes composed after liberation were highlighted in two recent Shanghai concerts given by the Shanghai Philharmonic Society. They included "Heroic Amoy," the work of the composer of the notable *Spring Festival Suite*, Li Huan-chih. This was inspired by the heroic defence of the coastal islands in 1958 by the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the local people against harassing attacks by the Chiang Kai-shek bandits entrenched on Quemoy Island. The suite *South of the Yangtse* by Huang Yi-chun and *Monument to the People's Heroes* by Chu Wei were also performed.

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