

PEKING REVIEW

51

December 18, 1964

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報

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

December 18, 1964 Vol. VII No. 51

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December 18, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress approved and made public on December 12 the names of the 3,037 Deputies to the Third N.P.C. scheduled to open in Peking on December 20.

The names of members of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference were published on December 14.

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi issued an order on December 12, granting pardons to a group of war criminals.

- At a banquet he gave for diplomatic envoys of six Asian and African countries, Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke about the Second Asian-African Conference to be convened next March in Algiers.

- Kenyan Ambassador Henry N. Mulli gave a reception on December 12 to celebrate the first anniversary of Kenya's independence and the founding of the Republic of Kenya.

Speaking at the reception Vice-Premier Chen Yi condemned U.S. imperialism for its armed aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville) and its repeated intrusions and provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

- Renmin Ribao on December 12 published two articles by Observer, one denouncing the Sato government's activities at the current U.N. General Assembly and the other exposing the Johnson Administration's latest moves for "limited expansion" of its war of aggression in south Viet Nam.

- The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region recently held its 7th enlarged session. Delegates reviewed the great achievements made since the democratic reforms began in that region in 1959; they condemned the sabotage activities and plots for restoration of the old order carried out under cover of religion by a handful of reactionary serf-owners.

- On December 14 Renmin Ribao published the text of the Manifesto of the Thailand Independence Movement.

- The Chinese press reported the signing of a joint statement of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) in Djakarta on December 6.

Names of Deputies to N.P.C. Published

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, at its 135th meeting on December 12, approved the formal public notification of the names of the 3,037 Deputies to the Third N.P.C.

The names of the members of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consulta-

tive Conference were made public on December 14. The two complete lists of names were published in the press.

Pardons for War Criminals

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, issued an order on December 12 granting pardons to those war criminals of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the puppet regimes of "Manchukuo" and the

"Inner-Mongolian Autonomous Government" who have shown that, during a period of reform, they have truly changed and turned over a new leaf.

The order was issued in accordance with a decision on this question made by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. It prescribes that, if they have truly reformed, those war criminals who have been imprisoned for ten years are to be released; those given death sentences with two years' suspension and who have already served one year of their sentences may have their sentences reduced to life imprisonment or imprisonment for 15 years or more; those sentenced to life imprisonment and who have served seven years may have their sentences reduced to imprisonment for ten years or more. The order is to be executed by the Supreme People's Court and Higher People's Court.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Fetes Asian-African Envoys

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi gave a banquet on December 10 for the diplomatic envoys of Algeria, Cambodia, the United Arab Republic, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma, to express thanks for the warm hospitality accorded him on his recent visits to those countries. Premier Chou En-lai attended the banquet which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and solidarity.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi in his speech hailed the profound friendship between China and other Asian and African countries and paid tribute to the achievements of the six countries he visited.

Reviewing the talks he had with the leaders of these countries, the Vice-Premier said that they all expressed their determination to carry through the resolutions of the Djakarta preparatory meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference so as to guarantee the successful convocation of the conference without any external interference. They all held that the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries had achieved greater successes than the first and

that the forthcoming Asian-African Conference should achieve even greater successes and carry the struggle against imperialism and colonialism to a higher stage. They also held that the conference should discuss economic mutual aid and cooperation between the Asian-African countries so as to free themselves from imperialist economic exploitation and control. The Vice-Premier told the gathering that all the countries he had visited condemned the U.S.-Belgian imperialist armed aggression against the Congo (L) and U.S. military intervention in south Viet Nam. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Vice-Premier Chen Yi thanked the Governments of the six countries for supporting the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

The U.A.R. Ambassador, Zakaria El-Adly Imam, spoke on behalf of the guests. Acclaiming the exchange of visits among state leaders, he said: "It reinforces Afro-Asian solidarity and our struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms." Truong Cang, the Cambodian Ambassador, also spoke at the banquet.

Kenya's Independence Anniversary

Kenyan Ambassador Henry N. Mulli gave a reception in Peking on December 12 to celebrate both the first anniversary of Kenyan independence and another happy occasion—the founding of the Republic of Kenya. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Po I-po were among the guests.

The Ambassador, in his speech, described Kenya's domestic achievements during the past year. He noted that the Kenyan people, under the leadership of President Jomo Kenyatta, were concentrating their efforts on building up their new state, but in the meantime had never slackened their vigilance against foreign intervention. In international affairs, he stressed that Kenya pursued a foreign policy of strict non-alignment.

Speaking of the friendship between Kenya and China, the Ambassador said that "China acts like a good friend who offered Kenya consider-

able economic and technical aid." He expressed the hope that friendly contacts between the people of the two countries would be more frequent in the future.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, paid tribute to the achievements of the Kenyan people and Government in safeguarding their national independence and developing their national economy and culture during the past year. He said that "the birth of the Republic of Kenya marks another forward step of the Kenyan people on the path of independent development." He wished the Republic of Kenya new successes in all fields. Referring to Sino-Kenyan friendship, he thanked the Kenyan Government for consistently supporting the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and opposing the "two Chinas" scheme.

U.S. Imperialism Condemned

The Vice-Premier sharply condemned U.S. imperialism for its armed aggression against the Congo (L) in collusion with the Belgian colonialists. But, the Vice-Premier said, U.S. imperialism would never succeed in its attempt to strangle the patriotic armed struggle of the Congolese people; it would only mobilize the Congolese people to engage in a still more resolute struggle against it and arouse the people of Africa and the rest of the world to give even more extensive support and assistance to the Congolese people in their fight against aggression. "The Chinese people," he pledged, "warmly support the call of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and, together with the people of the whole world, are giving firm support to the heroic Congolese people."

Referring to Indo-China and Southeast Asia, the Vice-Premier pointed out that "the situation there has become even more serious." "The Johnson Administration," he said, "recently issued a statement openly declaring that it will carry on and expand its war of aggression in south Viet Nam. In the short period of 10 days and more, the U.S. naval and air forces have

(Continued on p. 11.)

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How Can Drinking Poison Quench Thirst?

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of the December 12 "Renmin Ribao" commentary "How Can Drinking Poison Quench Thirst? Those Who Play With Fire Will Burn Themselves." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

IT appears that the Johnson Administration is contemplating a new adventurist move — "a limited expansion" of the war to save U.S. imperialism from defeat in south Viet Nam.

Since he won the presidential election, the first item on Johnson's agenda has been the thorny problem of south Viet Nam. To cope with the situation there Taylor was recalled to Washington at the end of November for consultations to work out a new policy. The round of discussions held by top U.S. policy-makers was followed by a White House statement on December 1. This slandered the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as giving "continuing and increased . . . support [to] . . . the Viet Cong [the south Vietnamese people's armed forces] . . . in violation of the Geneva accords of 1962." With ulterior motives, it accused D.R.V. troops of being "in, and passing through, the territory of Laos," and reaffirmed that the resolution passed by Congress during the "Bac Bo Gulf incident" authorizing Johnson to extend U.S. aggression "remains in full force and effect." The Johnson Administration has thus made no bones about its intention to expand its war of aggression in south Viet Nam to the whole of Indo-China.

Three Steps

The U.S. press has made many disclosures about the new White House plans for aggression. All indicate that these envisage "a limited expansion of the war." The *Washington Evening Star* has given the most comprehensive and detailed account of what is in mind. There will be three steps, it says, in "a gradual increasing of escalation." The first step is to use the south Vietnamese puppet air force for "air strikes . . . against . . . the . . . trail which cuts from north Viet Nam through Laos into south Viet Nam." In the second step American pilots would take a direct part and "the targets would be airfields and other military bases in the north [the D.R.V.]." In the third step U.S. "planes would hit refineries, power plants, factories [in the D.R.V.]."

Certain acts of the U.S. Government since publication of the White House statement prove that the

details disclosed in the U.S. press are not without foundation. On December 3, Sullivan, Taylor's right-hand man in south Viet Nam, was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Laos. At the swearing-in ceremony, Taylor emphasized that this appointment showed that "the problems of Southeast Asia could not be dealt with separately." Upon his return to Saigon, Taylor held emergency talks with Nguyen Khanh, Tran Van Huong and Phan Khac Suu and threatened that "there are measures" these south Vietnamese puppets "can take to mesh more effectively with our [U.S.] efforts." All this shows that the White House is redoubling its efforts to carry out its plans.

This United States idea of expanding the war in its efforts to extricate itself from its predicament in south Viet Nam is by no means a new one. In the year and more since he took office, Johnson has been working on this constantly. The United States engineered the various "Gulf of Bac Bo incidents" and attacked the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam against which it has engaged in ceaseless military provocations. It has frequently sent aircraft to bomb the liberated areas in Laos. In collusion with its south Vietnamese puppets, it has made repeated incursions into Cambodian border areas. These military ventures of U.S. imperialism have been effectively rebuffed by the people of Indo-China and forcefully condemned by world public opinion. These are the circumstances under which the plan for the "limited expansion" of the war has been cooked up.

What Is Behind the Projected Extension?

The Johnson Administration is bent on extending its war in Indo-China but, trying to hide the truth of the matter, it describes this projected extension as "limited." What is behind this?

Its aim in using this term "limited expansion" is to deceive world opinion and blunt the vigilance of the peace-loving peoples against its scheme to extend the war in Indo-China. It also aims by this means to make easier of accomplishment its attempt to drag its allies and stooges further into that morass and engage them as accomplices in its aggression in Indo-China.

The term "limited expansion" is intended as a threat and blackmail against the people of Indo-China, to force them to their knees before U.S. imperialism and thus realize U.S. aggressive designs in south Viet Nam.

The Johnson Administration may think itself very clever in coming up with this trick. But in fact it will neither deceive nor paralyse the peace-loving peoples, nor will it frighten the people of Indo-China into submission so that they will give easy gains to U.S. imperialism.

The Johnson Administration asserts that the extension of its war will be "limited," but people have learnt that the ambitions and appetites of aggressors know no bounds. History confirms that imperialist aggression usually starts with "limited" objectives. When Hitlerite Germany began to push ahead with its plans for aggression, it declared that its objective was "limited" to the Sudeten area. When the Japanese militarists invaded and occupied China's northeast, their objective also appeared to be "limited." But the outcome was extension of the war to encompass nearly the whole of China as well as India, Burma and vast areas in the Pacific region. Who will believe that U.S. imperialism — which is vainly seeking world domination — will "limit" the objective of its aggression to south Viet Nam and not to all Indo-China, or to Indo-China and not to all Southeast Asia and then the whole of Asia? No matter how loudly the Johnson Administration may harp on the word "limited," it means in essence expansion of the war. The people of the world will not be hoodwinked by U.S. imperialism. The lesson they have learnt in their struggles is that the aggressors must be resolutely rebuffed the moment they stretch out their claws. Only so can aggression be checked and peace safeguarded.

Washington Will Be Severely Punished

If the Johnson Administration should carry the war beyond south Viet Nam, no matter what form this may take, it will be an extension of the war, a spreading of the flames of the war to the whole of Indo-

China. The same will be true even if the United States orders the puppet troops in south Viet Nam to fight in the van. The liberated areas of Laos are the revolutionary fruits of the Laotian people, nourished by their sweat and blood. The Kingdom of Cambodia is an independent and sovereign state which defies brute force and upholds peace and neutrality. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the socialist camp. China and the other socialist countries have the unshirkable internationalist duty to support any fraternal country in its resistance to aggression. Should U.S. imperialism dare to invade the liberated areas of Laos, Cambodia or the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, it will be severely punished.

The United States cannot by any stretch of the imagination improve its position in south Viet Nam through a "limited expansion" of the war. U.S. imperialist aggression against south Viet Nam is bound to meet with resolute resistance from the people there. This is the basic reason why the U.S. is being mauled and beaten. Whether it extends its war or not, it will never succeed in getting out of the mess it is in as long as it continues its policies of aggression and war against south Viet Nam. The people there, on the other hand, will become stronger with every battle until U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are completely defeated. The situation in south Viet Nam is as clear as daylight. The day of complete and utter defeat for U.S. imperialism is drawing nearer and nearer. The U.S. aggressors are finding it impossible even to maintain their present tottering colonial rule; if they extend the war, a quicker and more disastrous defeat awaits them.

How can drinking poison quench thirst? Those who play with fire will burn themselves. These two Chinese sayings can serve as a direct warning to the Johnson Administration.

What Is the Sato Government Up To in the U.N.?

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of a leading article published in "Renmin Ribao" on December 12. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE 19th U.N. General Assembly had no sooner opened than the Sato government of Japan rushed forward to spearhead Washington's anti-China campaign. In his maiden speech in the Assembly on December 4, Etsusaburo Shiina, the Japanese Foreign Minister, talked a great deal of nonsense in an attempt to whip up a mood of anti-China hysteria; he loudly

affirmed Japan's support for the Chiang Kai-shek clique's "U.N. membership"; he harped on the shopworn U.S. argument that the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations must be dealt with as "an important question"; he heaped further slanders and made a fresh attack on China's nuclear test. On December 8 and 9, Eisaku Sato, the Japanese Prime Minister, himself made hostile statements on China.

These are new, concrete manifestations of the Sato government's policy of toeing the U.S. line, and

openly opposing and taking a hostile attitude towards China.

Peddling the "One China, One Taiwan" Scheme

In its despicable activities at the current U.N. General Assembly, the Sato government has outdone its predecessor. Its Foreign Minister rushed into the limelight the moment the Assembly met, speaking on behalf of the United States to prevent China from getting back its legitimate rights in the United Nations and viciously slandering China. Japan's *Gaimushu* [Foreign Office], with a view to obstructing the restoration of China's legitimate U.N. rights, cudgels its brain to invent such absurdities as that a ruling against a so-called "important question" issue also needs a two-thirds majority vote. This manoeuvre by the Sato government is inseparable from the fact that U.S. policy towards China has gone bankrupt and that the United States is in an increasingly isolated and difficult position. The demand for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations is growing steadily stronger, even within the United Nations. It is in these circumstances that the Sato government came out to play the overture to the anti-China farce staged by the United States in the United Nations.

While clamouring that the question of restoring China's legitimate U.N. rights needed a two-thirds majority vote, Shiina supported the Chiang Kai-shek clique in hanging on in that organization. What does this mean? It means that if its obstructive efforts fail, Japan may "allow" China, subject to a so-called two-thirds majority vote, to occupy a seat in the United Nations, but that, even then, Japan will still want to have the Chiang Kai-shek clique retained in that international organization. Outside of the United Nations, Sato himself has made statements in concert with Shiina, declaring that China "has in fact been divided into two" and applauding Washington's "theory" on "self-determination" and "trusteeship" for Taiwan. This makes it quite clear that in addressing the U.N. General Assembly, Shiina was peddling his "one China and one Taiwan" stuff. This is an ugly variant of the "two Chinas" plot created by U.S. imperialism. This not only helps the United States to continue its forcible occupation of Taiwan Province, China's territory, but also exposes the covetous designs of Japanese militarism to lay its hands once again on Taiwan. The Chinese people are fully alert to this.

