

PEKING REVIEW

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January 15, 1965

Indonesia Quits U.N.—A Bold, Revolutionary Step

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Letters From China

(Nos. 1-10 and Nos. 11-20)

by *Anna Louise Strong*

These two collections of letters were written from Peking by Anna Louise Strong in answer to friends seeking information about China. The first series of ten are dated between September 1962 and July 1963. They deal with China's conquest of difficulties and the improvement in the living standards of her people, and many international issues such as the Sino-Indian border conflict, the Cuban crisis, and the crucial debate in the world communist movement. Her timely reports on these subjects are still of as much significance as when she wrote them.

The letters in the second series were written between July 1963 and September 1964. On events within China, they include eyewitness reports and interviews on the phenomenal recovery of China's agriculture, the people's communes in their sixth year, the new growth of industry following its successful readjustment on the basis of self-reliance, revolutionary education for children and the Peking Symposium of scientists from four continents. On external matters they cover China's views on war and peace, Premier Chou En-lai's tour of Asia and Africa, China's stand on the Second Asian-African Conference and the talks and correspondence between the Communist Parties of China and the U.S.S.R. There are also comments and hard-to-get facts on Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam, and about what really happened during the U.S. provocations in the Tonkin Gulf.

Now in her 80th year, Anna Louise Strong is as lively, well-informed and interesting as ever. Her meticulous accuracy and convincing answers to questions of vital interest to all mankind appeal both to the mind and to the heart.

Nos. 1-10 pp. 138

Paper covers

Nos. 11-20 pp. 180

18.5 × 13 cm.

Published by: NEW WORLD PRESS, Peking, China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre)

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

Mail-Order Department, GUOZI SHUDIAN

P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 15, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 3

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Pai Wen Chuang, Peking (37), China

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Cable Address: Peking 2910

Printed in the People's Republic of China
Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW

January 15, 1965

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Messages of greetings have been received from all over the world by the Chinese leaders elected at the recent National People's Congress.

- The Chinese Government issued a statement on January 10 firmly supporting Indonesia's decision to withdraw from the U.N.

When he received the Indonesian friendship delegation led by Minister Iskandar, Chairman Liu Shao-chi pledged the Chinese people's full support for Indonesia's just struggle.

- The Chinese Government issued a statement on January 13 strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for directing its south Korean puppet regime to send troops to take part in its war of aggression in south Viet Nam.

In his reply to Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Foreign Minister Chen Yi expressed the Chinese people's determination to struggle together with the Vietnamese people to defeat U.S. imperialist aggression.

- The text of the treaty of friendship signed between China and the Congo (Brazzaville) was published on January 11.

- The Chinese Air Force shot down over north China another U.S.-made U-2 spy plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang.

- Replies were received from government leaders of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia to Premier Chou En-lai's message of October 17, 1964, concerning the Chinese Government's proposal for a summit conference to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. In his letter of reply, Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the G.D.R., gave his support to the proposal and expressed willingness to take part in such a conference.

- *Renmin Ribao* published a commentary by Observer scathingly analysing Lyndon Johnson's State of the Union Message.

- In a note handed to the Indian Embassy on January 3, the Chinese Foreign Ministry protested against repeated intrusions by Indian troops along the China-Sikkim boundary.

National Defence Council Meets

Chairman Liu Shao-chi called a plenary meeting of the National Defence Council on January 8. It was attended by Ho Lung, Chen Yi, Teng Hsiao-ping and other members of the council now in Peking. Chairman Liu made an important speech. Lo Jui-ching, vice-chairman of the council and Chief of the General

Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, delivered a report on the work of the building up of the national defence. Discussions followed.

Chairman Mao Receives U.S. Writer

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on January 9 received and had a talk with

Chairman Liu Supports Indonesia's Withdrawal From U.N.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi received the Indonesian friendship delegation led by Minister of Air Communications Iskandar on the afternoon of January 12. Chairman Liu warmly praised President Sukarno's wise decision announcing Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations. He pledged the Chinese people's firm support for the Indonesian people's dauntless revolutionary action.

Chairman Liu said that the correct statement on self-reliance made by President Sukarno was a most important policy for newly independent countries. "Guided by a correct policy and with concerted efforts," he said, "the Indonesian people will overcome difficulties on their road of advance and successfully build up their country."

Chairman Liu expressed great appreciation of President Sukarno's statement that "the crown of independence of a country does not lie in membership of the United Nations, but in self-reliance." He said: "In pursuing self-reliance, Asian and African countries can rely on mutual assistance among themselves based on the principle of equality, but not on the so-called 'aid' from imperialism. The Chinese Government and people will regard it as a great honour if they can contribute in some way to Indonesia's self-reliance."

Chairman Liu asked the Indonesian friends to convey to President Sukarno greetings from himself and from Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi. He wished the Indonesian President good

health and still greater successes in leading the Indonesian people in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

Minister Iskandar conveyed President Sukarno's greetings to Chairman Liu and the other Chinese leaders. He presented gifts from the Indonesian President to Chairman Liu as souvenirs to mark the opening of the Sino-Indonesian air service.

Minister Iskandar told Chairman Liu, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen that President Sukarno's decision to withdraw Indonesia from the United Nations had the full backing of the entire Indonesian people. He said that he and the members of his delegation had, during their short stay, seen the great achievements made by the Chinese people through relying on their own efforts and were greatly inspired.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Acclaims Indonesia's Action

Speaking at the reception given by Indonesian Ambassador Djawoto on January 11, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi hailed President Sukarno's decision announcing Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations as "a lofty and just revolutionary move" and "the first spring thunderbolt of 1965 which resounded throughout the world."

Said the Vice-Premier: "While it has shocked and dismayed the imperialists and old and new colonialists headed by the United States, it has inspired and brought joy to all countries and peoples fighting imperialism and colonialism to safeguard their national dignity and uphold international justice." Indonesia's just and courageous action, he said, "shows that U.S. imperialism is like the setting sun and can no longer juggle with the destiny of the people of the world by manipulating the United Nations." "The Chinese people," declared the Vice-Premier, "firmly back the Indonesian people, who are filled with a

dauntless revolutionary spirit, and will march forward together with them against imperialism and colonialism, both old and new."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi condemned U.S. imperialism for using the United Nations as a tool to carry out its policies of aggression and war. Acclaiming Indonesia's outstanding contributions which had given a strong impetus to the struggles of all peoples against imperialism and colonialism, the Vice-Premier said that its decision to withdraw from the United Nations not only demonstrated the heroism of the Indonesian people but also reflected the common will of the Asian-African peoples to uphold their national independence and dignity. "United in persistent struggle," he said, "the Indonesian people are sure to win. The U.S. and British imperialists who try to turn the tide of history by flagrant acts of injustice are becoming increasingly discredited; they are doomed to defeat."

the U.S. writer Edgar Snow, author of *Red Star Over China*.

Chairman Liu Receives Nepalese Delegation

Chairman Liu Shao-chi on January 7 received and had a friendly talk with the members of the Nepalese

friendship delegation led by Bhubanlal Pradhan, Minister of Power and Irrigation.

Wings for Sino-Indonesian Friendship

Indonesian Ambassador to China Djawoto gave a reception in Peking

on January 11 to celebrate the opening of the first direct air link between China and Indonesia. Among the guests were Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Vice-Premier Lo Jui-ching. Indonesian Minister Iskandar and members of

(Continued on p. 15.)

Indonesia Quits U.N.—A Just, Correct And Revolutionary Action

- **Manipulated by the United States, the United Nations is doing more and more evil.**
- **By kicking the backside of the tiger—the U.N.—President Sukarno is helping greatly to end blind faith in it.**
- **The 650 million Chinese people are determined to back the 104 million Indonesian people and advance shoulder to shoulder with them against imperialism and old and new colonialism.**

Following is a translation of the Chinese Government's statement issued on January 10, 1965, supporting President Sukarno's resolute decision to withdraw from the United Nations.—Ed.

ON January 7, 1965, President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia declared: "Some days ago I said that should 'Malaysia' be made a member of the U.N. Security Council, I would order Indonesia to withdraw from the United Nations! Since it is a fact that 'Malaysia' has been seated in the U.N. Security Council, I declare that Indonesia has quit the United Nations!"

President Sukarno called upon the Indonesian people to stand together with the new emerging forces of the whole world to overcome difficulties and crush imperialism and colonialism. He said: "I have said once that the crown of independence of a country does not lie in membership of the United Nations. No! The crown of independence of a country lies in self-reliance. Therefore, I tell the entire Indonesian people, the one hundred and four million brothers and sisters from Sabang to Merauke, that we are no longer a member of the United Nations. Let us stand on our own feet and carry out the principle of self-reliance, and depend on ourselves as a genuine independent nation!"

The withdrawal of the Republic of Indonesia from the United Nations is a just, correct and revolutionary action. The Government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports this resolute decision of President Sukarno. The 650 million Chinese people pay high tribute to their 104 million Indonesian brothers and sisters! You have done the right thing, and done it well. We resolutely side with you!

What is "Malaysia" after all? It is a product of neo-colonialism jointly manufactured by British and U.S. imperialism. "Malaysia" is a dagger thrust in the heart of Southeast Asia by imperialism, just as Israel is among the Arab countries and South Africa among the African countries. It represents a menace to Indonesia as well as the peoples of other Southeast Asian countries. The British and U.S. imperialists did not confine themselves to creating "Malaysia," but have

gone on to crown it as a member of the U.N. Security Council. They have really gone too far in their bullying! It is perfectly just and right for Indonesia to withdraw from the United Nations.

It is quite understandable that newly independent Asian and African countries should have placed some hopes in the United Nations. However, more and more facts have shown that the United Nations has been increasingly reduced to a tool of imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the United States. As far as Asia is concerned, the Asian people all know that U.S. imperialism launched its war of aggression in Korea precisely through the instrumentality of the United Nations, and it is now trying to save itself from defeat in its war of aggression in Indo-China through the instrumentality of that same United Nations. Even though it is clearly the United States and its lackey the south Vietnamese authorities that have committed aggression against Cambodia, the United Nations has chosen to level false charges against the latter all the same. As for Africa, U.S. imperialism has, with the United Nations as its tool, perpetrated outrages in the Congo (L) arousing universal indignation and condemnation. This has been witnessed by the African peoples themselves.

In its development over the past 20 years, the United Nations has reached a stage where a reappraisal of it in the light of its actual deeds has become necessary. The People's Republic of China representing the 650 million Chinese people has all along been excluded from the United Nations, and now Indonesia representing 104 million people is compelled to withdraw from it. Is this not adequate proof that this so-called world organization needs to be thoroughly remoulded? Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations leads all countries, and particularly the newly independent countries, to think it over: What has this so-called world organization been reduced to after all?

Some people say that despite its many deficiencies and imperfections, the United Nations is the sole institution in the world permitting co-operation of

all countries, and that efforts should therefore be made to strengthen it while withdrawal from the United Nations is wrong in all circumstances. This argument runs counter to the facts. As everybody knows, many important questions of Asia were settled outside the United Nations. What is more, the above argument precisely suits the needs of U.S. imperialism. As U.S. imperialism has become increasingly discredited in the past 20 years, it has tried ever more frequently to prosecute its policies of aggression and war through the United Nations, and consequently, the evils committed by the United Nations under U.S. manipulation are mounting. Blind faith in the United Nations must, therefore, be liquidated, and the people of the world who cherish independence and freedom must never entertain any unrealistic illusions about the United Nations.

The United Nations is by no means sacred and inviolable. We can live on very well without

it. The People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the German Democratic Republic are all cases in point. For a country or a nation, the important thing is to be able to stand up and hold your ground. Once we stand up and hold our ground, no force on earth can topple us. Some people say that the United Nations is a formidable thing, and that one must not touch the backside of a tiger! But President Sukarno has kicked the backside of this tiger. This is a great help in ending the blind faith in the United Nations. President Sukarno's decision is absolutely right. Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations is entirely just. The 650 million Chinese people are determined to stand together with the 104 million Indonesian people and march forward shoulder to shoulder with them in a joint effort to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, uphold national independence and defend world peace.