Double-Dealing With China

It must be pointed out that the Sato government is using double-dealing tactics on the question of China. Only a few days ago, Sato was still talking about the need to "take a forward-looking attitude" and that his government was "friendly and not hostile to China." He added that he intended to "revoke" the absurd statement made by Shiina during a debate in the Diet about "obstructing China's entry into the United Nations." Not only that. The Sato government also

made insinuations through various channels that it "cannot be worse than its predecessor." But what are the facts? At the U.N. General Assembly Shiina has openly supported the Chiang Kai-shek gang and obstructed the restoration of China's legitimate U.N. rights. The moment the Sato government assumed office it promised the Chiang Kai-shek gang U.S. \$150 million in economic aid. It even sent A-class war criminal Nobosuke Kishi and Mitsujiro Ishii to Taiwan to attend a meeting of the commission for promoting Japan-Chiang co-operation and there they called for "joint efforts to fight communism." In other words, the Sato government's talks about a "forward-looking attitude" and an "independent foreign policy" are not backed by any concrete action, while there is conclusive evidence about a series of open activities by it, since it assumed office, in opposition and hostility to China, activities which cannot be denied. The Sato government professes that it is "friendly and not hostile to China" but such professions can hoodwink nobody.

What is even more fantastic is the fact that even while doing his utmost to prevent China from recovering its legitimate rights in the United Nations, Shiina made unbridled attacks on the nuclear test conducted by China for its self-defence and the preservation of peace. There is nothing Shiina will not do to serve the United States. It is common knowledge that there are five countries in the world today which possess nuclear weapons. One of them, known as the United States of America, has already conducted several hundred nuclear tests. Why does Shiina all the time think only of China's nuclear test and keep on talking about it but makes no mention of the United States? Is it not U.S. imperialism which has established nuclear bases in Japan and elsewhere, brandishing its nuclear weapons and madly engaging in nuclear blackmail and threats against China, Japan, the rest of Asia and the world? Without uttering a single word about criminal U.S. acts in frenziedly preparing for a nuclear war, Shiina, at the top of his voice, denounced the measures of self-defence taken by China to counter U.S. nuclear threats. Can anything more clearly expose the face of Shiina—the No. 1 anti-China thug at the United Nations following the orders of the U.S. baton?

Plunging Japan Into Nuclear Disaster

As if speaking in the interests of Japan, Shiina keeps on talking about "the danger of radioactivity," the need "to ease international tension" and his "hopes for peace." But it is precisely the Sato government which Shiina represents that welcomed the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines into Japan, thus taking a further step in converting Japan into a U.S. base for nuclear war. Recently, the Sato government conferred the "First Class Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun" medal on General Curtis LeMay, present Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force and the chief culprit who directed the U.S. air force in 1945 in dropping A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This is a great humiliation to the Japanese A- and H-bomb victims and to the Japanese

people. Shiina and his like show no concern at all for the suffering of the Japanese people caused by these U.S.-made nuclear disasters. On the contrary, they are intent on helping U.S. imperialism promote its policies of nuclear blackmail and threats and nuclear war preparations, thereby pushing the Japanese nation towards the abyss of nuclear calamity.

Following the lead of the United States, Japanese Foreign Minister Shiina displayed inordinate arrogance at the current U.N. General Assembly, showing hostility towards China and threatening Asia with all the characteristic ferocity of Japanese militarism. But if we get to the root of things, there is nothing strange about this. What kind of a fellow is Shiina? Under the notorious Tojo cabinet, he was head of a bureau of the Ordnance Ministry, and later Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce; he was guilty of crimes during the period of Japanese militarist aggression against China's northeast. After the war,

he became a member of the traitorous pro-U.S. Kishi government and a trusted lieutenant of Kishi. It is by no means accidental that a man like Shiina should have put on airs at the U.N. General Assembly and heaped slanders on peace-loving China.

But the Sato government's line of open enmity against China is doomed to failure. The Japanese people are fighting heroically to prevent the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines into their ports; they are fighting firmly against the conversion of their country by the United States into a base for nuclear war, and against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. They stand firm in their demand for friendship with China, for the growth of Sino-Japanese trade, for the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries and in their support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. Whoever opposes the will of the Japanese people and runs against the tide of history is bound to get into trouble.

Aggression in the Congo

U.S. Imperialist Role Blasted

by C.K. CHENG

If in planning and executing the Stanleyville invasion and massacre the Johnson Administration had calculated that it could get away with it by a quick withdrawal coupled with endless mouthings of "humanitarianism," it must now realize that it grossly underestimated the hatred of the world's people for imperialist atrocities and their resolution to fight imperialism itself. Protest demonstrations continue in many parts of the world and the heads of state of Africa are scheduled to meet to discuss the Congo situation. Meanwhile, at the United Nations delegate heads from Africa and other nations fired a barrage of accusations and condemnations at the United States and its accomplices for their heinous crimes.

ALL over the globe solidarity with the people of Leopoldville Congo in their struggle with imperialism continues. Censure of the U.S.-Belgian armed Stanleyville invasion on November 24 was the dominant theme in statements by government leaders in Asia and Africa. President Sukarno of Indonesia declared, "We categorically oppose and denounce what the United States and Belgium have done in the Congo (L). We consider their behaviour entirely unjustified." He said "to hell" with the U.S. and Belgian pretext of "humanitarianism." President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania demanded at a mass rally in Dar-es-Salaam that the Americans and Belgians leave the Congo (L) alone. He criticized the British Labour government's role in allowing Ascension Island to be used as a base for Belgian paratroops. After pointing out that

Tshombe was unloaded on the Congolese people by "foreign forces," he warned that what happened in the Congo could happen in Tanzania.

These are but sample pronouncements of sentiments which are attested to in statements or joint communiques by heads of state or government of Afro-Asian countries—Algeria, Ethiopia, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Uganda, Zambia and Korea. African leaders have called for a special meeting of the heads of state of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) to deal with the situation arising from the brazen armed attack on the Congo (L).

In the meantime, the question of the U.S. and Belgian aggression against the Congo (L) has been brought before the United Nations. Apart from the General Assembly, which is now in session, the Security Council is hearing the case at the request of more than 20 Asian and African countries.

When the Security Council met on December 9, Washington, to confuse the issue and cover up its crime, had got its minion Tshombe to file a counter-charge of so-called "interference in the internal affairs of the Congo" by Algeria, the U.A.R., the Congo (B), etc. Then U.S. delegate Adlai Stevenson showed his hand, demanding that the Security Council "hear the two complaints." This preposterous proposal was denounced. But by turning on its voting machine switch the United States succeeded in ramming through the "resolution" and putting "Tshombe's letter" on the agenda. In doing this the United States only further

exposed itself, revealing the despicable role it has played and is playing in Congo developments.

Indictment of U.S. Imperialism

The speeches by the African delegates in the Security Council were powerful indictments of U.S. imperialism. The Foreign Ministers of Brazzaville Congo, Ghana and the Sudan were among the speakers on the first day. C.D. Ganao of the Congo (B) stressed that the situation stemming from the aggression by the Belgians, British and Americans gave a permanent feeling of insecurity not only to those in Leopoldville Congo but to all black people. He said the aggression launched in the guise of "rescuing hostages" was really directed at wiping out the black man. In the name of humanity scores of thousands of blacks were massacred, he told the Security Council.

Ghana's Kojo Botsio accused the U.S. Government of installing "the tyrant government" of Tshombe in Leopoldville, saying that the United States is no more entitled to intervene in Congo affairs than is Ghana entitled to intervene in the United States, "where black citizens are tortured." He reminded the Security Council that the removal of white mercenaries and foreign troops from the Congo had been asked for by the Organization of African Unity and he called on the Security Council to get them out of the Congo.

More African delegates lashed out at the United States the following day. Louis Lansana Beavogui of Guinea said those responsible for the assassination of Lumumba and the Cuban blockade should be held responsible for the massacres in Stanleyville. He was amazed that some countries which considered themselves "civilized" should express no indignation at the killing of peaceful Congolese by Belgians, Cuban exiles and American soldiers of fortune hired by Tshombe with American dollars. He asked if it was because the thousands of Congolese killed had black skins, like the black Americans assassinated in Mississippi. The Guinean delegate said the struggle taking place in the Congo (L) "is a fight of African nationalism against the Tshombe regime." And he added, "Let us hear no more clichés about communism and anti-communism." It was a fitting rebuttal to the spate of drivel about "communist infiltration" churned out by American propaganda organs which was designed to mislead and deceive the African people.

Ousman Ba of Mali maintained that it was to preserve its economic and political domination and to strike at African nationalism that imperialism intervened in the Congo (L). He said, "They say the whites in Stanleyville were being held hostage and their lives were in danger. But the American and Belgian Governments have undertaken against the innocent population in Stanleyville and the surrounding areas one of the most murderous operations since the beginning of the Congo problem." He warned the United States against waging an "undeclared war" in Africa similar to the one in south Viet Nam.

Tewfik Bouattoura of Algeria denounced the United States for usurping the mantle of the United Nations and using it as a "Trojan horse" in the Congo. He said the aggression committed by colonialism and neo-colonialism against the people of the Congo was a challenge to the African continent that any self-respecting African must pick up. They must do so, he explained, because this was "an attack on our dignity and a danger to our independence and security." He urged the Security Council to denounce this open and flagrant aggression.

On December 10, when the General Assembly resumed general debate, strong voices were raised against Washington and Brussels in that U.N. body. Delegates took the floor to condemn the United States and Belgium. Mahmoud Riad of the U.A.R. said the recent Belgian and U.S. armed intervention had aggravated the situation in the Congo but it was doomed to fail. Tanzania's Oscar S. Kambona called for the withdrawal of the white mercenaries and condemned the continued supply of arms by NATO countries to South Africa. Ernesto Che Guevara of Cuba, denouncing the U.S.-Belgian-British aggression against the Congolese people, said, "Those who murdered Lumumba under the name of the United Nations are again massacring thousands of Congolese in the name of defending the whites there. How can we forget how the hopes Lumumba placed on the United Nations have been betrayed? Who can deny that the imperialists have forced the United Nations to play a deplorable role?"

Rotten Eggs for Tshombe

Even while government spokesmen were speaking out at the U.N., demonstrations against U.S. imperialism and its stooge Tshombe were taking place in many parts of the world. On a visit to Rome, Tshombe was greeted with rotten eggs as thousands protested against his presence. In Djakarta, demonstrators stormed the United States Information Service Library. In Lagos and Havana and other cities round the world demonstrations also took place.

Support for the Congolese people took other forms in Africa itself. Algeria has sent three plane-loads of food and medical supplies to the Congolese patriots. The Sudan has decided to send a volunteer team of doctors, and many people in Uganda have volunteered to go to the Congo and fight in the ranks of the Congolese revolutionaries.

In the Congo, despite terror tactics by Tshombe's mercenaries and puppet troops against the people of Stanleyville, where over 50,000 Congolese are reported to have been arrested and tortured at mock trials, the patriots are fighting on. The National Council for the Liberation of the Congo (L) in a press communique on December 13 expressed the Congolese people's determination to continue their struggle against the U.S. and Belgian imperialists.

By its many acts of aggression, said the communique, U.S. and Belgian imperialism is digging its own grave.

Moise Tshombe: Congo Quisling

SIXTY years ago, the American writer Mark Twain, indicted the forerunners of present-day U.S. imperialism when he said that the U.S. Government was the official godfather of Belgium's "Congo Graveyard." Washington, wrote Twain, was the first power to recognize the Belgian pirate flag and become responsible "for the prodigious depredations & multitudinous murders committed under it upon the helpless natives by King Leopold of Belgium in the past 20 years."

Today, Washington has vaulted into first place among the murderers of the Congolese people, trailed by the old colonialists. As a tool to help it turn back the clock and control the riches of the Congo, the Johnson Administration has thrust upon Leopoldville Congo the most hated and despised African traitor of all, Moise Tshombe, backing him by hiring, arming and transporting mercenaries to hold him up. African feeling for this quisling, whose record includes Patrice Lumumba's murder, collaboration with old-colonialists in mineral-rich Katanga Province and his use of mercenary troops to put down the Congolese people's armed struggle, was made clear when he was barred from the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in October.

In picking up Tshombe for its dirty work, Washington has a tried and true watchdog, a creature of the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, the mammoth Belgian, U.S., British international trust which has milked the uranium and other minerals of the Congo for decades. Once the company's appointed "president of Katanga Province," Tshombe was promoted to Congo (L) "premier" in a deal which saw former stooge Adoula unceremoniously shuffled out of power.

Tshombe, whose name is a household epithet in Africa, is the latest in a series of puppets foisted upon the people of the Congo (L) since its independence in

mid-1960. "When we want to insult somebody we say he is like Tshombe," said Algerian leader Ben Bella. Even the Western press long ago had to admit that "most Africans already treat Mr. Tshombe as a political leper."

Nevertheless, Tshombe fits the bill for the American imperialists. Said one top U.S. official, "The great thing about Tshombe is that he's got guts." The extent of his "guts" is attested to by the thousands of Congolese men, women and children murdered by Tshombe's mercenary-led bands. Mutual admiration between master and puppet is a two-way street. Shortly before Congo (L) independence this lickspittle visited the United States. After his return, as the American magazine *Time* put it, he said: "We need Americans more than anyone else."

Other attributes which have endeared the man who dresses in silk Western suits to Washington have been lauded in the American press. He is "a friend of the mining companies," said the *Wall Street Journal*. He apes his masters and lectures African leaders who want their governments to be run by themselves and not by Western colonialists. "I see no reason why an incompetent [African] should sit beside a desk because of the colour of his skin." This formula of having colonialist dregs hold as many key jobs as possible is put into practice in Leopoldville. Tshombe's refusal to "Africanize" at all costs, moaned *Time* on December 4, 1964, "is part of the reason he is beyond the pale of his peers in other African nations."