Chinese Government Statement

U.S. Move to Extend War in South Viet Nam Condemned

- If U.S. imperialism continues to push its scheme for expanding its aggressive war in south Viet Nam and even internationalize the war, then the Chinese Government and people will have to give further consideration to the duties incumbent upon them for the defence of peace in this area.
- China resolutely supports the just stand of the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
- The two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference should take prompt action to check this dangerous development in south Viet Nam.

On January 13 the Chinese Government issued a statement strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for ordering the Pak Jung Hi clique to send south Korean puppet troops to take part in its war of aggression in south Viet Nam. On the same day Foreign Minister Chen Yi, in a message replying the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Xuan Thuy, pledged resolute support for the just stand of the D.R.V. Following is a translation of the Chinese Government's statement. — Ed.

ON January 8, 1965, the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea, under the instigation of U.S. imperialism, decided to send more than 2,000 south Korean puppet troops to take part in the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in southern Viet Nam. This is another grave move taken by U.S. imperialism to wreck the Geneva agreements, expand the war in Indo-China and go on to internationalize the war of aggression in south Viet Nam. The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Af-

fairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on January 4. Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy addressed a message on January 10 to the Co-Chairmen and the other participating nations of the Geneva Conference, and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement on January 9, in which they all strongly condemned U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for their provocations. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Under the valiant rebuffs of the people of southern Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has sunk deeper and deeper into the quicksand and is facing final defeat. In these circumstances, the Johnson Administration has been trying by hook or by crook to drag its allies and stooges down into the mire so as to internationalize the U.S. war of aggression in south Viet Nam and attempting to make the United Nations

a tool for intervention in Indo-Chinese affairs. In dragging south Korean puppet troops into its war of aggression in south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism intends to have the Pak Jung Hi clique serve as a bellwether to enlist more of its stooges and allies as cannon fodder so as to extricate itself from isolation and save itself from final defeat in south Viet Nam.

However, U.S. imperialism will never succeed in such a scheme. The Pak Jung Hi clique will come to no good end in serving willingly in the U.S. war of aggression in south Viet Nam by dispatching south Korean puppet troops there. Nor will any country which tails after the United States in its aggression in south Viet Nam do better. For, in so doing, they can only evoke the strong condemnation and resolute opposition of the peoples of Viet Nam, Korea and Asia as well as all other peace-loving countries and peoples. Now the flames of struggle of the people of southern Viet Nam against U.S. imperialist aggression have spread throughout the countryside and cities of southern

人民日報
RENMIN RIBAO

Indonesia's Bold, Revolutionary Action

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of January 10. Subheads and boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

JANUARY 7, 1965 was a red-letter day in the history of the Indonesian people's anti-imperialist struggle. On that day, President Sukarno solemnly declared on behalf of the 104 million Indonesian people that Indonesia had decided to withdraw from the United Nations. This is a bold, just action on the part of the Indonesian people to counter imperialist threats and bullying, and uphold national independence and dignity. It is an embodiment of their revolutionary will. The Chinese Government issued a statement on January 10, highly appraising and warmly praising this revolutionary action, and declaring its firm support for this decision of President Sukarno. The Chinese Government's statement fully manifests the 650 million Chinese people's solidarity with the Indonesian people and their will to fight shoulder to shoulder with them.

A Revolutionary Country, a Courageous People

The U.S. and British imperialists have always been hostile to the advance of the national-democratic, revolutionary movement of Indonesia. By every overt and covert means, they have been trying to strangle the Indonesian revolution, and are ready to go to any length to achieve their purpose. "Malaysia" is an instrument which they have devised to oppose Indonesia. This neo-colonialist product has posed a serious threat to the independence and security of Indonesia and other

Viet Nam. U.S. imperialism will not save itself from disastrous defeat in south Viet Nam, whatever scheme it may resort to.

The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for its criminal instigation of the Pak Jung Hi clique to send south Korean puppet troops to take part in its aggressive war in south Viet Nam. The Chinese Government holds that the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference should truly live up to their duty by taking prompt action to check this dangerous development, so that the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam may be implemented. If U.S. imperialism, in disregard of the warnings of the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, continues to prosecute its scheme for expanding its aggressive war in south Viet Nam and even internationalizes that war, then the Chinese Government and people will have to give further consideration to the duties incumbent upon them for the defence of peace in this area.

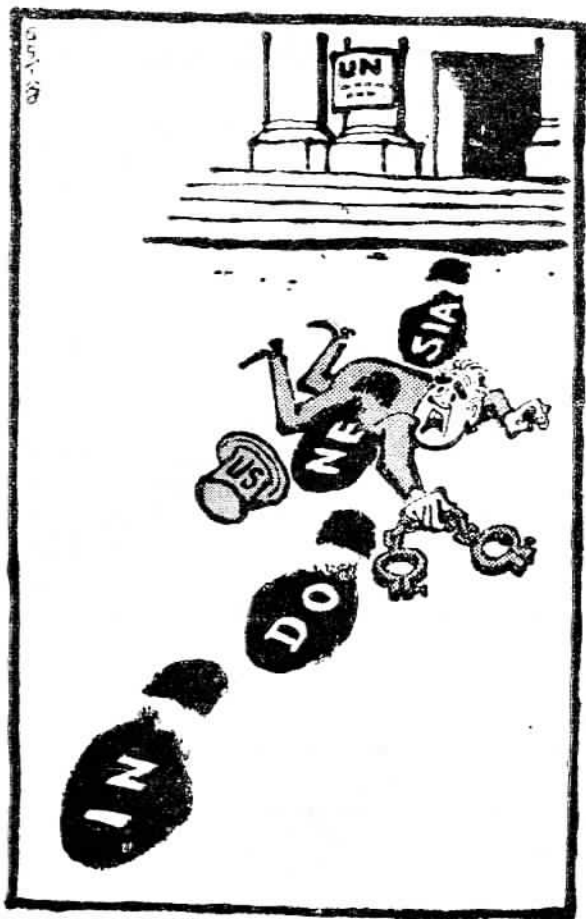
Southeast Asian countries. The entire Indonesian nation has risen to confront it. In their efforts to overawe and attack Indonesia, the U.S. and British imperialists in the military field have massed a heavy force and turned "Malaysia" into a bridgehead and, to raise its status, they have, in the political sphere, thrust it into the United Nations Security Council. This is like defecating on someone's head while pointing a dagger at his throat. If this can be tolerated, what else cannot? Indonesia's resolute decision to withdraw from the United Nations is a correct, justified action which any country, cherishing its sovereignty and dignity, would surely take under similar circumstances.

The United Nations which has been under U.S. imperialist control for so many years looks like a colossus which nobody dares to touch or offend. Now, however, Indonesia has dared to come out to oppose and boycott it. This is unprecedented in the history of the United Nations. This shows that Indonesia is a revolutionary country and the Indonesian people are a brave and militant people.

U.N.—A Pliant Tool of U.S. Imperialism

Despite its seemingly imposing structure and pious appearance, the United Nations is in fact a pliant tool in the hands of imperialism headed by the United States for deceiving and oppressing the Asian and African countries and all revolutionary peoples.

Under the banner of the United Nations, the United States mounted a war of aggression against Korea. Even today, the aggressive U.S. troops, appro-



A Giant Stride

Cartoon by Mi Ku

riating the name of the United Nations, are still remaining in south Korea.

Using the U.N. as an incubator, U.S. imperialism has hatched Israel as its tool against the Arab countries, and spawned "Malaysia," an offspring of neo-colonialism.

Through the instrumentality of U.N. troops, the United States has interfered in the internal affairs of Cyprus and massacred the Cypriot people.

The United States has spared no efforts to drag the U.N. into Indo-China to serve its own aggressive policies in that area.

Under the signboard of the U.N., the U.S. has murdered Lumumba, subverted the legal government of the Congo (Leopoldville) and strangled its independence.

Using the U.N. again as a tool, the United States had the effrontery to try to make Cuba relinquish its sovereignty and accept "international inspection."

The United States has manipulated the U.N. into depriving the People's Republic of China of its legal rights in that international organization, adopting the preposterous resolution which slandered China as an "aggressor," and time and again discussing the so-called "Tibetan question" to interfere in China's internal affairs.

The increase in the number of Asian and African members in the United Nations has by no means brought about any fundamental change in the fact that the U.N.

has become a U.S. imperialist instrument for aggression. The Asian and African countries have vigorously upheld in the United Nations the purposes and principles of its Charter and condemned the crimes of aggression by imperialism and old and new colonialism. In spite of this, U.S. imperialism still controls the entire U.N. set-up and has persisted in its old ways of using the U.N. to commit all sorts of evil.

Recently at the U.N. Security Council session, many Asian and African nations sternly accused the U.S. and Belgian imperialists of perpetrating the monstrous crime of slaughtering the Congolese (Leopoldville) people. But what is the result? The chief culprit responsible for the massacre of the Congolese (L) people is still at large. Furthermore, the Security Council resolution has paved the way for further U.S. imperialist intervention in the Congo (L). **The U.N. is not the place where the Asian and African countries can uphold justice; it is the place where U.S. imperialism bullies and oppresses people.** Can this be tolerated any longer?

U.S. Imperialism Fosters the Cult of the U.N.

For many years U.S. imperialism and its followers have spared no efforts in fostering the cult of the U.N. and describing it as something miraculous in order to mislead the people of the world.

They describe the U.N. as an effective organ in safeguarding world peace. In fact, the U.N. has never played any positive role in this respect. An instance of this is that talks about disarmament have dragged on for more than ten years in the U.N. but the imperialist arms drive has become increasingly intense. There is nothing strange about this because the safeguarding of world peace, in the last analysis, is a question of fighting against imperialism and especially against U.S. imperialism. Since the U.N. is dominated by the United States, how can it oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression? **In fact, agreements on major international issues in postwar years, such as the Korean armistice, the restoration of peace in Indo-China and the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, were reached outside the U.N. and through the resolute struggles of the people of all countries. This fully shows that world peace can be effectively safeguarded not by relying on the U.N. but by getting rid of its intervention.**

The United Nations is described as the protector of the sovereignty and security of all countries in the world, particularly the small countries, as if disaster would immediately befall any country which withdraws from it. This is how U.S. imperialism is now trying to frighten Indonesia. The U.N. has more than a hundred members. Has it upheld the sovereignty of all of them? No. The experiences of Indonesia, Cambodia, Cuba and other countries have fully borne this out. On the contrary, it is precisely by resisting U.N. intervention that these countries have upheld their sovereignty and safeguarded their security. **As a matter of fact, the United Nations has degenerated into a dirty international political stock exchange in the grip**

of a few big powers; the sovereignty of other nations, particularly that of small ones, is often bought and sold there by them like shares.

They describe the U.N. as the supreme international organization, as if a country could acquire international status only when it becomes a U.N. member, otherwise, it simply could not be regarded as an independent country. But who has given the United Nations this authority? The international status of each country is determined by its independence and its positive contributions to international affairs, not by its U.N. membership. **China has been deprived of its legitimate rights in the United Nations for 15 years but this has not harmed us one whit. On the contrary, our international influence and prestige have always been in the ascendant. By upholding the anti-imperialist stand and withdrawing from the United Nations, Indonesia will certainly enjoy still higher prestige among the peoples.**

U.N. — A Paper Tiger

To put it bluntly, the United Nations is also a paper tiger. Its towering buildings and branch organizations throughout the world merely serve to frighten the people. Any country that reveres the U.N. as a god will only bind itself hand and foot and place itself at the mercy of U.S. imperialism. If, on the other hand, it casts aside blind faith in the U.N., sees through its true nature and dares to fight against U.S. imperialist control of this organization, U.S. imperialism can do nothing about it. **Can't one see that U.S. imperialism was panic-stricken the moment Indonesia announced its withdrawal from that organization? And, worrying about the fate of the United Nations, wasn't Washington screaming that such a precedent was impermissible?**

Now, there are all kinds of precedents. U.S. imperialism has created many bad ones in the United Nations. The U.N. adopted a resolution to send troops to Korea. This was a precedent for U.S. imperialism's perpetration of armed aggression in the name of the United Nations. Handclapping, instead of voting, is now used as a way of adopting resolutions in the United Nations. Is this not another precedent? Do the U.S. and a handful of other big powers regard the U.N. as an international organization or do they intend to turn it into a children's playground?

Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations indeed is also a precedent. But this is a courageous, just and revolutionary precedent. We would like to ask: What is wrong with such a precedent?

The U.S. propaganda machine declares: "If any nation felt it could quit because it was dissatisfied with U.N. action, the body would be in danger of disintegration." Are you really worried about the disintegration of the United Nations? Very well. You should then stop using the United Nations to commit outrageous actions. Otherwise, it is you yourselves who are bringing about the disintegration of the U.N. Who else can you blame for this?

The Tito clique of Yugoslavia declared that this would be the end of world diplomacy. You are right in saying this. Is it not an excellent thing to bring about the end of the power diplomacy of the United States and a few other big powers? Such diplomacy should have been ended long ago. If every country defends its national dignity and sovereignty as Indonesia does, this will only help in promoting diplomacy based on independence and mutual respect among nations.

Indonesia's New Contribution to Anti-Imperialist Cause

It is entirely futile for U.S. imperialism and its followers to heap threats and curses on Indonesia. President Sukarno has solemnly declared that Indonesia's decision to withdraw from the U.N. is irrevocable. The Republic of Indonesia was born and has grown in the course of struggle against imperialism. It is one of the first newly emerging nations in Asia and Africa which won independence after the close of World War II. It is an initiator of the two Afro-Asian conferences and was host to the first Afro-Asian conference. President Sukarno was the standard-bearer holding aloft the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist banner at the two conferences of non-aligned countries. Indonesia recovered its own territory of West Irian from colonialism after a protracted and arduous struggle. The Games of the Newly Emerging Forces (GANEFU), which broke the imperialist monopoly over international sports, was initiated and sponsored by Indonesia. Indonesia has launched an all-out confrontation against "Malaysia," a neo-colonialist product spawned by U.S. and British imperialism. **Now, by withdrawing from the U.N., it has again pushed the anti-imperialist struggle of its own people and of all the Asian and African peoples a big step forward. This is a new, major contribution made by the Indonesian people to the anti-imperialist cause.**

Asia and Africa are two advanced and awakened continents. Scores of newly emerging independent countries have mounted the stage of history since the end of World War II. They are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. Only the politically blind can fail to see this and continue to dream of monopolizing international affairs. **Now is the time to end U.S. imperialist control over the U.N. and to effect a thorough overhaul of this so-called world organization. This is a challenge of history.** This demand is gathering irresistible momentum both outside and inside the U.N. Chairman Mao Tse-tung recently pointed out: "People all over the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed." This truth is equally applicable to the struggle of the people of all countries against U.S. control of the U.N. So long as the people of the world unite and step up their struggle, it is certain that U.S. control over the U.N. will be brought to an end.

Indonesia Pulls Out of the United Nations

by WEN YAO-CHIN

Indonesia's decision to quit the U.S.-controlled United Nations has drawn all-out prompt support both at home and abroad and won national and international acclaim. It is a telling blow to the forces of imperialism and reaction scheming to continue to deceive world opinion and suppress the national-liberation struggle through the vehicle of the U.N.

ON the evening of January 7, 1965, more than 10,000 Indonesian people cheered their leader President Sukarno at Djakarta's Bung Karno Stadium when he officially broke the news that Indonesia had withdrawn from the United Nations.

Toppling Idolatry of the U.N.

"Not Just a Walk Out." The President's address was one of determination and confidence which he shared with Indonesia's 104 million men and women. Shouts of "Tidak! (No!) Tidak!" rang out when he told his audience that the governments of some countries had advised him to reconsider the decision. There were cheers and applause when the President told the crowd that his decision remains unchanged. The audience again burst into cheers of "Bagus! (Fine) Bagus! Bagus!" when they were assured that Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations did not simply mean walking out of conferences, but "withdrawal completely from

the United Nations." "In a word," the President added, "from now on, we are no longer a member of the United Nations and we are brave enough to face all the consequences!"

Self-Reliance: Crown of National Independence. President Sukarno said: "Those countries that have advised me to reconsider my decision told me that we would face this or that kind of difficulty if we ceased to be a member of the United Nations. I replied: I know that my decision will bring us some difficulties but the whole Indonesian people are ready to overcome them."

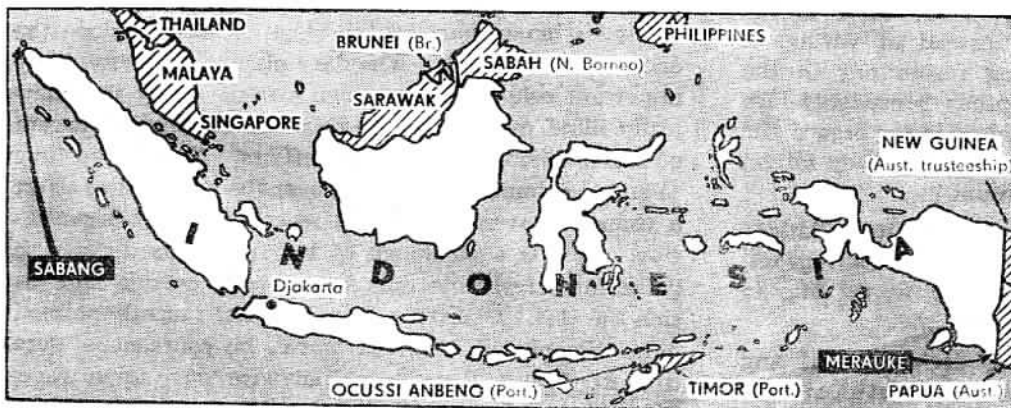
The President stressed that the crown of independence of a country did not lie in membership of the United Nations, but in self-reliance. "Therefore, I appeal to the entire Indonesian people, the 104 million brothers and sisters from Sabang to Merauke, since we are no longer a member of the United Nations, let us stand on our own feet and carry out the principle of self-reliance, and depend on ourselves as a genuine independent nation!"

On Indonesia's relations with U.N. agencies, the President said: "Somebody asked me: 'If Indonesia ceases to be a member of the United Nations, then what about UNESCO [the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization], UNICEF [the U.N. Children's Emergency Fund], and FAO [Food and Agricultural Organization]? Would they withdraw from Indonesia?'"

"I answered: 'Yes, we shall have nothing to do with these bodies after we quit the United Nations. What benefit has Indonesia gained from these bodies by making contact with them?'"

There was laughter when some of the audience said: "Uncle, powdered milk!" "Yes," President Sukarno went on, "we have got some powdered milk from UNICEF. But I personally prefer *peujum* [fermented cassava] to powdered milk!"

"And what benefit have we gained from UNESCO? We announced on December 30 last year that we had



"From Sabang to Merauke." On January 7 when President Sukarno announced that Indonesia had quit the United Nations he used the phrase "from Sabang to Merauke." This refers to the vast territory of Indonesia which has more than 3,000 islands and a total area exceeding 1,900,000 square kilometres. Sabang is Indonesia's westernmost port. It is located on a small island off the northwestern coast of Sumatra and is the first port of call for ships sailing from India to Singapore. Merauke, situated in the southern part of Indonesia's West Irian at the mouth of the Merauke River, is Indonesia's chief city in West Irian and easternmost port.

Sketch map by Su Li

eliminated illiteracy in our country. Was that done by that body? No, not a bit. It was by our own efforts.

"What about the FAO? The agricultural 'experts' dispatched by that body to Indonesia have not the slightest notion of Indonesian agriculture! But that body calls them agricultural 'experts'!

"We have increased agricultural output with our own efforts, not with the help of the United Nations. Now that we have become a genuine self-reliant nation, it will do us a lot of good, for from now on we can teach our people not to be a begging nation. Therefore I have said: 'Go to hell with your aid!' Only those nations which make efforts to overcome difficulties can become great nations. This is revolutionary dialectics. The more obstructions a nation encounters, the more powerful it will become."

"You see," President Sukarno expounded his point by citing examples, "those nations which have been injured and attacked have all become powerful. The People's Republic of China has been injured and attacked, but now she has become even more powerful. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has been injured and encircled, but she has become even more powerful. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been invaded and attacked, but she has become even more powerful. The Indonesian Republic is being injured and attacked, but she also becomes even more powerful."

"On the other hand, those nations which are fed by others become weaker and weaker and it is more and more impossible for them to be self-reliant. Let all of us Indonesian people stand together with the new emerging forces to overcome difficulties, crush imperialism and colonialism and smash all foreign military bases in any area!"

At this mass rally against foreign military bases, the President declared that "'Malaysia' is in fact a foreign military base, an instrument of imperialism and a huge military base used to oppose Indonesia and the new emerging forces in Southeast Asia. We should smash it! . . . The imperialists are now trying once again to insult us by admitting 'Malaysia' into the U.N. Security Council as a member. We cannot tolerate this any longer and so we have withdrawn from the United Nations. We are not a nation to put up with insults."

Wish of the Indonesian People. To the stormy ovation and cheers of the audience, the President said: "I am very happy to see that the entire Indonesian people agreed to my statement on the withdrawal from the United Nations." He said that he would like to express his thanks to all the Indonesian people for their support. "However," he noted, "imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have alleged that this is again done by Sukarno. I replied: 'Not by me alone. I am discharging my duty to fulfil the wish of the Indonesian people.'"

"The Ministers of the Indonesian Government, commanders and the Indonesian people from Sabang to Merauke, all of them have voiced their support for my decision." At this point, the crowd cried: "We give you full support!"

And no mistake, his decision to withdraw from the United Nations was firmly backed by the people

all over Indonesia. The rally adopted a resolution supporting his decision to quit the U.N. Sponsored by the Indonesian National Committee to Promote the Movement to Eliminate Imperialist Military Bases, the rally was attended by Vice-Prime Ministers and government ministers.

Sukarno Gets Nationwide Support

Thus, in every nook and corner of the nation Communists and nationalists, people from different religious faiths, workers, peasants, students, peace partisans, scientists and engineers, journalists and the military came out four square for their leader's latest move against imperialism. Even before the Indonesian President's January 7 statement, the nation's people had already welcomed and supported it. On January 3, the people of Bandung met and passed a resolution endorsing the President's decision and called on all new emerging forces to have the U.S.-British imperialist-controlled United Nations retooled.

Indonesian Organizations Quit U.N. Bodies. Supporting the decision, the Indonesian people went into action. Three organizations withdrew from the World Assembly of Youth (WAY) and the World Veterans Federation, both affiliated with the United Nations.

According to the spokesman of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, the U.N. bodies in Indonesia would be closed in accordance with the stipulations and regulations concerned.

On January 9, Brigadier Sutjipto, Secretary Coordinator for West Irian Affairs, announced that his country had dissolved a project which was supposed to be financed by the United Nations. Sutjipto told Djakarta newsmen the funds for West Irian development had never materialized and announced that in line with the principle of self-reliance, a special development fund had been set up to finance this and other projects originally "aided" by U.N. funds. According to a January 8 press release by the Secretariat for the West Irian Affairs of the Indonesian Government, U.N. officials had conducted several surveys in West Irian but this only worsened the financial situation in the newly liberated province. The release stated that Indonesia owed no debt to the United Nations on West Irian development, adding that the nation was determined to build up West Irian Province with its own efforts. On January 10, Dr. Subandrio, First Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, declared that the West Irian question had nothing to do with the United Nations, now that his country had withdrawn from that organization.