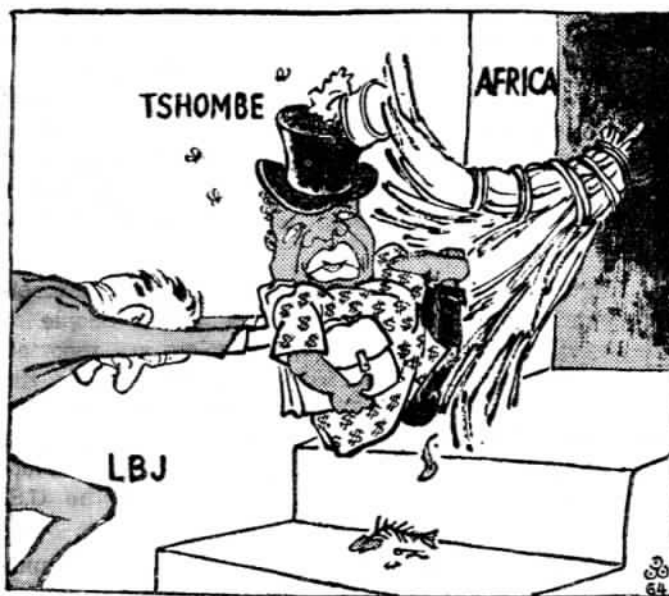
Such are the charms Tshombe holds out for his masters. For Washington, this infamous African "Uncle Tom" has been and continues to be a well-seasoned frontman for foreigners who rule the roost in his regime. All in all he holds top-drawer credentials to recommend him, including prompt willingness to carry out murder at the behest of his string-pullers.

Driven from the Congo (L) in 1963, Tshombe was brought back this June, and was swiftly handed the reins of rule by the U.S. neo-colonialists who had taken them over from his former guardians, the old colonialists. Tshombe's return marked the first step in a two-pronged neo-colonialist plot to make the Congo (L) safe for imperialist plunder.

The second step was launched in Brussels after talks between globe-trotting hatchetman for Washington's schemes W. Averell Harriman and the Belgians — military aid and the reconditioning of Tshombe's murderous mercenary corps formed in 1960, to lead and bolster his troops in a campaign of terror against the growing power of the Congolese people's forces.

Long before American aircraft transported Belgian paratroopers to slaughter patriots and civilians in Stanleyville in November, an action which co-ordinated with the drive on that city by Tshombe's white mercenaries and puppet troops, a look at the record of this betrayer of the Congolese people and nation required a strong stomach.

Brutality is the trade mark of Tshombe's army. To build up his rabble crew, this American paragon of



Washington's Man in Leopoldville

Cartoon by Chung Ling

"guts," armed with American dollars and weapons, began recruiting more mercenaries from remnants of fascist scum when he got back to Leopoldville this summer. Most came from racist South Africa and white-ruled Southern Rhodesia where press advertisements offered these buccannery high pay, including family allotments.

Congolese and African fury for Tshombe and his mercenary-led army has been of long duration. The bestialities of this army had been spread far and wide. This is an army whose air force—supplied and paid for by the U.S.—had bombed and blasted the ranks of the people's forces with rockets. This is an army which pillaged and raped its way through village after village. Innocent civilians were whipped, kicked, and tied up, wrists to ankles, face down in the broiling sun with damp rope. This is the army which butchered Stanleyville.

Leopoldville Congo under traitor Tshombe reads like a paradise for adventurers and a nightmare for its citizens. Backed by a gang of cut-throats, Americans, Belgians and West Europeans manage "national affairs." The monetary control council, which manipulates the currency, and all ministries are staffed by high-ranking foreigners. For the people there is always economic privation and worse.

All Africa knows Tshombe for what he is; his words, instigated by Washington, foul the air. In July he spouted: "Give me three months, and I will give you a new Congo." The Congolese people have seen this "new Congo," drenched in blood and treachery by foreign invaders.

Sometimes running dogs are bigger public braggarts than those who have them on a leash. Even Washington has lately cast a cautious eye on a "new Congo." Seeing how the patriots have fought on after the Stanleyville invasion, the *New York Times* on December 2 warned that Tshombe "is not able to control rebellions, even with white mercenary troops, United States planes and Cuban exile pilots and military instructors." The Johnson Administration has admitted that Tshombe can "at best, hold some key towns, but not the countryside." Some Pentagon masterminds can only gloomily "foresee the possibility of a civil war in the Congo like that in Viet Nam."

History is strewn with the corpses and the stench of traitors to their own people, so-called leaders who are bought and paid for by imperialists and aggressors to keep a sinking regime afloat. In Africa today, Congo quisling Moise Tshombe is cut from this cloth.

—S.T.C.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

on four successive occasions engaged in intrusions and provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam." He called on the people of Indo-China and of the countries connected with the Geneva agreements as well as all peace-loving countries and peoples to maintain keen vigilance and pay the closest attention to this.

Denouncing U.S. efforts to push forward its plan for the so-called "multilateral nuclear force," the Vice-Premier reiterated China's firm stand for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

Sino-Rumanian Trade

China and Rumania signed a 1965 goods exchange and payments agreement in Bucharest on December 9.

Under the agreement, trade between the two countries will be considerably increased in the coming year. China will supply Rumania

with minerals, rolled steel, hard alloys, chemicals, textiles, daily necessities, and other items. Rumania will supply China with drilling equipment, cargo boats, lorries, petroleum, chemicals, machine parts, tubes and other goods.

Cuban Leader Arrives in Peking

Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Member of the National Directorate of the United Party of Socialist Revolution of Cuba and President of the National Institute for Agrarian Reform, arrived in Peking on December 11. Welcoming him at the airport were Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the Party's Central Committee.

Relatives to Visit Nine Detained In Brazil

The nine Chinese illegally detained in Brazil are still in prison. Their families are anxious and uneasy about their condition. Another four representatives of their

families are planning to go to Brazil to visit their kinsmen there. At their request, the Chinese Red Cross Society on December 9 sent a cable to the Brazilian Foreign Ministry asking for entry visas for them and for its representatives Wang Min and Yu Cheng-hsin who will accompany them to Brazil.

Parcels Unreasonably Withheld. Meanwhile, the Chinese Red Cross Society has learnt that the first batch of parcels sent to the nine Chinese by their families are still held by the Rio de Janeiro customs house. These parcels of clothes, medicine, food and articles of daily use were mailed from Peking on April 20 by the Chinese Red Cross Society on behalf of the families through the International Committee of the Red Cross Society in accordance with international practice.

Due to obstruction by the Brazilian authorities, however, they did not arrive in Rio de Janeiro until September and to date are still lying there in the customs. The families of the nine arrested men have vigorously protested against this.

A Struggle Between Two Lines

To oppose imperialism or not — this was the issue at the recent International Union of Students (I.U.S.) Executive Committee meeting in Prague (November 14-17) and the subsequent I.U.S. Eighth Congress held in Sofia (November 28-December 10). Delegates from many countries including China insisted on unity and fighting against imperialism at the two meetings.

A Draft Report With Fundamental Mistakes

DURING the general debate at the Prague meeting which met to discuss the Congress agenda, Li Shu-cheng, leader of the Chinese delegation, proposed that the draft report denounce U.S. imperialism as the common enemy of all students and peoples of the world; expose the crimes of aggression committed and dual tactics employed by U.S. imperialism and its ringleader Lyndon Johnson; and define in this light the line of struggle to be followed against U.S. imperialism by the international student movement.

The delegates of south Viet Nam, Korea, Indonesia, the Dominican Republic, Guadeloupe and Haiti, in their speeches, disapproved of spreading illusions about peace in the draft report and the omission of all criticism of U.S. imperialism.

At the November 15 session, hot disputes arose on the question of the partial nuclear test ban treaty. In its amendment, supported by Rumania, Korea, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, the Chinese delegation proposed deletion of all favourable references to the treaty. Two paragraphs were thus deleted while one was retained after voting.

Rumania proposed to strike out passages objecting to all nuclear tests and referring to the peaceful settlement of all territorial disputes and to substitute demands for the banning of all nuclear weapons and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. This had the support of quite a few delegates but, at the insistence of the chairman, was put to the vote together with a Brazilian amendment adding the words "banning all nuclear tests" after "banning all nuclear weapons." China, Korea, Rumania and eight other delegations voted against.

The Rumanian delegation also proposed to delete a paragraph concerning the Common Market and to insert a passage opposing the political subjugation of some countries through economic means. This was adopted with the Chinese, Korean, Rumanian and the majority of delegates favouring it; only five delegations including the Soviet Union voted against.

Seconded by the Rumanian and Korean delegations, China then moved that the section confirming

and praising the Moscow World Youth Forum be deleted. This was rejected with 16, including the Soviet Union, voting against. Before the vote, a Chinese delegate stated that certain people acting behind the scenes were attempting to suppress democracy and turn the I.U.S. into an instrument serving the foreign policy of a certain country. The Moscow World Youth Forum which ostensibly opposed imperialism had in fact attacked China.

The draft report to the Eighth Congress was in the end passed hurriedly with 22 delegations, including the Soviet Union, voting for it; Haiti, Indonesia and four other countries abstained, Korea, south Viet Nam and Rumania did not take part in the voting and China voted against.

Thanks to the concerted efforts and resolute struggle of many delegates who adhered to the anti-imperialist stand and upheld unity some erroneous formulations were deleted from the draft report; at the same time, positive contents supporting the anti-imperialist struggle of the students of all lands were added to it. But, due to persistence by some in the erroneous line of capitulationism and splittism, the meeting failed to make principled revisions on the fundamental question of opposing imperialism. The Chinese delegation therefore reserved the right to comment on the draft report.

A General Resolution With Erroneous Views

A sharp struggle between two lines — to oppose or to capitulate to imperialism took place at the Eighth Congress in Sofia. On the first day, November 28, the Chinese delegation proposed that the congress adopt a draft statement protesting against the U.S. imperialist aggression in the Congo (L). This proposal was warmly received by most delegates but opposed by the Soviet, Czechoslovak delegates and those of some other countries. Trying in many ways to prevent the adoption of the statement, they revealed their non-opposition to U.S. imperialism and their desire to forbid others to oppose it. The statement was, however, adopted after two days of heated debate.

On November 30, the Chinese delegation moved that the congress invite to take part in its work delegates of the Japanese National Federation of Students' Self-Government Associations to Oppose the "Security Treaty" and In Defence of Peace and Democracy (HEIMINGAKUREN) who had arrived in Sofia. But the manipulators of the congress, by means of their voting machine, refused to admit these Japanese students standing in the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle. At the same time, they railroaded through a decision to invite the representative of the "Co-Ordinating Secre-

ariat of National Union of Students," an international tool of U.S. imperialism, to attend as an observer.

When the executive committee report was presented, Zhuravleva, head of the Soviet delegation, spoke first in support of it.

China's Li Shu-cheng, who was warmly applauded, said that over the past few years, some people, against the will of students of all lands, had tried politically to mislead the I.U.S. to get it to stay away from and even oppose the struggle against imperialism. Organizationally, these people undermined solidarity, created a split and spearheaded against those student bodies which persisted in the anti-imperialist stand. She proposed that the congress, besides confirming U.S. imperialism as the common enemy of the people and of students of the world, should uphold unity on the basis of the anti-imperialist line, which is the correct traditional line of the I.U.S., that the principle of democratic consultation be faithfully observed and the attempt to create a split be opposed.

During the discussion of the general resolution, many other delegations criticized erroneous views contained in it because it abandoned the I.U.S.'s anti-

imperialist tradition, ran counter to the desires of the world's students for unity and opposing imperialism, because it failed to make mobilizing all forces to oppose U.S. imperialism as the task of students today. The general resolution also, among other things, spread illusions about "peaceful coexistence" at any cost and "general and complete disarmament" in order to weaken the militancy of the students of the world. They suggested, in the interest of unity against imperialism, the deletion of certain points involving divergence of views. However, these correct proposals were rejected by the Soviet delegation and its followers bent on imposing their capitulationist and splittist line on the movement. When the resolution was put to the vote, half of the 78 delegations which had the right to vote, either voted against it or showed their disapproval. Among them, the Chinese and Albanian delegations voted against; six delegations including Korea, Viet Nam, Indonesia and Guadeloupe abstained and 31 delegations, including south Viet Nam, Zanzibar, the Dominican Republic and the Federation of Students of Black Africa in France did not take part in the voting.

— Su Pao

Thailand Independence Movement Issues Manifesto

A BROADCAST of the Voice of the People of Thailand on December 3 reported that the Thailand Independence Movement issued a manifesto calling for efforts to drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors, overthrow the traitorous and despotic Thanom government and implement a policy of neutrality, peace, democracy, prosperity and concern for the people's well-being.

The manifesto, made public on November 1, declares that "bitter experience in the past few years has brought home to the people of Thailand what unparalleled disasters to their dear motherland have been caused by the traitorous and despotic regime." Thailand "has been completely reduced to a new-type colony of U.S. imperialism" and "the change of government from Sarit to Thanom has brought no changes in substance, or in policy or major principles."

"The Thailand Independence Movement is a political organization aimed at uniting all patriotic democrats irrespective of their class or social standing, sex, age, history, occupation or past record," says the manifesto. "All individuals, groups, organizations or political parties can co-operate fully or to a certain extent with us in the common struggle against the enemy so long as they are genuinely patriotic and democratic, brave and ready to make sacrifices, faithful to their duty, place the interests of the nation and the people above all else,

and have political ideas consistent with our programme and policies."

The Thailand Independence Movement sets out its political programme and policies as:

"1. Drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors from Thailand.

"2. Overthrow the traitorous, despotic Thanom government and set up another to be composed of patriotic and democratic political parties and individuals, and committed to a policy of neutrality and peace.

"3. Fight for the salvation and preservation of the genuine democratic rights of the people.

"4. Fight for a policy of neutrality, peace, democracy, prosperity and for the people's well-being."

Like the struggle of the people the world over against imperialist policies of aggression and war, the manifesto says, the struggle to drive the U.S. imperialists out of Thailand is mounting vigorously. U.S. imperialism is being encircled and isolated by the great forces of the people of the world. The people of Thailand are by no means isolated in their struggle and the international situation has developed still more in their favour. It concludes: "Final victory will certainly go to our people so long as we remain confident and dare to struggle and to win."

TIBET TODAY

TIBET has made unprecedented progress in all spheres of life since the quelling of the armed rebellion of the reactionary upper strata there and the start of democratic reforms in 1959. The region is now carrying the democratic revolution to completion and making preparations to undertake socialist transformation.

Such is the situation as described by Chang Kuo-hua, Second Secretary of the Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet, in his recent report to the seventh enlarged session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

The central task of the democratic reforms was to overthrow the feudal serfdom which had shackled the region for centuries. The land, herds and other means of production of those serf-owners and their followers who had taken part in the reactionary rebellion were confiscated and distributed among the former serfs and slaves. Those who had not taken part in the reactionary rebellion were paid compensation for their surplus land and herds, which were then distributed among the masses. The one million serfs and slaves numbering around 95 per cent of the population, thus took their destinies into their own hands. The productive forces of society which had long stagnated were liberated.