The Indonesian Information Ministry, in a radio commentary, informed the public that Indonesia had never enjoyed any benefits from the U.N., politically or materially. The commentary expressed the determination of the Indonesian people to stand on their own feet, overcome all difficulties arising from their revolution and pledged their solidarity with the Asian, African and Latin American countries and other new emerging forces in their common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

While the whole nation, including many political parties and trade unions, such as the Local Government Employees Trade Union which has a membership of 108,000, expressed their support, D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, on several occasions before and after Sukarno's January 7 statement, declared his Party's unreserved support for the decision. Calling it a bold stand reflecting the desire of Indonesia for genuine self-reliance, the Indonesian Communist leader expressed his hope that all countries of the new emerging forces would take concrete action to put an end to the imperialist dominated U.N. He said that Indonesia's withdrawal from the U.N. had promoted the cause of world progress and the revolutionary struggle all over the globe. "This is the stand of the Indonesian people and that of all progressive people," Aidit said.

International Support: From China to Tanzania

Progressive Asian-African opinion also showed their support for Indonesia's withdrawal from the U.N. On January 10, the Chinese Government issued a statement to this effect (see p.5). Thirteen Chinese organizations, including the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and others representing the Chinese people from all walks of life, in messages to their Indonesian counterparts, endorsing the Chinese government statement, let it be known that the Chinese people firmly supported Indonesia in this matter as well as the Indonesian people's struggle against U.S.-British imperialism. The A.C.F.T.U. message said that the Indonesian move helped the people of the world to see still more clearly the nature of the U.N. and to topple idolatry of the U.N.

In Hanoi, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on January 12 giving all-out support to their Indonesian brothers. The statement cited a series of events to show the manipulation of the United Nations by the U.S. imperialists and their gross violation of the aims of that organization and the U.N. Charter.

"The peace-loving countries of the world," says the statement, "have on numerous occasions fought against the manipulation of the U.N.O. by the U.S. imperialists. The Asian and African countries are now fighting for an adequate representation in its different organizations. Owing to the obstinacy of the U.S. imperialists, the 650 million Chinese, the 104 million Indonesians and the people of other countries, that is, more than one-third of humanity, are not represented in the U.N.O. The peace-loving peoples and countries of the world will definitely not permit the U.S. imperialists to continue to abuse the name of the U.N.O. for their despicable ends." The Vietnamese statement declares that its people "actively support the fraternal Indonesian people" and its government gives full and unreserved support to the decision of President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government.

Korea's *Rodong Shinmoon*, in an article by its editorial department sternly denounced the criminal ma-

chinations of the U.S. and British imperialists against Indonesia; it hailed Indonesia's decision as a manifestation of its firm resolve to fight against imperialism and colonialism, defend the peace in Asia and safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the country by relying on its own strength.

The U.N., said the Zanzibar News Service editorially, could never be "an instrument of achieving national independence if no tit-for-tat struggles are waged against the imperialist powers." Similar sentiments and support were expressed by African nationalist leaders and in the Cambodian, Pakistani and Burmese press. Afro-Asian public opinion holds that the United Nations, going against the trend of world events, needs to be reorganized.

Washington on Tenter-Hooks

The President's statement threw the reactionaries, reformists, opportunists and modern revisionists into a panic. From an AP report, "State Department officials acknowledge . . . that the U.S. power to influence the Sukarno government has dropped to zero. The mission of U.S. Ambassador Howard P. Jones . . . is admitted to have failed."

Frustrated and irritated, U.S. senators vied with one another in calling President Sukarno names and threatening to stop "aid" to Indonesia. Senator G. Tower (Republican), in a motion in the Senate on January 8, urged the U.S. Government to terminate its "aid" to Indonesia, and the U.A.R., because the two countries were taking a "go to hell attitude" towards the United States.

Apparently unheeding of President Sukarno's announcement about Indonesia's determination to rely on its own efforts, the *New York Times* claimed that Indonesia "would require large amounts of foreign capital and technical aid" to develop its natural resources and its withdrawal from the United Nations would cut Indonesia off from "the agencies that could provide such help."

Both the U.S. and British authorities have turned their propaganda machines on full blast, attacking and trying to intimidate Indonesia for its just decision to get out of the United Nations.

A typical example of the reactionary U.S. press' anxiety about the upshot of Indonesia's taking leave of the United Nations can be found in a January 9 article in the *Washington Star*. While suggesting the old practice to "drastically reduce the aid programme for Indonesia," it noted that "the immediate need of the United States is to resist all his [Sukarno's] bluster and his threats. Otherwise his evil example will spread over a wider area."

So, this is where Washington's shoe pinches. To quote Cambodia's Agence Khmere de Presse, the United States' real worry was not so much over the withdrawal of Indonesia as its effect on those Afro-Asian countries which had been arbitrarily kept out of the United Nations or had every reason to feel disillusioned about the make-up and function of that organization.

The United Nations — Tool of U.S. Imperialist Aggression

THE United Nations, used by the United States as a tool of aggression in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere, has a record replete with evil-doings and crimes.

Here are the facts:

Aggression Against Korea. On June 25, 1950, the United States directed the Syngman Rhee puppet troops of south Korea to mount a full-scale attack on the Korean Democratic People's Republic, and, at the same time, forced the U.N. Security Council to adopt an illegal resolution falsely charging the Korean Democratic People's Republic with "armed incursion" into south Korea. On June 27, the then U.S. President Harry Truman ordered U.S. armed forces to take a direct part in the war. On July 7, the U.S.-controlled Security Council adopted a resolution to set up the "unified U.N. command" with a commander appointed by the United States. In this way the United States lined up 15 of its satellites to form the "U.N. forces," and engaged in a war of aggression in Korea for three years. This war ended with tragic defeat for the U.S. aggressors. From the armistice to the present day, large numbers of U.S. troops have stayed on in south Korea under the U.N. flag, obstructing the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Hostility to China. Ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China, U.S. imperialism has pursued a policy of hostility towards China and obstructed the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. Year after year, the United States has thrust the Chiang Kai-shek gang which represents nobody into the United Nations to the exclusion of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the sole legitimate representative of the Chinese people who account for a quarter of the world's population. As this policy is becoming more and more unpopular, the United States has in recent years hatched different "two Chinas" schemes in an attempt to perpetuate its occupation of China's sacred territory of Taiwan. The United States has on many occasions forced through slanderous resolutions hostile to China in the United Nations. On February 1, 1951, the United States set its voting machine into motion in the United Nations to adopt the illegal resolution vilifying China as an "aggressor." After that it rammed through an illegal resolution for an "embargo" against China and the Korean Democratic People's Republic. In 1959, the United States attempted to use the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of China after the Chinese Government quelled the armed rebellion of a group of reactionary Tibetan serf-owners. Each year from 1959 to 1961, the

U.N. General Assembly under U.S. control illegally discussed the "Tibet question" and passed resolutions slandering the Chinese Government as having "deprived the people of Tibet of their basic human rights and freedom."

Intervention in Indo-China. U.S. imperialism has consistently violated the Geneva agreements and tried to substitute the United Nations for the Geneva conference with a view to intensifying its direct intervention and aggression in Indo-China. In September 1959, it instigated the reactionary government in Laos to unleash a civil war while, at the same time, to falsely charge at the U.N. Security Council that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam had committed "aggression," and to urge the United Nations to send an emergency force to Laos. Later, the United States forced the Security Council to set up a "subcommittee" to investigate the question of D.R.V. "aggression" against Laos. In June 1964, when Cambodia at the United Nations brought up charges against aggression by U.S. and south Vietnamese troops, the United States made the Security Council dispatch a "fact-finding mission" to the Cambodian-south Vietnamese border and later falsely accused Cambodia of "aggression" against south Viet Nam. In August 1964, U.S. imperialism engineered the "Bac Bo (Tonkin) Gulf incident" and levelled false charges against the D.R.V. at the Security Council in an attempt to make the United Nations serve its purpose of extending the war of aggression in Indo-China.

Hostility Towards Indonesia. The United Nations has long been used by the United States to interfere in the Indonesian people's struggle against Dutch imperialism and for national independence and the recovery of West Irian. In April 1963, a U.N. "fact-finding team" led by the American Laurence Michelmore helped to bring about the formation of "Malaysia," a product of neo-colonialism, by lying to the effect that the people of North Kalimantan wanted to join "Malaysia." Last September, the United States instigated "Malaysia" to accuse Indonesia spuriously at the Security Council of being an "aggressor." On December 30, last year, it thrust "Malaysia" into the Security Council.

Interference in Hungary's Internal Affairs. Refusing to admit defeat when the Hungarian people smashed the U.S.-engineered counter-revolution in October 1956, the United States manipulated the U.N. General Assembly so that it adopted a series of resolutions interfering in the internal affairs of Hungary. In 1957, it manoeuvred at the United Nations to have a "special committee on the problem of Hungary" set up for "investigation" outside Hungary. Each year from 1958 to 1962, it contrived to have the "Hungarian question" put on the agenda of the General Assembly for the purpose of smearing the socialist countries.

Intervention in Cuba. In October 1962, the United States created the Caribbean crisis and flagrantly declared an illegal military blockade against Cuba. At

the same time, it demanded that the Security Council approve of the blockade and "inspection" in Cuba. This U.S. scheme failed only because of the firm opposition of the Cuban Government and people.

Aggression Against the Congo (Leopoldville). On July 13, 1960, a "U.N. force" was organized by the Security Council under U.S. manipulation to perpetrate aggression against the Congo (L) in the name of helping the Congo (L) restore law and order and preserving its unity. Using the "U.N. force" as a tool, the United States subverted the legitimate government of Patrice Lumumba, murdered the Congolese leader, tried to suppress the Congolese revolutionary forces, imposed a military occupation on the country and actually reduced it to a U.S. colony. After the withdrawal of the "U.N. force" last June as a result of strong Afro-Asian opposition, the United States imposed the puppet Moise Tshombe on the Congolese people. On November 24, 1964, in league with Belgium and Britain, it launched direct armed intervention in the Congo (L). During the subsequent Security Council discussions, U.S. representative Adlai Stevenson demanded that the Security Council send a committee of "inspection and investigation" to the Congo (L) in an attempt to interfere in the Congo (L) again in the name of the United Nations.

Hostility to the Arab Countries. After World War II, U.S. and British imperialism used Zionism as a tool of expansion in the Middle East. In 1947, the U.N. General Assembly, manipulated by the United States, adopted a resolution to set up an Arab state and a Jewish state in Palestine. Israel was formally created in the following year. More than one million Arabs were driven out of their homes. From then on, the United States has used Israel ceaselessly to carry out aggression against and threaten the Arab countries.

Intervention in Cyprus. Conflict between Turkish and Greek Cypriots broke out in Cyprus at the end of 1963. Seeking to meddle in the affairs of this island country and control it, the United States in 1964 made the U.N. Security Council send a 6,000-strong "U.N. peace-keeping force" to Cyprus. This force is still hanging on in that country against the wishes of the Cypriot people.

"MALAYSIA"

"MALAYSIA" is a dagger thrust in the heart of Southeast Asia by the U.S. and British imperialists. It is an implement of old and new colonialism.

In 1961, under Britain's aegis, Malayan Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman proposed the "Malaysian" plan by which the British colonialists hoped to merge Malaya, Singapore, Sabah (North Borneo), Sarawak and Brunei into the "Federation of Malaysia" and give them nominal independence. In actual fact, the plan

was designed to suppress the rising national-liberation movement in this region and safeguard Britain's colonial interests by banding together the Malayan reactionary ruling clique and the other reactionary forces in these territories in what may be described as a "combine and rule" tactic.