Chang Kuo-hua pointed out in his political report that the serf-owning class had not disappeared. Unreconciled to defeat, they were still trying in many ways to effect a restoration. This meant that the class struggle would be protracted and complicated and at times even acute. Speaking of the general tasks and objectives in the coming period, he said that on the political, economic and cultural fronts, it was necessary to strengthen and deepen the struggle against the feudal serf-owning class, restrict capitalism and any spontaneous capitalist tendencies, carry the democratic revolution to completion, continue to develop production and construction and create conditions for socialist transformation.

Speakers at the session condemned the acts of sabotage and schemes for restoration of feudalism engaged in by a tiny handful of the former serf-owners under the cover of religion. They declared that they would continue to hold high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and carry the democratic revolution to completion.

The delegates hailed the leadership by the Party, the quelling of the reactionary rebellion, and the democratic reforms. They cited many facts showing the tremendous successes achieved in the political, economic, and cultural fields since the democratic reforms in Tibet.

Political Advance

Since 1959, the masses and cadres in the region have grown in political consciousness and the people's democratic dictatorship has been strengthened. With the advance of construction, a Tibetan working class of over 20,000 has come into being.

There are now over 5,800 cadres of Tibetan nationality. Over 1,000 of them are serving as heads or vice-heads of districts, counties or prefectures. Communist Party organizations in the rural and stock-raising areas and in the towns have grown. Democratic political power at the basic level has been consolidated. The former poor serfs and slaves have more firmly established their political supremacy and the people's democratic united front has been broadened and consolidated.

Farming Forges Ahead

On the farms the average per *mu* yield of grain has increased by 30 per cent since 1959. The total output of grain has increased by 52 per cent. This year, although the region suffered a dry May and June, it



Working an electric pump near Lhasa

reaped a good grain harvest, the sixth in six years. Output was close to the record level of 1963. During the two months' dry spell, lack of water became a serious problem on a sixth of the farmland. The peasants took these difficulties as a challenge. Led by the Party and Government, they dug or repaired thousands of irrigation channels and ponds to tap water sources and reduce losses as much as possible.

In the old days serfdom ground the peasants down and denied them hope. Most farmers used crude wooden ploughs with the "share"—a piece of wood with a 4-inch metal tip. Some even used primitive ploughs entirely of wood. It was nothing unusual for a crop to return only three or four times the amount of seed sown. Most of the meagre harvest went to the manorial lords in the form of rent, taxes and other levies. The farmers were also obliged to provide various kinds and amounts of free labour for their rulers. Under these conditions agriculture and the whole economy stagnated.

With serfdom and slavery abolished, the peasants' spirits soared. They organized themselves into mutual-aid teams, a first step in socialist co-operation. These number 22,000 and embrace nine out of ten peasant families. In just over five years they have increased the arable area by 600,000 *mu*. Irrigation has been brought to 650,000 *mu* of arid fields. Large areas of formerly low-yield farmland have been made more fertile. New-type iron ploughs have replaced the primitive pre-liberation ones.

The energetic measures taken by the Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet and the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet to increase production are bearing fruit. Special attention is being paid to helping the poor peasants. The state has loaned Tibet's peasants and herdsmen 6.3 million yuan since 1959. One million farm tools and iron ploughs have been sent in from other parts of the country as well as 3,300 tons of rolled steel to make new farm tools.

Stockbreeding. This year the region has 16 million head of livestock, or over 40 per cent more than before the democratic reforms.

The Nagchhu area in the northern grasslands, the main stockbreeding centre, embracing nine stockbreeding counties, now supports over five million head of livestock. This is more than twice as many animals as it had five years ago. The mutual-aid teams achieved this success despite two blizzards of unusual severity for this area. They fought against the snowstorms by building paddocks and shelters and organizing shock teams for clearing away the snow. The People's Government rushed in materials and other aid. There were



Former serfs are now members of the mutual-aid team in Khesum *hsiang* (township)

skilled veterinarians to treat sick animals. Modern methods triumphed over ancient disasters.

Trade. With farming and stockbreeding on the upgrade, trade in local produce was unusually brisk this autumn. More than 10,000 tons of wool, hides, butter, beef, mutton, salt and other products reached the agricultural areas of the south from the stockbreeding north in exchange for grain and other farm produce, and handicraft products such as carpets, rugs, embroidered aprons and saddles. Some 400,000 yaks and other pack animals have been exported to the south, one-third more than during last year and more than twice as many as in pre-1959 days.

An indication of the growth of purchasing power and the standard of living is the increase in sales by the state-owned trading companies. There have been bigger sales of tea, textiles and other manufactured goods and particularly of felt hats, lace and silks, favourite fancy goods in Tibet.

Growing Modern Industry

Before its peaceful liberation in 1951, Tibet had no modern industry. Since then it has built more than fifty small and medium-sized industrial plants. Most were set up after 1959. They include power stations, farm machinery and tool-making plants, motor repair workshops, oil presses and plants to make cement and tan leather. These plants are sited in the major towns. Lhasa itself, the capital, has more than 20 factories and a flour mill with a capacity of twelve and a half tons of flour a day. The cement plant here has produced over 10,000 tons of cement since it went into operation in February 1963. Tibet's first lumber mill was set up in the southeastern part of the region in 1955. Since then it has produced more than 200,000 cubic metres

of timber to build new homes, new factories and public buildings in various parts of the region.

In building up its industry, Tibet has received generous support from many cities throughout the country in machinery and skilled workers who have come, often from distant parts, to help train Tibetan workers. These developments enable Tibet to supply most of its own needs in electricity, building materials and farm implements, look after its own food processing and service its own road making equipment.

Highways. Good highways now link all the major cities and towns in Tibet and 90 per cent of its counties. Motor transport was non-existent in Tibet before liberation. Now regular passenger bus services operate between Lhasa, Shigatse and a number of other large towns. The People's Government has built and repaired many miles of pack animal track in the countryside.

Economic progress and better communications have led to the growth of the urban areas. Lhasa has doubled in area. Chamdo is six times as big as it was before.

Education and Public Health

Tibet today has 55,000 students in its 1,500 primary and secondary schools run by the state or the local people. There are many night schools for adults. Before liberation there was not a single regular modern school

in Tibet. The vast majority of the population was illiterate.

With the spread of education, more books are being printed in Tibetan. The Tibetan edition of the *Tibetan Daily* has a circulation of 5,400. Last April a Tibetan language telegraph service began between six major cities including Lhasa, Shigatse and Chamdo. In 1961, the region established the first modern drama troupe staging plays in Tibetan. Many films have been dubbed into Tibetan.

Health. Tibet had no health service before. Now it has 160 medical and health centres giving free service to the people. Every county has its own general hospital. An increasing number of townships have their own resident doctors, health workers and midwives. Over 500 modern medical workers of Tibetan nationality have been trained. Most of them are emancipated serfs or slaves.

Population statistics provide another indication of the increasing well-being of the people. Since 1959 there has been an annual increase of 25 per 1,000 population in Lhasa and the seven surrounding counties. The rate is 30 per 1,000 in sparsely populated Lungtzu County. This is a striking contrast with pre-liberation times when, due to lack of medical care and appalling conditions of poverty and exploitation, the population of Tibet was dwindling year by year.

"Writing About Middle Characters"— A Bourgeois Literary Notion

Following is the first instalment of a slightly abridged translation of an article by the editorial department of "Wenji Bao" (Literary Gazette) which appeared in its September 30 issue. The second and concluding instalment will appear in our next issue. "Wenji Bao's" boldface emphases. — Ed.

Crucial Point of the Debate

CAN revolutionary images of the workers, peasants and soldiers shine resplendent in revolutionary literature and art? Can heroes who are the embodiment of socialist and communist ideology dominate socialist art and literature? This is a vital issue concerning the nature and orientation of our literature and art. There has been a continuous struggle around this ever since the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art in 1942. The proletariat and all other working people firmly demand that outstanding workers, peasants and soldiers be prominently portrayed in literary and artistic works. The bourgeoisie and those whose minds are cluttered up with bourgeois ideas are always opposed to heroic representations of workers, peasants and soldiers being introduced into literature and art; or they try by every means to disparage or exclude them and weaken their

position and influence in literature and art. This struggle is a reflection in the sphere of literature and art of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is becoming increasingly acute as the socialist revolution in China goes deeper.

What should the primary task of our creative writing be—the creation of heroic literary images of our workers, peasants and soldiers, or the portrayal of so-called "middle characters"? This is a crucial question of the day. The proletariat's answer is that it should be the creation of heroic literary images of workers, peasants and soldiers because this ensures that our literature will advance in the direction of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. The demand for the "portrayal of middle characters" is a bourgeois proposal that leads our literature up a bourgeois blind alley. These two stands are irreconcilable.

In August 1962, someone formally put forward the idea of "writing about middle characters." On the plea that literature and art should reflect reality and play an educative role and in consideration of the current situation in these fields he found all sorts of "reasons" to stress repeatedly the importance of "writ-

ing about middle characters" and downgrade the importance of depicting heroes. He called on writers to concentrate on writing about these so-called "middle characters." His main reasons may be summed up as follows:

1. Positive heroes are a minority among the masses of the people whereas "middle characters" make up the vast majority, so writers should write a great deal about the latter;

2. Literary and artistic works should reflect social contradictions and "contradictions are often concentrated in the middle characters," so writers should concentrate on portraying these;

3. "It is mainly the middle elements that literature and art are called upon to educate"; and one should educate these people by writing about them;

4. In our literary works, too much has been written about heroes and too little about "middle characters." If everyone were to write about heroes, "the path would be too narrow"; to broaden the path, writers should write more about "middle characters."

Many other similar assertions have been made, but these will suffice for the time being. In a word, the purpose of all such talk is simply to push the "portrayal of middle characters" into the central and most important position in our literary and artistic works and this inevitably pushes the task of creating heroes out of that key position.

In typifying the contradictions and struggles of real life in literary and artistic works, it is necessary to create all kinds of characters. These naturally include those among the masses who are temporarily in an intermediate state midway between the advanced and the backward. The question, therefore, is not whether it is permissible to write about these characters; they often appear and will continue to appear in literary and artistic works. **The question now is: Someone has created a special concept of "middle characters" and advanced a theory advocating the "portrayal of middle characters," pitting it against the central and most important task of socialist literary and artistic creation — the creation of heroes. This is the crucial point in the current debate.**

What Are "Middle Characters?"

What sort of people after all are these so-called "middle characters?"

According to the advocate of this theory, they are people from among the masses, and especially the peasant masses, who are midway between good and bad, the positive and the negative, the advanced and the backward, people tainted by the "old things" — "the mental burden which has weighed down on the individual peasant for thousands of years." It is said that "people in this intermediate state constitute the great majority" of the masses and that "broad masses of the people of various social strata are all of this in-between character." Some articles advocating the "portrayal of middle characters" describe them as "selfish people," others characterize them as "backward people who belong to

the labouring masses but are not without weaknesses." This puts backward people into the category of "middle characters." Some define "middle characters" as "the middling, colourless masses who are neither good nor bad, and both good and bad," that is, "petty characters" who are phlegmatic and apathetic. As a matter of fact the main advocate of the "portrayal of middle characters" himself sometimes also mixes up "middle characters" with backward people and "petty characters" and fails to draw a clear distinction between them.

In order to explain their concept of "middle characters," they cite certain examples from existing literary works. According to their examples and explanations, their so-called "middle characters" turn out to be those peasants and workers who vacillate between the socialist and capitalist roads, people who do not want or are not enthusiastic about the revolution, people with little or no awakened class consciousness, people weighed down by the "mental burden" of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie.

But, is it consistent with objective reality to generalize that the vast majority of China's workers and peasants are "middle characters" with such characteristics?

In revolutionary mass movements, there are advanced and backward elements as well as those who are temporarily in an intermediate state. At first sight, when the revolutionary urge of the masses and their revolutionary initiative have not yet been brought into full play, there may be quite a number of people in this latter state. **But this intermediate state is temporary, superficial and unstable. With the deepening of the revolutionary movement, the great majority of those in an intermediate state will rapidly change their attitude and finally their long pent-up revolutionary initiative will burst forth like a volcano.** At such a time, the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, socialism and anti-socialism, the positive and the negative, and the various antagonistic classes in society is shown up in increasingly clear relief and the class nature of the various social forces is more sharply manifested. History has shown that the worker-peasant masses in our country have demonstrated great revolutionary initiative not only in the democratic revolution but also in the socialist revolution and construction. The workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force of our revolution and the mainstay of our socialist regime. Is this not a fact known to all?

The advocate of portraying "middle characters" professedly stands for a "realistic" attitude in reflecting the mentality of the peasants. So let us consider the peasants. Is it true, as he alleges, that the majority of Chinese peasants are "middle characters" vacillating between the socialist and capitalist roads? **In his writings *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and other works, Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out repeatedly that the broad mass of poor and lower-middle peasants in China actively support the collective economy and firmly take**

the socialist road. Making up between 60 and 70 per cent of the rural population, they constitute the majority of the peasants. It is the upper-middle peasants who vacillate between the socialist and capitalist roads; they are in the minority. The splendid achievements in the socialist transformation of the countryside in China have proved this Marxist-Leninist analysis to be completely correct. The broad peasant masses with the poor and lower-middle peasants as their backbone, and led by the Communist Party, are steadily consolidating the socialist cause in the countryside and carrying it forward in the struggle against the spontaneous capitalist forces. No storm or stress can deter them. Therefore, so far as the attitude of the broad peasant masses towards socialism is concerned, it is by no means true that "the advanced and the backward each comprises only a small minority while the vast majority of the people are in between"; the great majority of the peasants, including some who did vacillate for a time, finally took the socialist road of their own free will, the latter after a period of hesitation and wait-and-see. For the bulk of the peasants socialism is the only way out.

But the advocate of writing about "middle characters" does not look at things this way. In his opinion, the great majority of Chinese peasants are "middle characters" who lack socialist initiative and vacillate between the two roads. According to him, even the "broad masses of various social strata are all middle-of-the-road." According to this view, it would be quite impossible for New China to take the socialist road; the only road it could take would be the capitalist road. But this, in fact, would mean reverting to old China's semi-feudal and semi-colonial road that leads to the ruin of the country. Doesn't this make clear the reactionary character and absurdity of this peculiar concept of "middle characters"? It should be clear that refusal to recognize the urge for socialist revolution of the peasants and the great masses of the people and negation of the revolutionary initiative of the broad masses constitute the basic viewpoint of all Right-wing opportunists at home and abroad. It is fundamentally opposed to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Man's social being determines his social consciousness. The class status of the worker-peasant masses and their practical activities in revolutionary struggles and production make them more receptive to new ideas. In fact the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in China are constantly remoulding their subjective world while transforming the objective world; their outlook has undergone tremendous changes.