Since Brunei refused to join, "Malaysia" today is made up of only Malaya, Singapore, Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak.

From the beginning, the creation of "Malaysia" has found U.S. imperialism actively involved. Washington's role has been particularly nefarious.

Before the "Federation of Malaysia" was rigged up, the U.S. imperialists pretended to support the desire of the people of these territories for "national self-determination" and dispatched a so-called U.N. team under Laurence Michelmore, an American, to Sabah and Sarawak to conduct a spurious "investigation." Refusing to allow observers from Indonesia and the Philippines to join, this team ran the whole show.

During the "investigation," despite Britain's attempt to firmly control and intimidate the local people by sending aircraft carriers, warships, helicopters, troops and police, many mass demonstrations against the neo-colonialist "Malaysian" project took place. In Sarawak 22 trade union organizations submitted a joint memorandum to the "U.N. team" expressing their solid opposition to the "Malaysian" plan.

However, the "U.N. team," disregarding all reality, reported on September 14, 1963, that it had found "little evidence of articulate and organized opposition to the [Malaysian] federation." This was an outright distortion aimed at flinging a legal cloak over "Malaysia."

In the guise of the "Federation of Malaysia," British imperialism has not only continued its military occupation of Singapore and Malaya, but, through the "Malaysia" agreement, it has extended the 1957 British-Malayan "defence and mutual assistance agreement" to cover all the "Malaysian" territories and place them under military occupation. After the establishment of "Malaysia," with its base in Singapore as the centre, Britain planned to forge a chain of military bases in Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah, link it with the two SEATO member countries, the Philippines and Australia, and thus encircle Indonesia and Southeast Asia and suppress the national-independence movement in these regions.

Headed by the Rahman-Razak clique, the government of the "Federation of Malaysia" carries out the colonialist policies of Britain and, hand in glove with the reactionary Thai authorities, is trying to wipe out the national-liberation armed forces on the Malayan-Thai border. "Malaysia's" foreign policy follows the United States. It not only helps train the troops of the reactionary cliques of south Viet Nam and Laos in "jungle warfare" on its

own territory, but openly violates the Geneva agreements by sending strategic war materiel, troops and warships to south Viet Nam. In international affairs Rahman has zealously served the United States and the Indian reactionaries in Washington's plot to create "two Chinas" and on the Sino-Indian border question.

Johnson has greatly increased U.S. support to "Malaysia" to oppose Indonesia since coming to power. Last July, he announced the sending of military aid to

"Malaysia." In November, a U.S. military mission arrived in Kuala Lumpur to discuss concretely the matter of giving military aid to "Malaysia," helping to train its armed forces, etc. At the same time the United States used the U.N. Security Council to discuss the false "Malaysian" "complaint" against Indonesian "aggression." Recently, Washington shoved "Malaysia" into the Security Council as a non-permanent member. Such flagrant provocations and hostile actions have aroused the Indonesian people to great anger.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

the friendship delegation he led also attended. The delegation had arrived by the first regular airliner of Garuda Indonesian Airways to touch down on Chinese soil.

Ambassador Djawoto, Minister Iskandar and Vice-Premier Chen Yi in their speeches praised the rapid growth of friendly relations between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Ambassador Djawoto greeted the opening of the new air service which,

he said, would further strengthen the "bridge of friendship" between the two countries and peoples. Minister Iskandar thanked the Chinese Government and people for their firm support to Indonesia's decision to withdraw from the United Nations. "The revolutionary people of the world support Indonesia's action because this will strengthen the struggle of the new emerging forces," he said.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi greeted inauguration of the new airline at the start of the new year as a happy event in Sino-Indonesian relations.

On January 12 Kuang Jen-nung, Director of the General Administra-

tion of Civil Aviation of China, gave a reception for Minister Iskandar and the other Indonesian friends. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi attended.

Paying tribute to Indonesia's courageous move in withdrawing from the United Nations, Director Kuang Jen-nung once again expressed the Chinese people's determination to support the Indonesian people in their heroic struggle against "Malaysia."

Another U.S.-Chiang U-2 Plane Downed

The Chinese Air Force shot down another U.S.-made U-2 spy plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang over north China on January 10. It is the fourth U-2 plane shot down by the Chinese Air Force.

Marshal Lin Piao, Minister of National Defence, issued an order commending the unit responsible for this victory.

Relatives of Detained Chinese Leave for Brazil

Another four representatives of the relatives of the nine Chinese unjustifiably detained by the Brazilian authorities left Peking for Brazil on January 11, accompanied by representatives of the Chinese Red Cross Society. The day before, they were received by Vice-Premier Chen Yi. Seeing them off at the airport were other relatives of the nine Chinese and responsible officials of the departments concerned.

Chiang Spy Planes Shot Down

Twelve U.S.-made espionage planes of the Chiang Kai-shek gang have been shot down by China's air force units since 1958. They are:

An RB-57A aircraft which intruded into China's air space over the Shantung area on February 18, 1958;

a B-17 aircraft reconnoitring over the Kwangtung area on May 29, 1959;

an RB-57D aircraft, over north China on October 7, 1959;

an RF-101C aircraft, over the Fukiensien area on August 2, 1961;

a P2V-7 aircraft, over the Liaotung area on November 6, 1961;

a U-2 aircraft, over east China on September 9, 1962;

a P2V-7 aircraft, over east China on June 19, 1963;

a U-2 aircraft, over east China on November 1, 1963;

a P2V-7 aircraft, over north China on June 11, 1964;

a U-2 aircraft, over east China on July 7, 1964;

an RF-101 reconnaissance aircraft, over east China on December 18, 1964; and

a U-2 aircraft, over north China on January 10, 1965.

U.S. Unmanned Planes Shot Down

Two unmanned U.S. spy planes have been shot down, one on November 15, 1964, and the other on January 2, 1965, over central-south China.

Sharpening His Sword While Chanting Pious Phrases

A Comment on Johnson's State of the Union Message

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of an article by Observer which appeared in "Renmin Ribao" on January 11. Subheads and boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

ON January 4, Lyndon Johnson delivered his first State of the Union Message since being elected President of the United States. He used a profusion of empty and ambiguous phrases in it and he did his best to cover up the vicious features of U.S. imperialism. This reflects the plight in which U.S. imperialism now finds itself both domestically and internationally.

Johnson's message is rather low keyed, using more demagoguery than threats. He asserted that "We will not, and should not, assume it is the task of Americans alone to settle all the conflicts of a torn and troubled world." He claimed that he seeks to "work most closely" with governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that he seeks "not to extend the power of America" and "not to dominate others." He declared that "free Europeans must shape the course of Europe." He talked about "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union and professed his wish that the two countries should get "to know each other better."

U.S. in Sorry Plight

Why is this? It does not show by any means that Johnson is a "sensible moderate." It does show that U.S. imperialism is in worse straits than at any time since World War II.

Johnson has been President for more than a year. He has pursued policies of aggression and expansion in a more adventurist way than his predecessors and done every kind of evil. The result is that U.S. imperialism has further revealed its ferocious features; the anti-U.S. tide has risen higher throughout the world; and the imperialist camp has further disintegrated. U.S. imperialism is isolated in the world as never before.

In Asia, the anti-U.S. storm has spread from the countries in Indo-China, Indonesia, Japan and south Korea to the Philippines and "Malaysia"; even such U.S.-fostered puppets as the Nguyen Khanh clique of south Viet Nam dared to rebut their American master.

In Africa, as a result of direct U.S. armed imperialist aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville), and its aggression, intervention, subversion and other acts of domination against other African states, the people of the African countries are spearheading their

struggles directly against U.S. neo-colonialism while continuing their fight against old colonialism.

In Latin America, such deceptive U.S. tactics as the "Alliance for Progress" are suffering increasingly serious failures. There have been new developments in the anti-U.S. patriotic struggles of the Latin American peoples, especially in armed struggle.

The imperialist camp itself is in great confusion. De Gaulle insists on taking the road of "Europe for the Europeans"; he raises the banner against all systems of U.S. domination, and puts the United States in a helpless fix. Quite a few other countries have stiffened their spines. They have even become so bold as to dare to kick the U.S. tiger in the rump.

What is especially unfortunate for Johnson is that Khrushchev, the chieftain of modern revisionism, has fallen, and that China has exploded an atom bomb.

One of the main reasons why Khrushchev fell was that he followed a policy of capitulation to U.S. imperialism, and tried to restrain the world's people from opposing U.S. imperialism, thereby serving U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Khrushchev's downfall is naturally a telling blow to U.S. imperialism.

China has become still stronger. The U.S. policy of hostility to China and attempt to isolate it has gone bankrupt. China's mastery of nuclear weapons has further broken the U.S. nuclear monopoly; the U.S. policy of nuclear blackmail has become still more futile. This has greatly encouraged the fighting will of the world's people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Compared to Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy, Johnson is in a much worse plight. As AP pointed out: "... all the great issues which were before President Kennedy and even some of his predecessors are still unsettled, and some have grown more dangerous."

At a time when the situation is so unfavourable, Johnson could not but lower his voice. In his State of the Union Message he turned a blind eye to a large number of difficult problems that the United States faces all over the world, and indulged in empty talk ranging from a "new quest for union," "peaceful understandings," "mutual respect," "common interests," working "most closely," seeking "peace," to "natural beauty." He calculated that in this way he could cover up the desperate state in which U.S. imperialism finds

itself in the current world situation. At the same time he hoped to transform the image which U.S. imperialism presents throughout the world from that of a bloodthirsty executioner in south Viet Nam and the Congo (Leopoldville) into that of a most faithful devotee of peace.

U.S. Imperialism Will Never Change Its Nature

People, however, cannot help asking: In view of its numerous difficulties can U.S. imperialism which is aggressive by nature and everywhere engages in expansion really reform itself from now on and seek "peace and understanding?"

The answer is: No. Under no circumstances will U.S. imperialism change its aggression and expansion abroad. It is inconceivable that when confronted with difficulties U.S. imperialism will cease to pursue its aggressive plan to dominate the world. On the contrary, these merely impel it to do its best to seize favourable positions and take more rabid and adventurist aggressive actions in places where such actions can be taken. So long as Wall Street continues to control the United States, U.S. imperialism will certainly follow this logic in its actions.

Actually, though Johnson pretended to be very "prudent," by reading between the lines in his message people can still see that U.S. imperialism has not made the slightest change in its policies of aggression and war.

U.S. imperialism will go on with its arms drive and war preparations. Johnson boasted that the United States had for this purpose "built a military power strong enough to meet any threat and destroy any adversary" and that "that superiority will continue to grow."

U.S. imperialism will still spare no effort in its attempts to suppress the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Johnson made it clear that the United States would by no means halt its aggressive war in south Viet Nam and he called this war "the cause of freedom" in which the United States "shall never be found wanting." He openly declared that the United States would "strengthen" its "freedom" to engage in aggression and slaughter in Asia and Africa. He also expressed his intention of strengthening U.S. control over Latin America through the "Alliance for Progress."

U.S. imperialism is still energetically attempting to disintegrate and wipe out the socialist camp through the dual counter-revolutionary tactics of peaceful evolution and war threats. Johnson said that with the Soviet Union "we seek peaceful understandings that can lessen the danger to freedom." At the same time he slandered communism in Asia saying that it "wears a more aggressive face" and ranted about fighting "against aggression." Johnson is too cunning to give an explanation of his objectives in adopting "different attitudes and different answers." But Fulbright, chairman of the U.S. Senate foreign relations com-

mittee, has long admitted that the United States hoped in this way to make the socialist countries "susceptible to external influence and to internal chaos" and change "in a direction favourable to Western security and interests."

U.S. imperialism still strives hard to control Western Europe. Johnson declared that the United States would "continue to pursue our goal of [the past] twenty years" in the Atlantic community. Under the pretext of "common interests and common values, common dangers and common expectations," he asked Western Europe to take a course that is "in our [U.S.] interest."

Clearly, U.S. imperialism is still out for world hegemony and global aggression. Johnson puts this demagogically in his own way: "Our own freedom and growth have never been the final goal of the American dream"; the United States wants to "help"—"wherever" in the world man is "less than God means him to be"—to strike away "the chains of ignorance and misery and tyranny."

The World's Most Vicious Enemy

Johnson is no philanthropist. His administration, like past U.S. ones, remains the world's most rabid aggressor, the most vicious enemy of the world's people. Johnson is sharpening his sword as he mouths pious phrases. Nevertheless, his hollow words of peace are taken seriously by some people, who say that they "conform to the wishes of the people of all countries," and hope further that he will transform these words into action. Such ideas will only lead the world's people astray.

Facts speak louder than words:

Is not the Johnson Administration still butchering the people of south Viet Nam, pressing on with its "special warfare" and actively trying to extend the war in Indo-China?

Is it not continuing to interfere in the Congo (L), and hatching new aggressive plots against it?

Has it not sent nuclear submarines into the Western Pacific in order to threaten China and other Asian countries, and constantly invaded China's territorial airspace and waters with its aeroplanes and warships?

Is it not taking a hand in "Malaysia," blackmailing and threatening Indonesia together with Britain?

Is it not still pursuing a hostile policy against Cuba, and trying its best to crush the national-democratic movement in Latin America?

Is it not bent on giving the Western German militarists nuclear weapons, thus posing a threat to Europe and the socialist countries?

Is it not trying its utmost to put Western Europe under its control, and to attack France which opposes such control?

U.S. imperialism has made free with all the pretty phrases in the world, but has perpetrated the most evil

deeds. The world's people have seen through it. No pretty words can cover up its aggressive acts.

In order to avoid revealing the bloody nature of U.S. foreign policy, Johnson devoted the most part of his State of the Union Message to U.S. economic problems. He boasted of his "Great Society," declaring the U.S. should "turn increased attention to the character of American life." **The U.S. economic situation is certainly a headache for Johnson. A new economic crisis is ripening beneath the false "prosperity" built on the arms drive, war preparations and consumer credit. Class conflicts within the U.S.A. grow more acute as the American people are increasingly impoverished.** But the reason why Johnson put such stress on the country's economic problems is that, while he wants to find a way out of the coming economic "recession" which he fears, he is still preparing for further aggression and expansion

abroad. As he talked glibly about the U.S. wanting from 1965 to "establish a harmony between man and society," he admitted that such harmony "cannot realize its full promise in isolation." This amounts to a confession of the inseparable connection between his domestic policy and his aggression and expansion abroad.

Johnson's make-believe may fool some people, but it cannot fool the world's revolutionary people. The tactics Johnson thinks so clever are nothing but Kennedy's "underdog" strategy which has already gone bankrupt. The urgent task confronting all the revolutionary people is to guard against the schemes of U.S. imperialism, continue to deal resolute blows against its policies of aggression and war, and carry the fight against U.S. imperialism through to the end to win complete victory.

Document

Sino-Congolese (B) Friendship Treaty

On January 9 Chinese Ambassador to the Congo (Brazzaville) Chou Chiu-yeh and Foreign Minister of the Congo (B) David-Charles Ganao exchanged in Brazzaville the instruments of ratification of the Treaty of Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville). The treaty was signed in Peking on October 2, 1964, during President Massamba-Debat's visit to China. Following is the full text of the treaty.—Ed.

THE Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the President of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville),

Desiring to maintain and further develop the profound friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), and

Being convinced that the strengthening of friendly co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) conforms to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries, helps promote the friendship and solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa and conduces to world peace.

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Article I

The Contracting Parties shall maintain and develop the peaceful and friendly relations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville).

Article II

The Contracting Parties undertake to respect each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

Article III

The Contracting Parties undertake to settle through peaceful consultation any issue that may arise between them.

Article IV

The Contracting Parties agree to develop economic and cultural relations between the two countries in the spirit of friendly co-operation and in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Article V

The present Treaty is subject to ratification, and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Brazzaville as soon as possible.

The present Treaty shall come into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification and shall remain in force for a period of ten years. Unless either of the Contracting Parties gives to the other notice in writing to terminate the present Treaty one year before the expiration of this period, the present Treaty shall be automatically prolonged for another period of ten years, and shall thereafter be renewable accordingly.

Done in duplicate in Peking on October 2, 1964, in the Chinese and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Plenipotentiary of the
People's Republic
of China

(Signed)

Liu Shao-chi

Plenipotentiary of the
Republic of the Congo
(Brazzaville)

(Signed)

Alphonse
Massamba-Debat

Judicial Farce in Brazil

Report by Chilean Journalist Robinson Rojas

Following is a slightly abridged translation of a commentary written by Chilean journalist Robinson Rojas on the illegal conviction of nine Chinese by the Brazilian authorities. He covered the trial in Rio de Janeiro. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE trial of the nine Chinese citizens who have been sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment each became such a ludicrous farce that **the very documents collected by the Brazilian police and military in their volumes of indictment proved that the Chinese were not spies and that they were never engaged in any subversive activity. This was the conclusion I drew from my perusal of the 23 volumes of the indictment.** I read them with the official permission of Judge Lima Torres. A summary of the contents of this voluminous document showed that the verdict passed on the Chinese by the Brazilian authorities was utterly absurd and shameless.

Volume one contains the charges of "subversive and espionage activities" pinned by the Brazilian political police on the nine Chinese and nine Brazilian citizens. It also contains the police interviews with Danilo dos Santos, counsellor to the group of Chinese in charge of the exhibition to be held at Niteroi, and his assistant Joel Murinelli, and the employees at the residence of the Chinese, as well as the subpoena and the warrant for arrest of the Chinese — both signed on May 1. But the fact is that they were arrested on April 2. Included in this volume is also the notorious Chinese letter allegedly sent from Switzerland. It was used as the sole evidence in the indictment and was framed up at the Taiwan [Chiang Kai-shek group's] "embassy" in Rio de Janeiro. It was such an obvious forgery that the military judges on December 21 had to set it aside as well as withdraw the charge of espionage against the Chinese and the charges against the five Brazilians mentioned in the letter. This volume also contains several copies of the regulations of the Brazil-China Cultural Association.

Volume two contains even more interesting material because it shows that the whole trial was a farce. It contains all the testimony of the witnesses who were summoned by prosecuting attorney Rubens Pinheiro "to prove the charges." From the legal point of view, this testimony was the basis for determining whether or not the case should be taken to court. But the result of the hearing of witnesses was that Anesio Castro, resident at the apartment building on Senator Vergueiro Street [the residence of Hsinhua correspondent Wang Wei-chen] had never heard about those Brazilian defendants who were charged with being accomplices of the Chinese personnel. Pedro Maria de Concenciao, the doorkeeper at the apartment building where the Chinese resided, knew nothing about these defendants nor did he make any ac-

cusation against them. Herminia Maria de Sena, a Brazilian woman employee working with the Chinese (she was imprisoned for 21 days by the political police bureau), did not know those Brazilian defendants who were charged with being accomplices of the Chinese; she had never seen the Chinese engaging in any "special activity," nor had she heard about the "secret meetings" alleged to have been held by them. Daisy Santos de Carvalho Reg, a woman neighbour of those Chinese who lived in Tamandare Street, did not know the Brazilian defendants, nor did she know anything about the Chinese defendants.

Witness Eros de Moura Estavao, a police officer, hinted that the case was a failure for the police because no concrete clue was found during the investigations into the activities of the Chinese.

Finally, Chinese architect Teodore Wu, selected by the "ambassador" of Taiwan to Brazil as official interpreter in the proceedings, said that the language reform adopted in the People's Republic of China had not been adopted by the Taiwan government [meaning the Chiang Kai-shek clique]. This was Wu's excuse for his "errors" in translating the material written in Chinese possessed by the accused. Such "errors" are very suspicious because "we had a small meeting" was distorted by translator Wu into "we had a secret meeting with members of the Communist Party." This manoeuvre was denounced by lawyer Sobral Pinto in consultation with Chang Po-sheng, one of the accused Chinese personnel who is versed in the Portuguese language. He forced Judge Lima Torres to admit that Wu had maliciously mistranslated the material to do harm to the accused. In the final part of the second volume of the file there is a copy of *Peking Review* carrying an article in which a name of a Brazilian is mentioned. But it is not the name of any of the Brazilians accused. There is also an Italian journal *Lo Specchio*. The Brazilian military men referred to an article in this journal which has nothing whatever to do with the Chinese personnel as "definite proof that the Chinese accused are spies." At the end of the second volume of the file is a copy of a message to the judge by Brazilian deputy Adao Pereira Nunes, now in exile in Chile and accused together with the Chinese. Pereira Nunes said in the message: "My relations with People's China are relations which Brazil, for the sake of its prestige and its independence, should maintain with a nation of seven hundred million inhabitants. The Chinese are here on a cultural, reporting and commercial mission. They were making preparations for a public and official exhibition, they had nothing to hide, and carried out their functions lawfully authorized by the Brazilian Foreign Office. My relations with the Chinese citizens are public, as a federal deputy and as president of the Brazil-China Cultural Associa-

tion. Any accusation besides these objectives is of no real importance and there is no proof to justify or support it. With the confidence of one who has committed no crime I submit my defence to lawyers Professor Sobral Pinto and Raul Linse Silva. I still have confidence and faith in the justice of Brazil." But Adao Pereira Nunes has misplaced his confidence in the justice of Brazil because it has sentenced the Chinese accused to ten years' imprisonment without any proof and without any documentary evidence.

The third volume of the file contains a large number of documents which fully prove that the activities of the Chinese accused are just and legal. It also includes statements by 17 witnesses for the defence. Among them are senators, deputies, Brazilian ministers of foreign affairs and commerce, economists, journalists, lawyers and senior functionaries of the Bank of Brazil. They all prove that the activities of the Chinese accused were legal, open and above board.

The fourth volume of the file is also interesting because it reveals how shameless was this trial: it contains just one and a half pages signed by the prosecuting attorney demanding that the accused and certain Brazilians be sentenced to 23 years' imprisonment. It presented no proof whatsoever to justify its accusations. It only promised to present sensational documents proving the guilt of the accused on the day of the trial. When that day came, December 21, prosecuting attorney Rubens Pinheiro revealed nothing. He spoke for four hours and the only material evidence he presented was photographs taken by the Hsinhua News Agency in Cuba. These photographs, the prosecuting attorney said, "prove the subversive activity of the accused." As a journalist I explained to the prosecuting attorney that U.S. news agencies also distributed similar photographs to the rest of the world. But the prosecuting attorney said that it was most tiresome to discuss such matters with me.

The 19 other volumes of the file contain, among other things, the nine passports of the accused Chinese, an address book and two books by the Brazilian journalist Joao Etcheverry. In addition, there are several dozen copies of the regulations of the Brazil-China Cultural Association, two working plans and addresses of its members. There are also pictures of a public dinner given to the Chinese — those attending included senators, deputies and the then foreign minister

Afonso Arinos — and copies of plays of young Brazilian writers and the text of an article by a Brazilian, Carlos Borges, entitled "The Industry of Starvation in the Northeast."

One volume of the file is devoted to the "proof of subversion." Here we can read about a public cocktail party given in honour of the Chinese, the written speeches delivered on that occasion, a list of the names of the participants, a time schedule of activities of the journalists and many pictures of them and their friends published in Brazilian newspapers. Another volume contains what the police authorities called a "card index file of Communists." But it happens that the "Diarios Associados," the organization comprising Brazil's most reactionary newspapers, is also on the list. In the fifteenth volume, there are findings about 113 Brazilians who had connections with the Chinese. Like many others manufactured by the Brazilian police, these findings, signed by Colonel Dranza de Oliveira who is in charge of military investigation, are a complete fabrication. Falsehood had been stretched to show that Raul Linse Silva attended a meeting of Communists in Goiania, which is 1,500 kilometres from Rio de Janeiro. But the fact is that lawyer Raul Linse Silva has never been to Goiania and he proved this during the trial.