It is true that there are great differences in ideological development among the masses. Some are advanced; some are backward; there are also quite a number who stand midway between the advanced and the backward. There are many things among the masses that are backward, and long-term efforts are needed to free them completely from the ideological influences of the exploiting classes. But on the whole,

the ideas and sentiments of the workers, peasants and soldiers are much healthier than those of the intellectuals who are deeply influenced by bourgeois ideas, and they are generally more receptive to new, revolutionary things. This is precisely why Chairman Mao Tse-tung has told us time and again that while studying Marxism-Leninism intellectuals must for a long period of time go deep into the heat of the struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers, learn from them and be identified with them in ideology and in sentiment. As a result of varying degrees of progress attained in ideological remoulding, most intellectuals support the socialist system to a greater or lesser extent so far as their political attitude is concerned, even though they have not yet acquired the proletarian world outlook. We are therefore justified in asking: What is the basis of this claim that the great majority of the workers, peasants and soldiers are "middle characters" who stand between the good and the bad, the positive and the negative and vacillate between the roads of socialism and capitalism? Where do people who make such assertions stand? Is this assertion not a defamation of the great reality, and of the great people of China?

The people are the makers of history and the masters of the new society. To describe the great majority of them as "middling, colourless masses who are neither good nor bad, and both good and bad," that is, "dull masses" who are ignorant and indifferent, "petty characters" who are phlegmatic and apathetic — does this not expose as anti-popular the stand of those who make such assertions?

It can thus be seen that the concept of "middle characters" concocted by these persons is not only a confused one, but an anti-popular one as well. Those who propagate this concept do not stand among the masses, but are aloof from them and look at them with the air of aristocrats. Adopting a bourgeois metaphysical viewpoint, they regard the temporary, intermediate (unawakened or only partially awakened) state of a part of the masses in the course of the revolutionary movement in isolation, as something static, fixed and unchangeable, and exaggerate this beyond all reason as if the great majority of the people take a middle-of-the-road attitude towards the revolution and revolutionary ideas at all times, everywhere and under all conditions. They thus put the broad masses of the various social strata in the category of "middle characters" to inflate the influence of these characters so as to enable them to compete with revolutionary heroes for position in literary and artistic works, and to remould the mental outlook of our literature and art and the broad masses in the image of these "middle characters." This must inevitably arouse the vigilance of all who cherish the revolutionary cause and revolutionary literature and art.

Who Represent the Mainstream of the Era?

Let us examine the major reasons advanced for advocating the "portrayal of middle characters" and see if they can stand scrutiny.

Firstly. It is said that heroes should not be written about too much because they comprise only a small number of the people, but that "middle characters" should be written about extensively because they are the majority of the people. Is this a tenable proposition?

We ask: Should literature and art reflect life in a mechanical and photographic way or in an active and creative way? Should they reflect life for reflection's sake or with an aim and selectivity? Should they just reflect the phenomena of life or should they reflect the essential reality of life through phenomena? According to a formula put forward by the advocate of "portraying middle characters," the number of heroes or non-heroes artistically portrayed should be proportionate respectively to their numbers in actual life. Isn't this an over-simplified and mechanical formula?

Socialist literature and art aim to reflect the great socialist era and propagate the lofty ideas of socialism and communism. It is impossible to carry out this task without creating a brilliant gallery of typical images of heroic characters from among the workers, peasants and soldiers. As we pointed out above, it is fundamentally mistaken to regard the majority of the worker and peasant masses as "middle characters" wavering between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. It is true that the number of advanced heroic men and women with a high level of communist consciousness still does not account for the great majority of the masses, but the number of such people is by no means small; they have emerged by the tens of thousands. **They are the elite of our time, of our people and of their class. They are the newborn forces of the revolution and the vanguard of the masses; they represent the present and future of the broad masses. Revolutionary writers and artists must stand resolutely on the side of the newborn forces of the revolution and blaze the way zealously for new things with their pens.** It should be realized that our writers and artists have portrayed not too many but too few heroic characters. And it is precisely because of this that our writers and artists feel abashed before our era and people. Now it is high time to make up for this quickly.

If our writers and artists do not stress the creation of heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers who represent the mainstream of our era, but devote a great deal of attention to writing about the "middle characters" who are neither good nor bad, then, the essential reality of our socialist era will not be reflected. Not only this, but the socialist nature of our literature and art will inevitably be changed. Let us just imagine what would happen if this proposal to "portray middle characters" were fully accepted and carried out, and if everywhere in our literary books and periodicals, on our stages and screens, there appeared the images of those who waver between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, do not want or are not strongly inclined to revolution, have little or no political consciousness, and are thoroughly tainted by the

"old things"—by the "spiritual burden of the individual peasants" and a "gloomy psychology." Then, how distorted would be the picture of our great era and people? Could our literature and art then still be worthy of being called socialist?

"Contradictions Are Often Concentrated in the Middle Characters"

Secondly. There is the argument that it is necessary to write a good deal about "middle characters" in order to describe contradictions, because the social contradictions of the day "are often concentrated in the middle characters." This is a contrived argument which cannot stand scrutiny.

Socialist literature and art must reflect contemporary social contradictions, and those which are most important and most universal are the contradictions between socialism and capitalism, between the proletariat and other working people on the one hand and the bourgeoisie on the other, and between proletarian and bourgeois thinking. Our literature and art should typify these contradictions and struggles, and create various kinds of characters, so as to influence the broad masses and push forward these contradictions and struggles in a way favourable to socialism. **When we talk of writing about contradictions we mean primarily describing the vigorous struggles being waged by the worker, peasant and soldier masses, and this, so far as today is concerned, means that the main theme should be the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology.** This makes it necessary to put the stress on describing the principal aspect of the contradiction and the heroic characters who represent the principal aspect of the contradiction, who resolve contradiction and promote the progress of life. As everybody is affected in varying degrees by the revolutionary storms which rage during the acute struggles for the socialist revolution and construction and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, we do not exclude lateral descriptions of these struggles and contradictions, including correct descriptions of certain people who stand in the middle of the road. However, who else holds the key to these struggles and contradictions but the heroes and leaders of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers who stand in the seething centre of these struggles and contradictions? Can the "middle characters" who are isolated from the heat of struggle better show the character and direction of these struggles and contradictions? By alleging that "contradictions are often concentrated in the middle characters," does not the advocate of this theory want to ignore the principal aspect of these struggles and contradictions—ignore the decisive role of the proletariat and the revolutionary people,—or shift the goal of those struggles and contradictions?

The so-called theory that "contradictions are often concentrated in the middle characters" also focuses on the inner contradictions of the "middle characters" in the course of the socialist revolution. The advocate of

this theory, taking the stand of those "middle characters," devotes all his interest to and shows full sympathy for characters who waver between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. According to his way of thinking, these characters are pinched between the two mutually exclusive roads. They want to wait and see, but they cannot do so for long. They want to hover about, but there is no room left for them to do so. How they suffer! **Instead of taking a critical attitude, he takes a sympathetic attitude towards "the spiritual burden which individual peasants have carried for thousands of years." He fails to take the viewpoint of historical materialism and regard this "spiritual burden" as something being created by the age-old influence of the exploiting classes, something that emerged under certain social conditions and can be changed gradually in line with changes in social conditions. On the contrary, holding the viewpoint of historical idealism he regards this "spiritual burden" as something inherited from generation to generation, inherent in the peasants and hard to change.** He even goes so far as to hold that the great transition made by China's peasants from an individual to a collective economy is not a process in which the peasants achieved political, economic and ideological emancipation but a "painful process" or an "ordeal." Thus, his dictum that "contradictions are often concentrated in the middle characters" relates to the inner contradictions and "sufferings" of the peasants who are so-called "middle characters," when they are thrown by a revolutionary storm into the tide of socialism. That is why he has asked writers to stress descriptions of the "ordeals" and "gloomy psychology" of these peasants in the course of the socialist transformation of agriculture. Obviously, **this is certainly not seeing things from the standpoint of the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants; it means looking at the liberated peasants and the cause of peasant emancipation from a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois standpoint and through extremely gloomy eyes. Works written in accordance with this theory and from this standpoint will inevitably be poisonous anti-socialist weeds; they cannot be good.**

Can "Middle Characters" Be Educated by Portraying Them?

Thirdly, The advocate of the "portrayal of the middle characters" exaggerates the educational role of such portrayals. He holds that "middle characters" are the main objects of literary and artistic education and so advocates the education of such "middle characters" by writing about them. Such an approach is untenable.

Our literature and art trumpet the advance of the worker, peasant and soldier masses; they are the proletariat's weapons in the struggle, the good teachers and useful friends of all the working people in their cultural life. They are not textbooks for the special use of a section of the people, the "middle characters." The advanced and the backward elements among the

masses can be mutually transformed. The middle elements will ultimately either become progressive or fall behind, and the struggle between the advanced and the backward will go on for ever. The exaggeration of the number of "middle characters" and consequent exaggeration of the educational effect of writing about them cannot stand up to scrutiny by the light of objective facts. The arbitrary division of the educational role of literature and art resulting in the seemingly plausible idea that the portrayal of the progressives, backward and in-between characters is aimed in each case to educate people of these separate groups — isn't this an over-simplified and mechanical concept?

Socialist literature and art must use socialist and communist ideas to educate the people. Therefore, they must stress the portrayal of heroic characters who embody a socialist and communist spirit. Of course, it is also necessary to describe correctly the process of the remoulding of those people who are politically unawakened or only partially awakened. If such themes are well handled, they can also give good educational results. However, actual life has shown that the transformation and advance of backward or relatively backward persons are often inspired, assisted and influenced by the advanced. Typical images of the heroic and advanced characters in socialist literary and artistic works play a great educational and inspiring role among the broad masses, a role, which can never be taken over by the portrayal of "middle characters." The moving images that the broad masses take as their models for study range from Liu Hu-lan, Li Yu-kuo, Tung Tsun-jui, Chu Lao-chung, Hsu Yun-feng to Lei Feng, Liang Sheng-pao, Li Shuang-shuang, and the heroes of the Tachai and Nanliu Brigades in rural Shansi and of the Taching Oilfield. But the advocates of "portraying middle characters," seeing things from the artistic viewpoint of the bourgeoisie, always complain about lack of discernment on the part of the masses. They feel indignant when they see that heroic characters in certain works, though not so subtly drawn as some "middle characters," are nonetheless better received by the masses. This shows how far they are from understanding the masses' urge to aim high and the masses' eagerness to know about heroic characters. How superficial and one-sided is this understanding of the educational role of literature and art! **Should socialist literature and art exercise their ideological and educational influence among the broad masses and the younger generation mainly by giving positive examples or by giving negative and lateral examples? Should this be done by using cold analysis only or by combining such analysis with a spirit of warm encouragement and enthusiasm? Should the masses be led to look forward or backward? Should the masses be inspired to rise in all their strength or should they be allowed to fall back into passivity by propagating among them negative sentiments and vacillation? All this calls for serious consideration.** A heroic era calls for heroic artistic images. How eager are the masses to see more and brilliant examples of men and women imbued with revolutionary heroism and of a commu-

nist character in books and periodicals and on the screen and stage, examples which will be turned into mighty moral forces to lead the masses in fostering proletarian ideas, wiping out bourgeois ideas and transforming the world! How eagerly do the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers hope that literary and artistic works will play a still greater role of education and inspiration by presenting positive examples to help train the younger generation and bring up those who will carry on the revolutionary cause! But the advocates of "writing about middle characters" are doing their best to get the "middle characters" who are neither good nor bad, the selfish, backward persons and apathetic "petty characters" to occupy the main position in literary and artistic creation. At the same time, they have complained that too much is being written about communist character and they have opposed the creation of perfect artistic images of new heroic characters. What else does this mean but preventing socialist literature and art from educating the people in a socialist and communist spirit?

Which Is the Broad Road?

Fourthly. There is the argument that when too much is written about heroes, the road of creative writing will be "too narrow" and that it will be broadened only by writing more about "middle characters." This is sheer nonsense!

In order to see if the road is broad or narrow, we would like first to ask; What kind of road is it? The road of proletarian literature and art or the road of bourgeois literature and art? The former is the bright highway opened up by the proletariat, the latter is the blind alley taken by the bourgeoisie. **The proletariat and other working people regard our era as an era of heroes. They fully agree with the words: "To find men truly great and noble-hearted, we must look here in the present." In our era the area of activity offered to heroic characters is extremely broad and there are unlimited possibilities for writers to describe them. When the same spirit of selflessness, of daring to think and act and the same kind of communist character are embodied in specific persons in various trades and professions, their concrete expression differs widely in each case. Socialist and communist heroism is a great theme which has never before been handled in the history of literature and art, and those who are determined to engage in socialist literary and artistic creation could never exhaust this theme in their writings, paintings or songs even if they devoted their whole life's energy to this work.** As for those "middle characters" who are neither good nor bad, and those wavering elements, "superfluous people," selfish persons, "little" people, gloomy characters and persons rent by inner conflicts, they are people about whom much has been written by bourgeois writers over the past centuries; their images have become hackneyed in literary history. Of course, writers today can still write a little about them with a new approach. But this should be done only as a supple-

ment to presenting the bright things of today and certainly this should not be regarded as the primary task of creative writing. To call for an all-out effort to portray "middle characters" today will inevitably lead our literature and art up a bourgeois blind alley.

In advocating the presentation of diverse characters, there is a necessary premise: the portrayal of heroic characters must enjoy priority and be given the dominant place. **Enthusiastic praise of the heroic characters of the worker, peasant and soldier masses is one of the most important and most remarkable features distinguishing the new socialist literature and art from the old bourgeois literature and art. If this feature were abolished, then there would be no new socialist literature and art.** No one has ever said that our literature and art should only portray heroes and models and cannot deal with other characters. Heroes and models can be realistically and vividly depicted only when they are presented in the contradictions and struggles and in relation to various other kinds of characters. However, those who have been repeating that "the advanced and the backward each comprise only a small minority of the people while the vast majority of the people are in between," have always complained: "The road will be too narrow if only the new sprouts are written about" and "it will be extremely narrow if only modal characters are portrayed." As they see it, only the old bourgeois road of literature and art is "broad!" Isn't it very clear that there is a struggle between the two roads—socialism and capitalism—in regard to this question of what characters to portray?

Haven't the champions of "writing about middle characters" always said that the portrayal of such characters has "depth" and haven't they denigrated descriptions of many heroic characters because these suffered from the mistakes of "over-simplified" writing and of writing according to "fixed concepts"? If things are really so, why do they only want to make superfluous contributions to "writing about middle characters" without trying to give needed help to writing about heroic characters? To get good portrayals of heroic characters, it is necessary to encourage writers to plunge themselves into the heat of the struggle of the masses and to create splendid images of advanced characters as seen in the contradictions and struggles of actual life. The advocates of "portraying middle characters" follow an entirely different line. They prefer to let writers remain satisfied with the status quo and describe ordinary, trifling things. **One cannot help asking: Why is it that you people are not enthusiastic about all the things that are in the interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers and which help to implement the policy of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers? Why, on the contrary, are you so enthusiastic about all the things that go against the interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers and do not help to implement the policy of serving them?**

(To be continued.)

Kenji Miyamoto's Report to Ninth Congress of Japanese C.P.

Following are excerpts from the third and fourth parts of a report by Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Japan, on behalf of the Central Committee to the Ninth Congress of the Party on November 24. The report was published in "Aka-hata" on the following day. Excerpts from the first two parts, dealing with the domestic and international situation and the struggle of the Japanese people and the central tasks of the Party, appeared in our previous (No. 50) issue. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

III. The International Communist Movement and Tasks of the Party

THE international situation today, the report points out, shows that so long as the international communist movement and the socialist camp are united on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and resolutely fight against the imperialist forces headed by U.S. imperialism, it is possible to bring about greater changes in the world balance of forces in the direction favourable to peace, independence, democracy and socialism.

It is regrettable, however, that in the last few years serious disunity in ideology, theory and practice rooted in antithesis concerning principle has appeared in the international communist movement. **The fundamental cause of the present disunity in the international communist movement is the appearance of a modern revisionist trend which runs counter to the line of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.**

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October 1961, the leadership of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov publicly attacked and vilified the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour in flagrant violation of the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties stipulated in the Moscow Statement, and the leaders of certain fraternal Parties joined in this attack. **Open polemics in the international communist movement were thus provoked. This grave historical responsibility should be placed squarely on the leaders of certain Parties, in particular the leaders of the C.P.S.U., who were the first to publicly trample on the Moscow Statement and attack fraternal Parties.**

The partial nuclear test ban treaty concluded between the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union in the summer of 1963 was a new and important reason for the aggravation and deepening of disunity between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. and certain other Parties, the report continues, recently proposed that an

"international meeting" of the Communist and Workers' Parties be convened at the earliest possible time; they went so far as to say that the moment had come for adopting "collective measures." If these people continue to assume the attitude of a big power and arrogate to themselves the leadership of the international communist movement, if they insistently compel other fraternal Parties to accept their own positions and views and unilaterally call an "international meeting" and adopt "collective measures" by majority votes, then the present disunity will be even more irretrievably led to an organizational split. This action is the most dangerous splittism undermining the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement. It runs counter to the interests of the world revolution and the fundamental interests of the oppressed peoples and nations. It goes against the unity of the socialist camp which is based on independence, equality and mutual assistance and against genuine, comradely unity between the Communist Parties of various countries based on independence and equality; it is the crudest violation of proletarian internationalism.

Referring to the attitude the Japanese Communist Party has consistently adopted in international activities before and after its Eighth Congress and right up till now, the report says: Our Party, which is responsible for the revolutionary struggle of the Japanese people and is partly responsible for the international communist movement, adheres to an independent stand based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the stand of the Programme of our Party. It strictly abides by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties, and has worked for genuine unity in the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

The international trend of modern revisionism was at a rudimentary stage of development at first. Our Party's knowledge of it becomes more comprehensive as its true nature becomes increasingly exposed through its own concrete action.

In order to achieve genuine unity and solidarity in the international communist movement, the following must be adhered to. 1. Faithfully support and implement the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement unanimously adopted by the fraternal Parties and the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties. 2. Firmly adhere to an independent position based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. 3. Wage thoroughgoing struggles on the two fronts: against modern revisionism which "remains the main danger" as

pointed out by the Moscow Statement, and against dogmatism and sectarianism which "can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual Parties" as pointed out by the Moscow Statement.

The report gives an account of the relations between the C.P.J. and the C.P.S.U. It says: Since the founding of our Party and until quite recently, comradesly relations of friendship have always been maintained between our Party and the C.P.S.U. However, after the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov unilaterally provoked open polemics in October 1961, it began to ask us to follow it unreservedly and blindly and it intervened in the internal affairs of our Party.

Moreover, after our Party in August 1963 made clear our independent and critical attitude in regard to the partial nuclear test ban treaty, the leadership of the C.P.S.U. immediately and openly attacked our Party by name.

This unjustified attack on our Party by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. in violation of the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties laid down in the Moscow Statement is the very cause of the worsened relations between our two Parties, for which the leadership of the C.P.S.U. should be held fully responsible.

In order to seek a solution to the worsened relations between our two Parties as an internal question, our Party sent a delegation to Moscow in March 1964 for bilateral talks. The delegation of the C.P.S.U., however, showed no sincerity whatsoever and made groundless slanders and charges against us. Consequently nothing was achieved in the talks to improve relations between our two Parties.

By mid-May, when Yoshio Shiga and others who had hitherto maintained secret contact with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. began their manoeuvres to sabotage our Party, the leadership of the C.P.S.U. immediately came out into the open to support and encourage them, thus openly setting out to undermine our Party. This is an outrage unknown in the history of the international communist movement. By doing this the leadership of the C.P.S.U. has disqualified itself for any talk about friendship between the two Parties, and about the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement.

Since things have come to such a pass, our Party has no alternative but to act in accordance with the principle of independence and equality and make public our replies to the charges against our Party.

But the C.P.S.U., working hand in glove with the Right-wing social democrats and anti-Party revisionists, stopped at nothing in carrying out its splittist machinations against the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. In the middle of July, it published, in a breach of faith between fraternal Parties, its April 18 letter to our Party, which distorted the facts and hurled all sorts of vilifications and slanders at us. That was why in late August we published a detailed reply repudiating these vilifications and slanders, protested once again against the sabotage by

the leadership of the C.P.S.U. against our Party, and stated positively our Party's views on a number of theoretical questions relevant to the debate within the international communist movement.

Despite our protest, **the C.P.S.U. leadership in the latter part of September again gave open support to Kamiyama and Nakano, collaborators of Shiga, when they began their open sabotage activities against our Party.**

As a result, there has emerged a complicated and difficult situation unknown before in the long standing relations between our two Parties.

The cause of the deterioration in our relations, as shown in the letters exchanged, lies in the many political-theoretical antitheses between the two Parties on such questions as the appraisal of U.S. imperialism, the partial nuclear test ban treaty and the policy of peaceful coexistence. These should be resolved on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In order to achieve this, the leadership of the C.P.S.U. must first cease all its moves to undermine our Party. In accordance with Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, our Party will also take the necessary measures to strive for genuine unity between the two Parties on the basis of the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties.

The report then goes on to analyse the essence of modern revisionism. **Modern revisionism**, it says, is a combination of revisionism, splittism and dogmatism. Its essence, as Lenin said, is nothing more than "a trend hostile to Marxism within Marxism" ("Marxism and Revisionism"), a bourgeois idea which is hostile to the people and to Marxism-Leninism and splits the ranks of the people. On this point there is nothing which distinguishes modern revisionism from Right-wing social democracy and revisionism at different stages in the past. The only difference is that modern revisionism is marked by the following special features: donning the garb of "creative Marxism-Leninism," assuming the attitude of a big power to impose the views of the leadership of a certain Communist Party on others and at the same time propagating modern dogmatism which blindly follows that leadership, etc.

Dealing with how to gain the victory of Marxism-Leninism and realize unity and solidarity, the report says that if the present disunity in the international communist movement is rooted in modern revisionism, which has become a "system" as an opportunist theory, then, preventing an open split in the international communist movement, which has become an imminent danger, and seeking a fundamental solution to the question of disunity and striving to achieve genuine unity and solidarity, will involve a long, complex and systematic, ideological and theoretical struggle to combat modern revisionism.

On the question of an international conference of fraternal Parties, the report says: **The convening of a preparatory meeting for an international conference, unilaterally proposed in July this year by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov, is illegal; it has no basis, no justification in any respect; it is**

designed to bring about an open split in the international communist movement. That is why our Party has called for an end to the attempt to convene such a meeting.

It is not only difficult to try and settle completely and once for all certain questions of principle in the present disputes at the above-mentioned conference; the conditions for such a settlement are absent at present. The exploration of this task and a certain degree of solution would be significant for the unity of the international communist movement and for the correct development of the world's people's unity. Of course, preparations for such a conference should be made through necessary consultation among the Parties concerned. It should be convened only when the approval at least of the Parties which took part in the meeting of 81 fraternal Parties has been obtained. Its procedure and resolutions should be based on the system of unanimity.

The report points out that Khrushchov's downfall once again illustrates the correctness of the Party's line in consistently opposing the opportunist and splittist line of the international trend of modern revisionism and the correctness of the fundamental principle it has followed in seeking to achieve genuine unity in the international communist movement.

The criticism of Khrushchov by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. does not *ipso facto* mean that they are going to do away with the situation created by some of their actions. This situation has been created by such questions as: their signature to the partial nuclear test ban treaty which has brought great difficulties to the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs in our country and other movements, their pressure on others to support that treaty and their unjustified sabotage against our Party, thus worsening relations between the Japanese and Soviet Parties. Nor does their criticism of Khrushchov *ipso facto* mean that they want to solve, as a matter of principle, the question of convening the splittist "international conference" and the question of controversy and disunity in the international communist movement; these are questions which have been brought about by the opportunist and splittist line of the international trend of modern revisionism. **And so one naturally should not draw the conclusion from Khrushchov's removal from office alone that the leadership of the C.P.S.U. wants to bring about a fundamental change in the line it has consistently pursued or that it wants to overcome completely the international trend of modern revisionism. In spite of this, Khrushchov's removal from office has brought certain favourable changes to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and new favourable changes to the struggle by genuine Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism.**

IV. Building a Strong Mass Vanguard Party

This part of the report begins with a summing-up of the achievements and shortcomings in the work of building the Party in the past three years.

The report says that during this period the Party has vigorously and wholeheartedly carried on theoretical and ideological work. On the basis of the line charted in the Party Programme and in the light of the actual conditions in Japan and the world, the Party has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and won great successes in smashing the international and domestic modern revisionist trend and the Right-wing social democratic trend ideologically and theoretically.

While making headway in ideological construction, the Party has made important progress in political construction.

Remarkable successes have also been made in expanding the ranks of the Party. The report continues: We now face the task of building a mass vanguard Party which is consolidated and strong theoretically, politically and organizationally.

The Ninth Party Congress will sum up the achievements and shortcomings in Party building during the past three years. In the light of the present situation and political tasks it lists the following four goals in order to build a strong mass vanguard Party. These are: further strengthening the Party's ideological and political construction; setting up a good style of Party work; continuing to enlarge Party ranks and further pushing ahead its organizational construction; and improving the leadership on the part of leading Party organizations.

In realizing the above-mentioned aims in Party building and striving for the formation of a national-democratic united front, the Party should direct its efforts towards the following:

1. Work among the masses, wholeheartedly serve the needs of their livelihood and meet their demands, learn from the masses and struggle shoulder to shoulder with them, persist in the mass-line style of work and let the masses realize, through their own experience, the correctness of the Party policy and leadership.

2. Strengthen Party work among the workers, step up efforts to expand the ranks of the Party, overcome the Party's backwardness in the trade union movement, and establish Party leadership in it.

3. Thoroughly strengthen Party work in the countryside, where a radical change is taking place, overcome the backwardness of the peasant movement, and develop it into a powerful one, and expand the Party organizations leading that movement on a wide scale.

Finally, the report presents the main content of the "Second Two-Year Comprehensive Plan for Reinforcing the Party's Strength and Ideological and Educational Activities." It also sets forth the goals for increasing Party membership and the sales of *Akahata* and that paper's Sunday edition 150 to 200 per cent as of now. Also described is the task of building and safeguarding united and strong leading organizations which are tested in theory and practice, as well as the task of safeguarding the Party.

What's Right/Wrong With America

IT seems that there's just about everything wrong — and little right — with the America that the outside world is reading about and hearing about," complained *U.S. News and World Report*, a weekly which oft voices the views of the State Department. Ill at ease, it reported: "Almost everywhere you hear talk of open or latent anti-Americanism." "Boorish . . . selfish . . . naive . . . trigger-happy — Americans are accustomed to hearing themselves called such things by critics abroad." But, it added in its feature "What's Right With America," "the world abounds in admirers and imitators of the U.S. way of life," and it then lists some of them and their U.S. likes.

Among these "admirers" is a Frenchman who discovered "an American culture and an original one." He talked about various things in this carefully sieved interview, but evidently he forgot to mention that computer-written poetry that has appeared in the press, that "symphony" depicting a man suffering from dysentery, that latest fashion gift to civilization, the topless dress, or the originality of what the literary critics now call "tape-recorder realism" because, as *Time* — no squeamish Aunt Polly — says "it mumbles like the nonstop mouthings of a drink-sodden bum or screams like a borderline psychotic."

"The presence of the police is far less pervasive . . . than in most of the rest of the world," says another admirer, this time from Austria. Well, he clearly didn't talk to those civil rights demonstrators in the U.S. They found the "forces of Law and Order" with their police dogs, fire hydrants, tear gas and electrified cattle prods. all too pervasive. True, when it comes



"The police are not pervasive. . ."

to organized crime the police are strangely invisible and this is one reason why, as a back issue of the same magazine reports, "crime is growing five times as fast as the population."

Peregrine Worsthorne, political editor of the Right-wing *Sunday Telegraph* of London, is another admirer. He says: "You have more nearly achieved a multiracial society than any other country." To back this statement up the *Report* cites the fact that two U.S. government posts — information and housing agencies — are headed by Negroes. However, in the same issue is a



"An original culture"

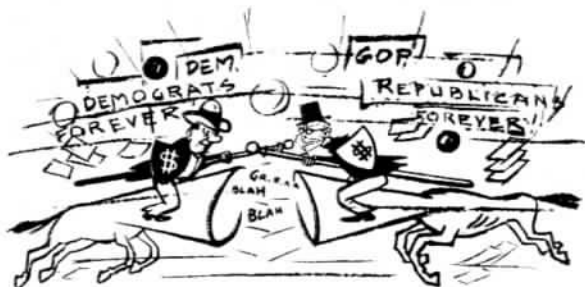
feature on the riots that flared up in the Negro sections of New York, Rochester, Jersey City, Philadelphia and Chicago, in which a thousand people were injured and five killed.