Some other volumes are full of copies of news bulletins issued by the Hsinhua News Agency. They are labelled "proof of espionage and subversion." There are also dozens of copies of Brazilian papers and a package of books published by the Peking Foreign Languages Press. An account book of the personal expenditure of the Chinese can be seen in the nineteenth volume. Finally, six suitcases confiscated from the apartments occupied by the accused Chinese also form part of the findings. In these suitcases, there are 20 books about Brazil and Cuba and other "subversive" objects such as a book about the postage stamps of the People's Republic of China.

Such are the findings of the indictment which ended with the sentencing of the nine Chinese citizens to ten years' imprisonment each. The file contains not a single piece of incriminating evidence against the Chinese. This is perhaps why the defence counsel Sobral Pinto indignantly declared: "The heap of papers contained in the file as evidence for the prosecution is one of the most repugnant facts that I have ever met with in my professional life."

Latin America Marches On

THE "Day of Remembrance" observances, which began in Panama on January 9 to pay homage to the patriots killed a year ago by U.S. troops in the Canal Zone, touched off a new wave of anti-U.S. demonstrations. The Panamanian people have again voiced a powerful demand for the recovery of their sovereignty over the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone. This is one more proof that U.S. imperialism is having a more and more difficult time in Latin America.

Throughout 1964, the mass struggles of the Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism and domestic dictatorships surged forward vigorously. Strikes and peasants' struggles to seize the land took place in rapid succession. The armed struggles in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and Nicaragua continued unabated. The tendency to break away from Washington is developing among the Latin American countries. What used to be a "backyard" for Yankee

imperialism has become a source of trouble close to home.

Anti-U.S. Storms

The Panamanians' patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism broke out on January 9, 1964. An event which shook the whole world, it revealed the explosive nature of the national contradictions between the Latin American peoples and U.S. imperialism. Neither bloody massacre nor deceptive tactics by Washington can throttle the determination of these peoples to uphold their national sovereignty and win national independence.

One hundred thousand Panamanians demonstrated in the streets. Angrily shouting "Panama Yes, Yankee No!" they demanded the recovery of their sovereignty over the Panama Canal and the canal zone. Their fight for national independence has never stopped despite Washington's frenzied repressions, which resulted in more than 300 casualties, and its sly tactics of "reconciliation" and "negotiation" designed to perpetuate its occupation of the Panama Canal and the canal zone. As the year approached its end, the Panamanians again launched anti-U.S. demonstrations, demanded the abolition of the humiliating 1903 Panama-U.S. treaty and urged their government to take a firm stand in talks with the United States.

As in Panama, Washington is having a more and more difficult time elsewhere on the continent.

Under the leadership of Premier Castro, the heroic Cuban people have, as always, held aloft the revolutionary banner of the Havana Declarations, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism and actively supported the revolutionary movements of their brothers on the continent. In February 1964, the Cuban Government cut off the water supply to the U.S. Guantanamo naval base to counter U.S. piratical interception of Cuban fishing boats. In April, in defence of the nation's sovereignty, the Cuban Foreign Ministry once again firmly rejected Washington's arrogant demand for continuing "reconnaissance flights" over Cuba. On July 26, at a meeting marking the 11th anniversary of the armed uprising, the Cuban people adopted the Santiago Declaration refuting the anti-Cuban statement which the United States had imposed on the O.A.S. Foreign Ministers' Conference. They also repudiated U.S. "sanctions" against Cuba and reaffirmed their determination to defend their motherland at all costs.

In the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and all kinds of difficulties resulting from the U.S. economic blockade, the Cuban people unflinchingly pushed ahead with their socialist revolution and construction, and greeted the sixth anniversary of the victory of the revolution with great enthusiasm.

Armed Struggle Intensified

In Venezuela, on the basis of summing up the experience gained in three years of struggle, the

National Liberation Front and the Liberation Army have strengthened their confidence in achieving emancipation through armed struggle. In the past year, the National Liberation Army successfully frustrated several major U.S.-directed "mopping-up" operations and developed its guerrilla war in the countryside.

In Guatemala the insurgent army vigorously consolidated its bases in the mountain areas and mobilized the peasants. At the same time it repeatedly attacked the puppet regime in the northeastern part of the country and in regions along the Atlantic coast.

In Colombia, peasant guerrilla engagements broke out afresh in the Marquetalia region last May. In a few months' time, puppet government troops were dealt heavy blows and "mopping-up" operations were smashed in which 16,000 troops took part under American command and millions of dollars were spent. In August alone, the guerrillas killed or wounded more than 200 government troops. At present, four guerrilla war fronts have been built up in Colombia, and people throughout the country have set up organizations to support the guerrillas.

In Nicaragua, under the rule of a pro-U.S. dictatorial regime, the revolutionary armed struggle led by the Sandino National Liberation Front is still going on.

Workers and Peasants on the Move

The workers' struggles in Latin America in 1964 had the following main features: they gradually emerged from the confines of economic struggles and developed, on an increasing scale, into struggles of a political nature: many large-scale and fierce struggles took place. In May and June, Argentine workers, having freed themselves from the influence of certain trade union leaders seeking compromises, staged as many as seven large-scale strikes in which nearly 4 million people took part and seized factories; they firmly demanded a wage increase, a general pardon of political prisoners and abrogation of suppression laws. In Uruguay, April saw 400,000 workers and students on strike in protest against the plots of the reactionary pro-U.S. military to carry out a coup, and demanding higher wages and more appropriations for education.

Last year, the peasants' struggle to seize land, as a specific form of the national-democratic movements in Latin America, continued to develop in many countries, thereby dealing powerful blows to the latifundia system as well as the sham land reform under the so-called "Alliance for Progress." In January, peasants in the mountainous region of the Piura Province in northern Peru succeeded in seizing 15 plantations in one such struggle alone. To protest against the massacre of peasants fighting for land by the government army and police force, 15,000 Peruvian peasants of Sicuani, a city in Cusco Province, marched into the provincial capital in February. Peasants in Colombia and in many of Ecuador's provinces also fought the

army and police many times and won back large areas of land.

Shake Off U.S. Economic Control and Plunder

With the sharpened clash of national interests, many Latin American governments are more and more vigorously demanding that U.S. economic control and plunder be shaken off, and that the U.S. trade policy of selling dear and buying cheap be opposed. At the meeting of the Economic Commission for Latin America in Brasilia in January last year and the conference of finance ministers from 18 countries held in Argentina in February and March, the Latin American countries raised a chorus of protest against the U.S. trade policy which harms others to benefit itself. They also manifested an inclination to find new openings for trade and to expand the markets for exporting their raw and semi-processed materials. With fresh clashes occurring incessantly the economic relations between the Latin American countries and the United States are becoming increasingly tense. Last year the Presidents of Colombia and Costa Rica in turn made statements condemning the forcing down of coffee prices by the United States. Apart from this, repeated protests were made by Mexico and some Central American countries over U.S. dumping of cotton, by Bolivia over U.S. dumping of its stocks of tin, and by Uruguay and Argentina over U.S. meat dumping. Uruguay and Argentina also decided to oppose American meat dumping by adopting a joint defensive policy.

Under pressure from the people's movement, some countries, chafing at Washington's economic plunder and political subjugation, are looking for ways and means to rid themselves of U.S. control, achieve independence and safeguard their national interests. A typical example in this respect was Brazil's former Goulart government which adhered to the principle of non-interference on the question of Cuba and adopted measures to restrict foreign capital and limit the remittance of profits abroad.

The Goulart government, however, was overthrown by the U.S.-engineered military coup d'etat last April because it did not resolutely rely on the people and did not have control of the armed forces. This shows that after the bankruptcy of Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" the Johnson Administration, which carries out a policy of naked intervention by violence in Latin America, not only ruthlessly suppresses the national-liberation movements in the various Latin American countries, but also uses violence to overthrow those bourgeois regimes with nationalistic tendencies. This policy of violence followed by the United States clearly reveals that its control over this continent is becoming more and more shaky.

U.S. Sitting on a Volcano

However, the trend on the part of Latin American countries to break away from U.S. control is something which the U.S. policy of intervention by violence cannot halt. Last year, Argentina gradually turned to



Raising Panama's national flag in the U.S.-occupied Canal Zone in January 1961

Western Europe in its economic and trade relations. This and the active development of trade by Chile and other Latin American countries with countries other than the United States are clear indications of this trend.

Despite strong U.S. pressure, Mexico, noted for its tradition of pursuing an independent policy, still maintains diplomatic relations with Cuba. In the last two years or so, Mexico has strengthened its economic and trade ties with several countries in Western Europe and Asia.

It was in such a period of ferment that President de Gaulle of France, following his visit to Mexico in March last year, went to Latin America again in September on a visit to ten countries there. During his tour de Gaulle held talks with many Latin American governments on the question of France giving them technical and financial aid. He also laid special emphasis on co-operation between Latin countries. France's re-emergence in this part of the world has been widely regarded as an open challenge to the United States whose position in Latin America is growing weaker and weaker.

The 1964 situation in Latin America shows that U.S. imperialism, which is still trying to dominate there, is sitting on the mouth of an ominously smoking volcano.

—Hsinhua Correspondent

Peking Review, No. 3

Full Market Counters in Peking

by CHEN HSUEH-NUNG

New China's capital with a population of several millions is successfully solving the problem of supplying itself with non-staple foods. The "secret" of its success is socialist planning of production and marketing. On the basis of collectivization of agriculture, it has created a network of non-staple food production bases around its urban centre. State trade ensures producers good prices and consumers regular supplies at reasonable cost.

BUSINESS in the capital's food markets reached new highs in 1964. Big food stores, corner groceries and stalls in streets and lanes continue to be well stocked with meat, fresh eggs, poultry, vegetables, fruits and sweetmeats. The big markets provide live fish, game and famous delicacies from all parts of China. Consumers have no difficulty in getting what they want. The wide range offered speaks volumes for the flourishing state of farming in Peking's suburban and rural areas and in the country as a whole.

The supply of foods for the millions of this metropolis has vastly improved since 1949 when the city was liberated. The temporary difficulties of 1959-61 caused by three successive years of natural calamities have been overcome and food supplies have steadily improved and reached peak levels last year. Sales of pork and eggs in 1964 were 69 and 61 per cent greater than in 1963.

Peking's daily vegetable consumption averaged approximately 65 gm. per head in 1949; it is now around 500 gm. Onions, cauliflowers and many other vegetables sold in large quantities today were found only in a few big markets in the old days and were consumed mainly by the wealthy few. As to cucumbers, tomatoes, chives and French beans grown in hot-houses, working people in the old days hardly dreamt about them. Today all these are available at reasonable prices.

The capital is now self-sufficient—and well supplied—not only in vegetables, but in milk, poultry and certain fruits in season including pears, grapes, peaches and persimmons. It even has a surplus of some products for sale to other places. It is becoming self-sufficient in several other kinds of non-staple foods too. The capital's rural districts now provide 40 per cent of the pork it consumes. With supplies increasing and overhead costs going down, retail prices of dozens of non-staple foods were cut last year. These include

pork, eggs, fish, wine and liquor, milk, pastry and fruits.

Building Non-staple Food Production Bases

The present thriving food market in Peking is the fruit of many years' hard work. In solving its non-staple food problems, the city has worked hard to increase production in its own suburban and rural districts and gradually set up a well-organized network of farms producing non-staple foods. These cater first of all to the needs of the city.