The magazine quotes a Swiss sales manager as saying admiringly: "Americans seem to care more about the health and happiness of their neighbours" than do Europeans. Evidently he did not read the reports in the U.S. press about the New York girl whose cry for help was heard and ignored by 37 neighbours while she was being stabbed to death in the street, or about the chant of "Jump, Jump!" when a crowd of philistines saw a man, driven crazy by the society he lives in, poised for a suicide leap from a rooftop.



"Love thy neighbour"

Worsthorne gives the U.S. extra points because its political system "has survived intact in a crumbling world." *Time*, no radical, however, sees the American political system in a different light. Commenting on the recent presidential campaign, it wrote: "The electorate of this mighty nation is left homeless, then, by such a pair of nominees. . . . We stare fascinated at the forces that have produced such a sterile choice for us."



"Its political system survives intact in a crumbling world"

Cartoons by Jack Chen

The *Report* headed one set of admiring comments "Good living for the masses — not just for the wealthy." But that section, of course, did not include anything about the more than one million slum dwellers in New York and more in other big cities, or the people in the Appalachia region who are living at or below subsistence level. And then what about that "War on Poverty" by President Johnson? Perhaps it's not necessary except as an election year gimmick?

"Love thy neighbour" indeed seemed to be a leit-motif of that seven-page spread in the *Report*. It ended by quoting a "Mexican leader's" remark: "Lucky to have the U.S. as a neighbour." Can it be that the *Report* hadn't heard of that other Mexican, former President Porfirio Diaz, who with U.S. land-grabbing, blackmailing, stealing and intervention fresh in mind, exclaimed: "Poor Mexico, so far from God, and so near the United States!"

ROUND THE WORLD

North Kalimantan

Third Year of Struggle

Led by the Revolutionary Government of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan, the armed struggle waged by the North Kalimantan people to set up a unitary, independent state comprising Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo has entered its third year. The banner of freedom and independence, raised on December 8, 1962, is flying high despite the measures taken first by the British imperialists and their stooges in Kuala Lumpur and later jointly with the U.S. imperialists to stamp out the flames of national liberation.

Down the years the people of North Kalimantan had been groaning under British colonial rule. The explosion point came two years ago when Whitehall, bent on keeping a foothold in Southeast Asia in face of the surging tide of national liberation sweeping the colonialism-infested continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, decided to set up the so-called "Federation of Malaysia" and deny genuine independence to the people of this region. On December 8 the people of oil-rich Brunei sounded the tocsin of revolution.

From the first day Britain cracked down with all the armed strength it could muster. Violence met with stiff resistance. Ordeal by battle tempered the patriotic forces into determined fighters for freedom. In the last two years, with the support of the masses they have liberated large tracts of jungle territory and many key points, throwing out the British oppressors and their hangers-on. They have also established revolutionary bases near towns from which to carry on their struggle.

The valiant North Kalimantan people are, however, taking on not just the old-line colonialists. They have to fight as well the U.S. imperialists who have long cast covetous eyes on the riches of this treasure land in the South Seas. Staying in the wings whenever possible but

blustering to the centre of the stage if necessary, U.S. imperialism has become more and more involved in Whitehall's campaign to suppress the North Kalimantan armed struggle. Nevertheless it was not enthusiasm for helping the British to preserve their empire that brought the Americans on the scene. It was to oust them and bring the area under their own control that they fathered the Anglo-American partnership.

But the successes and growth of the people's armed forces over the last two years show that neither British nor U.S. imperialism can crush the freedom struggle of the North Kalimantan people. The logic of all national-liberation movements works invariably in the people's favour. Difficulties and setbacks are fleeting moments in an oppressed nation's struggle. They cannot long delay the time when accounts are settled with the oppressors.

U.S.-British Summitry

Difficulties and Differences

London and Washington have clinched a deal on closer collaboration to suppress the national-liberation movements in Asia but remain at loggerheads on how to compose their differences on the "multilateral nuclear force." That just about sums up the summit talks held recently in the American capital between British Prime Minister Wilson and U.S. President Johnson.

It was not chance that brought the two together so soon after their assumption of office. Wilson, with his Labour Party returned to power by a slender majority, was beset by crises at home and abroad. He needed American support to ride the storm in the first days of office. Johnson for his part, with his "special war" in south Viet Nam going worse than ever and the NATO alliance at sixes and sevens, stood in sore need of help from the other side of the Atlantic. Hence the quick two-day meeting on December 7 and 8. What were Britain's specific problems?

The sterling crisis loomed large. For 1964 the deficit in the balance of payments is expected to reach 800 million pounds, to which can be added another 500 million pounds of expenditure overseas in military adventures and what comes under the heading of economic projects. Britain, living beyond its means, found that confidence in the pound had weakened, first of all in the European capitals; the immediate question was how to save it.

Another headache is the centrifugal tendency in the British Commonwealth. Britain, blackballed by the Common Market, has tried to keep its place at "the top of the table" [Home's words] by strengthening its ties with members of the Commonwealth. But with the pound becoming increasingly shaky, it has proved impossible to overcome the balance of payments deficit and extend "aid" to Commonwealth countries at one and the same time.

Still another headache is the movement for independence that has been tirelessly battering at the crumbling British empire and gathering still greater momentum in recent months. The struggle waged by the people of North Kalimantan, Aden, Oman and other areas is shaking British colonial rule to its foundations.

To the Johnson Administration, all three questions were so many Achilles' heels, to be taken advantage of during the talks where Johnson pursued a policy of alternately striking and stroking his opponent. From his advantageous position, Johnson tried to talk Wilson into making concessions on the question of the multilateral nuclear force, knowing that Britain must have the support of the dollar to stabilize the pound. He also cajoled him into making a "larger contribution" to the American war of aggression in south Viet Nam and Indo-China as a whole in exchange for greater American backing of the British-created "Malaysia."

In this first round of talks between the American and British leaders, Wilson was of course negotiating from a very weak position. But that does not mean that Johnson held all the cards. Wilson had a couple of high ones up his sleeve. For one

thing, he knew the United States was seeking British support for the M.L.F. and its co-operation to isolate France within the NATO bloc; for another, while Britain must rely on Washington to bolster sterling, it nevertheless has an "independent nuclear force" of its own. So before his departure for the United States Wilson put forward an alternative proposal for an "Atlantic nuclear force" as a counter to the American M.L.F. scheme. It was intended to strengthen his position in the confrontation with the American President.

Thus, the Johnson-Wilson talks did not bring London and Washington closer than before on the question of the M.L.F. or paper up the cracks of the NATO alliance. Although the final communique talks of continuous co-operation, differences between the two countries remain. As Johnson put it, the United States and Britain had many difficult problems. Or as Wilson put it, "We have our differences."

Pakistan

Debate on Foreign Policy

Pakistan will elect a new president on January 2. The principal candidates are Mohammad Ayub Khan of the Muslim League, the present holder of the office, and Miss Fatima Jinnah who represents the combined opposition parties. As polling day draws near, a controversy has arisen over a statement by Miss Jinnah who attacked President Ayub Khan for "losing Pakistan's only friend, America." In a speech at Multan on December 5 Miss Jinnah said, "Pakistan has lost the only foreign friendly nation it had, namely the United States" and that "the United States has turned on the side of India. . . ."

Her statement was challenged at once by public figures and in the press. Nawabzada Wilahat Ali Khan, a leader of the Muslim League, said "No patriot should be sorry to lose American friendship, nor even can be, because as a nation aligned with anti-colonial movements we are at cross purposes with America. As such, losing American friendship is good riddance." Home Minister

Habibullah Khan went even further. He said the Government possessed evidence to show that the United States and India were financing the campaign of the combined opposition parties. These countries, he added, did not like the independent foreign policy of the present Government.

Z.A. Bhutto, the Foreign Minister, refuted Miss Jinnah's attack on December 11. He said it might have been true that the U.S. was Pakistan's "only friend" when governments prior to that of President Ayub were bound almost entirely by SEATO and CENTO and were clinging to a foreign policy of following the lead of the West. "In asserting ourselves as a sovereign, independent country and in being mindful of our vital national interests," he stated, "we have not only done the right thing by ourselves but we have enhanced both the substance and the value of our friendship [with our neighbours]."

Foreign Minister Bhutto then explained why there had been a "degree of strain" in Pakistani-American relations. The United States, he said, took a view of China which Pakistan did not share and it was trying to build up India as a great power in Asia and Africa as a bastion of Western interest. This, he pointed out, was the main reason for the strained relations between America and Pakistan. He added that Pakistan considered the U.S. policy of permanent hostility towards China and the building up of India against China to be a mistaken one and fraught with peril for Pakistan's security.

Persecution in Brazil

Trumped-Up Charges Exposed

The frame-up against the nine Chinese arrested in Brazil is attracting increasing attention throughout the world. The facts are becoming known and public opinion has roundly condemned the Brazilian authorities for their persecution of these innocent people who were living and working lawfully in Brazil, as journalists and businessmen.

Arrested on a fantastic frame-up, the nine Chinese were incarcerated for five months before being handed

over to a military tribunal for trial at the beginning of September. The tribunal's hearings have failed to produce a shred of evidence to prove the charges against them.

Conducting a spirited defence of the nine, noted Brazilian lawyer Sobral Pinto exposed the indictment against the accused as containing "no factual, justifiable or serious evidence with which to incriminate them." On December 11, he issued a 50-page statement at the military tribunal which point by point proved the falsity of the charges made by the Brazilian authorities. He pointed out: "There has been a large amount of irrefutable and conclusive evidence in the course of the trial which shows clearly that the defendants were daily engaged in their own fields of activity and in the work for which they came to Brazil. . . . No such acts, actions or facts ever existed, nor could they be produced, as could be classified as an attempt to change the social and political system of the state of Brazil and to set up and maintain on Brazilian territory a secret service for the purposes of espionage."

An international group of seven well-known lawyers is going to Brazil to observe the trial. Nagano Kunisuke, its senior member, in a statement issued in Paris said that he and his colleagues would support Sobral Pinto's defence of the Chinese. D.N. Pritt, another member of the group, told the London Press Association that "the indictment discloses virtually no concrete allegation of actions alleged to have been committed by any of the accused."

The frame-up has produced repercussions in Brazil itself. In view of the fact that the Brazilian authorities' charges are utterly unsubstantiated, a number of Brazilian personalities have spoken out in defence of justice and advised the Government to release the nine. Frederico Schmidt, adviser to the former Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek, writing in the newspaper, *O Globo*, said: "We must have the courage to admit our error. If the innocence of the accused Chinese has withstood every attack, we must admit our error and let them return to their homeland."

ACROSS THE LAND

Rare Operation Performed

A FOUR hour and twenty minute operation by Peking neurosurgeons successfully removed three brain tumours from a 29-year-old housewife. Thanks to this rare operation, Hsu Kuei-lin was discharged from the Hsuanwu Hospital two weeks later with improved vision and hearing.

The tumours on both the acoustic nerves deep beside the brain stem and one arising from the meninges (three membranes enveloping the brain and spinal cord) were removed by a team headed by 37-year-old Dr. Chen Ping-huan, a senior neurosurgeon and concurrently vice-director of the Peking Neurosurgical Research Institute.

Six months ago, when she arrived at Hsuanwu Hospital from a small town in the east China province of Shantung, Hsu Kuei-lin had been deaf in her right ear for six years, and the hearing of her other ear was badly impaired. Her sight was deteriorating and she found it difficult to keep her balance.

After electro-cerebellographic and X-ray examinations and diagnosis by a group of doctors, Hsu's condition was found to be caused by the growth of bilateral acoustic tumours.

When the doctors advised the young woman's family to allow them to operate, they made it clear that there were special difficulties because of pressure on the brain stem by the acoustic tumours, and density of blood vessels and cranial nerves. Such an operation had never been attempted before in China. The patient and her family weighed the risks involved and agreed to let the doctors go ahead.

The neurosurgeons decided to excise the tumours in a one-stage operation. They made a bow-shaped incision on the posterior part of the head to expose both cerebellar hemispheres. A tumour, the size of a walnut, was removed from the right side and two others from the

left side of the brain. Facial nerves on both sides were preserved intact.

Peking's first neurosurgical department, established in 1955, is attached to the Hsuanwu Hospital which was founded in 1958. This department has made more than 1,400 successful brain tumour operations.

Technical Innovations

HIGH on the list of reasons why a new industrial upsurge is taking form and developing throughout China is the mass movement to introduce technical innovations and carry on the technical revolution.

In Shanghai, for example, this movement propelling industrial advance has snowballed, drawing into it the great majority of industrial workers and staff members in the nation's largest manufacturing centre. Emulating the revolutionary spirit of the P.L.A. and workers of the famed Taching Oilfield, they introduced over 100,000 technical innovations which helped fulfil production targets with flying colours in the first ten months of 1964.

Technical innovations are nothing new in China's industry. However, there have been significant new developments this year. The movement is on a bigger scale and has better defined aims—to fulfil production plans in an all-round manner, improve quality and proliferate variety, lower consumption of raw materials and costs in general, and raise labour productivity.

In an effort to get maximum results at minimum cost, workers and staff have combined modern and indigenous techniques and devised methods to process jobs with rel-

atively simple equipment to achieve greater precision. The use of simple scraping machines for processing alloy bushings is a case in point.

Modern techniques, such as metalworking with a minimum of, or without cutting, are being introduced. A result of fitting immediate innovations in with long-range plans for technological transformation of entire plants is the installation of semi-automated production lines. Innovations are enabling many enterprises to retool with a minimum capital outlay.

Another new feature on the industrial scene is technical co-operation among workers, shops and enterprises organized on greater-than-ever dimensions. Also, higher education and research institutions are closely co-operating with enterprises in making science serve production.

Two Autonomous "Chou" Celebrate

TWO of the nation's autonomous minority areas celebrated their tenth anniversaries on November 30.

Located in the western part of Sinkiang where the greater part of the area lies in the Pamirs and Tianshan Mountains, the Kezlesu Khalkhas Autonomous Chou covers 72,000 square kilometres. In one decade total grain output has risen 31 per cent and the number of livestock has gone up 51 per cent. Factories and mines have been built, and strides forward have been made in education and public health.



Shih Fu-hsiang, one of the Lisu people's first college graduates, with his pupils

The progress of the Khalkhas (they account for 30 per cent of the local population — 180,000 people of more than 10 nationalities) has been particularly noteworthy. Before liberation this nationality depended chiefly on primitive animal husbandry for its livelihood. Eight out of ten persons worked for large herd-owners as nomadic hired labourers. Since liberation livestock has grown by 290 per cent, and the mountain districts have raised grain output fourfold to become self-sufficient in food.

The other November 30 celebration was that of the Nukiang Lisu Autonomous *Chou* in southwest China's Yunnan Province. The *chou* has an area of 25,000 square kilometres and half of its 220,000 inhabitants are of Lisu nationality. Grain output this year was three times that of 1949. Farming has been improved as a result of the 2,400 small water conservancy works which the local people built with the help of government aid.

Because of high mountains and turbulent rivers, communications were extremely difficult. A highway now connects the *chou* with other parts of the country and boats have replaced bamboo rafts and dugouts.

All nationalities here number college graduates among them whereas before liberation even literate people were only a few score. The establishment of modern medical and health facilities has slashed the incidence of infectious diseases.

Growing Rice by Korean Method

THE introduction of a rice cultivation method from the Korean Democratic People's Republic has aided yields in the northeast province of Liaoning, where farmland areas are vast and manpower is short.

Conventional planting in northeast China spaces rows six inches apart. The Korean way is to plant rice in rows up to more than one foot apart. This makes it possible to use animal-drawn cultivators in place of hand weeding.

This mode of cultivation enables rice crops to receive better ventila-

tion and more sunshine, and reduces the need for intense labour during the busy farming season. Last year's results in Liaoning revealed that in general the new method raised *per-mu* yields by 30 to 50 per cent, and harvests were still better in 1964, despite cold weather during transplanting.

Use of this new type of rice cultivation in the northeast has been a gradual process. After their return from the Korean Democratic People's Republic in 1960, a Liaoning Province study team successfully tried out and adopted the new method on a small scale until 1963. Helping in the work were Korean rice experts who gave technical guidance to commune members and brought rice

seedlings of improved strains with them.

BRIEFS

The first group of 11 post-graduates in Buddhism have completed three years of advanced study at the China Buddhist Theological Institute in Peking. Since the institute was founded in 1956 it has graduated 340 students in regular four to five year courses on Buddhism in the Han, Tibetan or the ancient language of Pali.

The first Chinese-made mechanized aerial cableways have been installed in lumber camps in the southern provinces. The device has a 70 h.p. gasoline engine and can handle loads up to three tons.

Professor Chu—A People's Deputy

HOW can those who have only book-learning be turned into intellectuals in the true sense?" Chairman Mao asked in 1942, and he answered: "The only way is to get them to take part in practical work and become practical workers, to get those engaged in theoretical work to study important practical problems."

In 1958, Professor Chu Chueh, head of a teaching and research group at the Peking Iron and Steel Engineering Institute, was asked to supervise the building of a small cupola by staff and students of the institute. However, it was the help of an experienced worker that enabled him to get the furnace working. The professor had run into trouble because he had faithfully copied the technical process for a large furnace from his books.

Although he had studied Chairman Mao's works, it took this particular incident to really bring the idea home.

Since that time Professor Chu has taken care to learn from the masses and personally take part in production. On top of his teaching, he has made a point of visiting steel mills to make on-the-spot

studies in alloy steel making and to work side by side with the workers. Off and on, he has spent the equivalent of two and a half years in workshops since 1959.

Working with workers and technicians, Chu Chueh has developed five major technical processes in electric furnace metallurgy, contributing much towards better quality alloy steels. Experience in production and research and furnace-side investigations have also brought his lectures more in line with actual conditions and made them more valuable to students.

The 51-year-old professor of metallurgy, who has 20 years teaching experience, is a People's Deputy to the National People's Congress which meets on December 20.



What Tibet's Ex-Serfs Sing About

FORMER Tibetan serfs and slaves are taking part in the current national minorities' amateur stage arts festival in Peking. They put on one of the most moving performances already seen. It is not only in the words and subject-matter, but in the lilt of their songs and rhythm of their dances that they tell you a new day has dawned. Near crushed by the savage oppression and exploitation in feudal Tibet, they were ragged and emaciated only five years ago. Today, fit and healthy, they hold their heads high—builders and artists of socialism.

Their songs and dances are often couched in traditional forms, but the content, and especially the freeness of spirit characterizing every item, are completely new. Serfs and slaves in old Tibet could not even call their bodies their own, much less did they have the right to vote. These thoughts crowd in on audiences as they watch the song and dialogue *Choosing Our Candidate*. A group of young men dressed in holiday best meets a group of young women, both on their way to choose their candidate for township people's deputy. They fall into an argument; each tries to convince the other side its candidate is best. After quick repartee in song and recitative, the

girls finally convince the men that Nima is the one to vote for, because

... to make a pillar one chooses sandalwood;

For a people's deputy one wants the best.

Nima was a slave; her roots are right,

She works and studies day and night.

Her mind is sharp; her eyes are clear,

She'll lead us forward, never fear. . . ."

Tibet's former serfs and slaves have taken their government into their own hands; as this act shows, they know how to manage their affairs.

"For the first time . . ." is a phrase constantly used in Tibet. Sodnam Wanggyal takes this as the title of his song in which he enumerates dozens of changes in his life and in the life and work of his people. Every word and note of this old ex-serf rings with the conviction that those changes cannot be better.

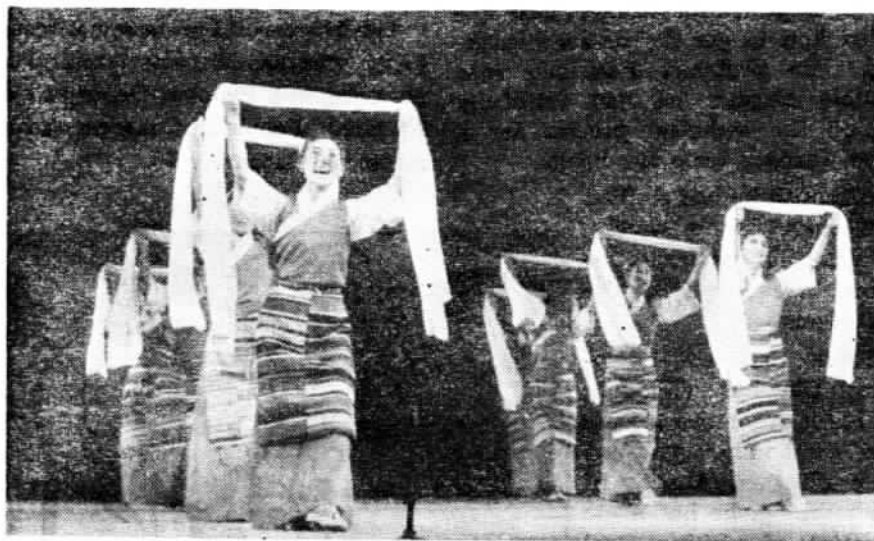
The changes he sings of and other changes—new joys of the people, youths training as militia cavalymen, building up new homes—are illustrated in many dances. *Harvest Dance* and other dances of labour

are done with delightful directness of feeling. Emancipated Tibet has gathered in six rich harvests in as many years. And the consciousness of that is reflected in the brisk tap-dance steps of the young farmers wielding their sickles, or the driver who joins them cracking his whip from an imaginary cart.

Items often express a pervasive sentiment: love for the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. A *Hata for Chairman Mao*, the opening dance, the songs of gifted soprano and ex-serf girl Yangshi and many others are about this. The Tibetans sing of Peking as "the Golden Mountain," and they brought to it the greetings of all Tibet. When they left Lhasa in October, it gave them a memorable send-off. Almost the whole city poured into the streets, making music, handing them *hata*s of white silk and giving them messages to take to the capital. The father of one of the young men in the delegation gave him a coat he had kept for almost six years—a "Liberation Coat" he called it, the first good coat he'd ever owned, given to him during the democratic reforms. He deemed it only fitting that his son should wear it to Peking. These scenes were obviously fresh in the minds of the performers when they appeared on the Peking stage.

Artistically, the Tibetan festival offerings are of a high level. The women wear their lovely national costumes: a bodice with flowing sleeves, a gown over it, and a brilliant apron of many colours. Their favourite dance movement is a rhythmic waving of their long sleeves, and of the men, vigorous body movements and stamping steps. Their songs are melodious, in the high, spiralling tones which come from life out in the open. Instrumental playing, singing, dancing and acting are often combined in the same act.

The group of 36 are peasants, herdsmen and handicraftsmen from various parts of Tibet. They include Labour Models and Communist Youth League secretaries, as well as a district women's association chairman of the Monba nationality from the Himalayas. One can see that singing and dancing are part of their daily life, born out of an urge



Tibetan amateur artists in the dance "A Hata for Chairman Mao"

to express themselves artistically and politically and to inspire others with the spirit of socialism. This makes for a complete lack of self-consciousness and great spontaneity. Excellent for mass propaganda, their numbers are short, usually requiring

only a few people, and they make do with practically no props.

These artists of the working people play a big role in everyday life in Tibet. That region today has 10,000 such amateurs in 500 troupes, all formed since 1959.

... And Artists From Sinkiang

A few weeks ago when the train from the west drew into Peking Station, the Sinkiang delegation to the festival were startled to see tears



Turkon Usman with his *dutar*

roll down the cheeks of their oldest member, 70-year-old Turkon Usman. His grey beard shook. When he quietened down, he told his friends: "Don't worry—it's just that I'm finally in Peking, with Chairman Mao."

For 55 years of his life, Turkon Usman, a Uighur living around the western rim of the Tarim Basin, was something less than a beast of burden. He worked as hired hand for the landlords. It was only at 55, as the old man says in a song, that "I saw the sun." Singing in Peking on the Sinkiang night of the festival, his was one of the most applauded performances.

Kazakh *akin* (minstrel) Bolmas, at 57, is not only one of the best cattle hands in his district, but an activist politically as well. Immediately he heard Chairman Mao's *Se-*

lected Works were out in the Kazakh language, he took to his horse and spread the news with his *dombra* across the Altai steppes. Bravely moustachioed and in his Kazakh hat and riding boots just as on those steppes, he sang in Peking some of the 240 songs he has composed since liberation in praise of the new life. His voice had a rich timbre, and he carried the sustained, high-pitched notes of the steppes very well.

The younger members of the delegation performed lively songs and dances. Coming straight from the ranches and farms and representing nine different nationalities of the autonomous region, they brought colourful scenes of its life and progress.

The Tajik dance *Commune Shepherdess* portrayed a Tajik girl at the foot of Mt. Muztagh Ata, "Father of Icy Mountains." White-shawled, with demur, sedate steps, she danced on to the stage to the music of the "eagle flute" and the beat of hand-drums. In dance make-

believe she shepherded her flocks to the richest spots by the lake. A blizzard rose suddenly, her first thought was for her charges; fighting courageously against the storm she gathered them together and herded them triumphantly home. Kazakh, Uighur and Mongolian dances were vigorous, with the quick pace and high spirits which are already well known and liked throughout the nation. A Sibbo hunting dance and a dance describing felt-making by Khalkhas girls were new and interesting to Peking audiences.

The finale had all 40 members of the Sinkiang delegation on stage. Members of its various nationalities, carrying wheat sheaves and pyramids of melons, grapes and apples, danced in a whirl of music and motion celebrating their new prosperity.

Unexpectedly, another highlight of the evening came impromptu after the final curtain. As the Sinkiang artists took their curtain call, a half a dozen Inner Mongolian artists in the audience ran up on to the stage and began dancing round old man Turkon Usman, who, carried away by emotion, responded with a Uighur dance measure. Other national minority artists in the audience took out flutes and fiddles and started playing. Upstage and down, a resounding chorus gathered voices, and soon everybody was singing a song about "the great unity of the many nationalities in the motherland..."



Finale of Sinkiang evening of festival



DIRECT JET LINK BETWEEN



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MIDDLE EAST

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October 19, 1964**

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	CA851	CA831	PK751 720-B F/T	CA833	CA853	PK753 720-B F/T		PK750 720-B F/T	CA852	CA832	PK752 720-B F/T	CA834	CA854	
+8	14.00	15.20	...	11.20	15.30	...	dep PEKING	arr	...	21.35	11.35	...	21.35	23.25
+8	16.35	...	...	18.20	...	18.05	arr SHANGHAI	dep	...	18.50	...	...	...	20.40
+8	18.20	...	...	20.15	dep SHANGHAI	arr	17.05	...	...	18.45	...	...
+8	...	19.30	20.20	15.30	...	...	arr CANTON	dep	...	07.30	17.00	17.30	...	...
+8	21.20	...	...	...	dep CANTON	arr	...	...	16.05	...	...	...
+8	23.05	...	...	23.05	arr DACCA	dep	11.00	...	...	11.00	...	...
+6	dep DACCA	arr	09.45	...	09.45	...	...	...
+5	19.00	19.00	...	...	arr KARACHI	dep	06.00	...	06.00	12.20	13.45	...
+3 1/2	...	07.30	23.00	23.00	07.30	07.30	dep KARACHI	arr	04.00	13.45	03.25	08.25	09.50	...
+2	...	08.55	00.25	00.25	...	08.55	arr TEHERAN	dep	00.05	09.50	...	07.45	09.10	...
+2	...	09.35	01.05	01.05	...	09.35	dep TEHERAN	arr	23.25	09.10	...	04.35	09.10	...
+2	...	10.30	02.00	02.00	...	10.30	arr BEIRUT	dep	19.50	05.35	...	04.10	05.35	...
+1	...	11.30	03.00	03.00	...	11.30	dep BEIRUT	arr	18.50	04.35	...	03.10	04.35	...
+1	...	13.50	...	05.20	...	...	arr ROME	dep	...	00.45	...	00.45	00.45	...
+1	...	14.35	...	06.00	...	...	dep ROME	arr	...	00.05	...	00.05	00.05	...
+1	06.05	...	...	14.35	arr GENEVA	dep	14.15	...	...	22.30	...	...
+1	07.00	...	...	15.15	dep GENEVA	arr	13.40	...	...	21.50	...	...
+3	12.00	...	arr MOSCOW	dep	...	...	20.00	...	...	...
+1	...	16.20	...	07.45	14.30	...	arr FRANKFURT	dep	...	22.30	14.15	...	22.30	...
+1	...	17.00	...	08.25	15.10	...	dep FRANKFURT	arr	...	21.50	13.40	...	21.50	...
+1	...	17.20	07.20	08.45	15.30	15.35	arr LONDON	dep	11.20	19.30	11.20	19.30	19.30	...

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