Consumers like to get many non-staple foods fresh, or, in the case of poultry or fish, alive, but long distance transport in these cases offers special difficulties and results in increased costs. Local production and distribution ensures freshness, saves a great deal of social labour and reduces waste and overheads. This benefits both producers and consumers and the national economy in general.

Peking's post-liberation development and sharply increased population made it even more urgent to have local supplies of non-staple foodstuffs. Furthermore, because working people's standards of living have risen, their steadily increasing purchasing power creates a huge demand for non-staple foods. This is another reason why the city has to develop its own production bases for non-staple foods around the urban centre.

Peking has undertaken to tackle this task by socialist planning, collectivization of agriculture and the close gearing of production to the market.

As early as 1953, when the First Five-Year Plan began, the capital started to work out a plan for raising more of its own vegetables and gradually creating vegetable production bases in its suburbs. Later, the municipal boundaries were greatly extended to include a large rural area and the city was able to draw up plans for the all-round development of non-staple food production. The farmlands of three suburban districts (each now embracing about ten people's communes) and one area (now a people's commune) in another district, were assigned to vegetables. The flat lands lying further out were allocated for livestock and poultry. It was decided to step up efforts to re-afforest empty tracts in the hilly areas to the north and west and establish orchards there. Suburban state farms would breed milch cows and, where feasible, co-operative farms would also do this. Reservoirs and ponds would be used for fish farming. A whole network of non-staple

food production bases was thus planned in the suburban areas.

Collectivized Farming Paves the Way

This planned development of non-staple food production in Peking's municipal area was, of course, based upon the growth of collectivized farming. Some results were achieved during the First Five-Year Plan when the peasants in the suburbs had set up co-op farms. But much greater progress has been made since 1958 when these co-ops merged to form people's communes. The communes have at their disposal larger manpower and larger material and financial resources and can plan their productive activities on a bigger scale and in a more rational way. The growth of vegetable production bases around the capital well illustrates this.

In the old days, among other things, lack of enough water for irrigation prevented an increase in the area sown to vegetables. The vegetable plots were concentrated in the city's southwest where it was easier to bring water to the surface in the low-lying lands. At the time of liberation the total land under vegetables was only 30,000 *mu*.

During the First Five-Year Plan, thanks to the establishment of co-op farms and consequent improvement of irrigation facilities, vegetable acreage doubled. After the formation of the people's communes in 1958, gigantic efforts were made in the suburban areas to build water conservancy works and introduce electric drainage and irrigation facilities on the farms. As a result, in less than five years, the suburban peasants succeeded in switching most of the ordinary land in a perimeter a dozen kilometres wide around the urban centre to vegetable growing. The total area planted to vegetables last year was 200,000 *mu*, or close to seven times that of pre-liberation days. Modern water-raising devices have replaced the old windlasses. Over 1,000 kilometres of power lines serve the vegetable plots. More than 3,000 wells use electricity to raise water. These and other measures enable the land to give stable and high yields even in cases of prolonged drought.

Peking stands on the 39th Parallel N. and the annual period of frost and winter cold lasts a fairly long time. During the cold season vegetables have to be grown either in hot-houses or on the so-called "warm plots" which are protected by windbreaks and other means against wind and cold. In the old days, the majority of peasants could not afford to raise vegetables in these ways because large investments were required. In 1949, the hot-houses in use amounted to just over 800 rooms (each "room" is about 20 square metres). In 1957 when the peasants were already organized in farm co-ops, the number of hot-house rooms rose to more than 7,000. By 1963 the people's communes had doubled this figure. The capital then had 176,000 "warm plots," nearly treble the number in 1957. Many new underground storage pits or cellars had been dug to store vegetables in the winter. All these measures

play a big role in providing Peking residents with green or fresh vegetables during the winter and cold days of early spring.

Diversification

The remarkable strength of the communes was exemplified in the area of diversification which is of key importance in producing a dependable supply of varied non-staple foods.

Before liberation, the peasants around Peking, like those elsewhere in the country, were exploited by landlords and rich peasants and oppressed by the reactionary government. They had a difficult time even keeping their heads above water. Working on their own, they could hardly raise sufficient food to fill their own stomachs, much less supply the market and diversify production. All this was changed after liberation and especially after the establishment of the co-ops.

The forming of the people's communes opened up much greater possibilities for the diversification of Peking's farm economy. The commune farms having, as we have said, larger manpower and financial resources and other advantages as compared with the co-ops, are in a better position to develop a diversified economy including forestry, stockbreeding, rural side-lines and fisheries.

Peking farms at the end of 1964 had 4 times as many pigs as in 1949. The city's total output of milk in 1964 was treble that in 1957 and was 13 times as much as in 1952. Before liberation, all dairy farms were run by capitalists, not a single local peasant ever tried to keep a milch cow. Roasted Peking duck is one of the capital's famous delicacies and the number of these specially raised ducks in the first eight months of 1964 was 20 times as many as in all of 1950.

The Hongxing (Red Star) People's Commune to the south of urban Peking is a good example of such diversification. It has a large stretch of low-lying land which used to be badly affected by soil salinity. Nine out of every ten years before liberation salinity and waterlogging ruined the crops here. Now, by properly directed work, Hongxing has transformed itself into an important producer of non-staple food for the capital.

In the last few years the commune has dug or repaired three irrigation channels to wash the saline elements out of the soil and succeeded in planting paddyrice on this low-lying land. While flat tracts are planted to maize and wheat, sandy soil is used to grow groundnuts and fruit trees and the land around the livestock farms is sown to fodder crops. Fields nearer the city are reserved for vegetables.

The commune's eight production brigades have six dairy farms with more than 5,000 milch cows. Each of the more than 70 production teams runs a pig farm. Altogether they have more than 15,000 animals. The commune also encourages and helps members to raise pigs in their own sties. Hongxing uses its reservoirs and ponds to breed fish. It runs four duck farms which supplied 100,000 Peking ducks to the market last year.

The Sijiqing (Evergreen) People's Commune in the western suburbs, known for the big supply of vegetables it sends to the capital, has also made energetic efforts to diversify. It has scored a most notable success in planting fruit trees. By reclaiming land on mountain slopes and building a 9-km. irrigation channel, the commune established a number of orchards in 1953. Grape-vines, apple and peach trees have already begun to bear fruit. Its annual output of these three fruits has surpassed their output in all Peking's orchards in a normal pre-liberation year.

The combined area of all orchards in old Peking was 1,000 *mu*. This was less than the area of orchards now owned by the Sijiqing Commune alone. Today there are 14 big orchards in the capital, each of 1,000 *mu* or more and the total area of orchards has increased 40-fold since liberation.

State and City Assistance

These advances are largely the work of the farmers' own efforts. The suburban collective peasants, inspired by the achievements of national socialist construction and enlightened by systematic socialist education, have become more class conscious and keener at work. They willingly shoulder the duty of producing more and better non-staple foods for the capital and they



A hot-house in the Sijiqing People's Commune

have shown an admirable spirit of self-reliance in carrying out this task.

Before liberation, the capital's farms had few tractors or power-driven pumps. They now boast 1,600 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units) working more than one half of all the land that can be ploughed by machine. Since 1957 the suburban and rural districts of Peking have built over 40 reservoirs, dredged many rivers and streams, built many new channels, and extended irrigation to nearly half of the farmland. Before liberation only 3 per cent of their cultivated area was irrigated. In making these changes the peasants, as far as possible, use their own resources. But outside aid has reinforced their efforts. The state has given them loans to finance the purchase of farm machines and made large investments itself to build the bigger water conservancy works. People from all walks of life in the capital, not only worked on these projects but gave technical help in many ways. They go to work in huge numbers on the farms when extra hands are needed in the busy seasons.

Agronomists, professors and other technical personnel from the institutes of agricultural science and agricultural colleges in the capital keep close contact with the people's communes and state farms in the suburbs. They help the farmers tackle their problems or sum up their experience, and undertake scientific experiments together with them to raise yields still higher. Thanks to such aid and co-operation, a record average yield of 10,000 *jin* per *mu* of vegetables has been achieved on the suburban farms, which is nearly twice as much as in pre-liberation days. Hog cholera has been practically wiped out and many ducks farms have reduced the time taken to raise a 5-*jin* Peking duck from 70 to 45 days. Similar examples can be found in all branches of farming.

Planned Production and Planned Marketing

In solving its non-staple food problems, Peking also owes much of its success to the planned production and planned marketing of such food as well as close collaboration between the people's communes and the state trading departments. The production of various non-staple foods are geared to the overall municipal plan.

Take vegetables for example. Towards the end of each year, the departments in charge of vegetable production work out for the coming year an overall plan stipulating the amounts of each kind of vegetable to be raised in different periods of the year. This is based on the farming task laid down by the Municipal Planning Commission and on the market situation of the previous year, with certain adjustments to meet new needs. The vegetable-growing communes and their production brigades and teams then

draft their own production plans in accordance with their specific conditions and with the overall plan in mind. After discussions among the production units and trading organizations, these plans are readjusted and made final and then serve as a basis on which the communes and their subordinate units conclude their vegetable production and marketing contracts with the trading departments. Under these contracts, the producers undertake to produce and supply to the trading departments the required amounts of vegetables, while the latter undertake to purchase and distribute all the vegetables produced. Thus, vegetable production is closely linked with consumption, the interests of the vegetable-growers are guaranteed and the demands of consumers are met. This presents a striking contrast to the situation in the past.

In pre-liberation days, the market for vegetables was controlled by private merchants. Market gardeners

bringing their produce to town had no idea whether or not they could dispose of their goods or the price they would get for them. Prices fluctuated wildly and speculation was rife. This seriously damaged the interests of the vegetable-growers. Now with the state trading departments buying all vegetables coming to the market at reasonable prices, the vegetable-growing people's communes have no worries on that score. This stimulates their enthusiasm for production and promotes vegetable production.

Much has been done in the past 15 years to increase the production of non-staple foods. But the work goes on to expand the supply of better, locally produced foods and give the capital's citizens more nourishing and varied foods in still greater abundance and at reduced prices.

10th Anniversary

Two Great Highways for Tibet

THE tenth anniversary of the Szechuan-Tibet and Chinghai-Tibet Highways was marked on December 25 at a mass rally in Lhasa. There was ample cause for rejoicing. These two trunk roads linking Lhasa with the rest of China have made a big contribution to the building of a new Tibet. What's more, keeping them open to traffic for a decade on the "Roof of the World" despite sub-zero weather, snowstorms and avalanches is nearly as great a feat as building them.

The 2,413-kilometre Szechuan-Tibet Highway runs from Chengtu, capital of Szechuan Province, to Lhasa across 14 mountains towering 3,200-5,000 metres above sea level and a dozen turbulent rivers.

The Chinghai-Tibet Highway starts at Sining, capital of Chinghai Province, and also ends at Lhasa 1,965 kilometres away. Its average altitude is 4,000 metres above sea level.

When work started on the first road in 1950, less than a year after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the imperialists and a chorus of reactionaries claimed that it was impossible to build a motor road at such an altitude and over such difficult terrain, and that even if it were built, it could not be kept open to traffic for long. These forebodings have been utterly refuted by the facts. The two roads have stood the test of time and are so highly regarded by the Tibetan people that they are fondly called "Golden Bridges" or "Roads to Happiness."

Roads to a Modern Tibet

Over the past decade, along these roads, thousands of workers, technical personnel, doctors, teachers and

cadres of the Han and other nationalities reached Tibet to help the Tibetan people in their revolution and construction. Thousands of former Tibetan serfs and their children travelled in the other direction to other parts of China to learn advanced techniques in factories or to study in schools before returning to Tibet. Many groups and delegations from Tibet visited other parts of the country and there have been visits in return. All this has helped strengthen the unity between the Tibetan, Han and other peoples of China and reinforced the Tibetan people's will and confidence in carrying out democratic reforms and preparing to build a new, socialist Tibet.

In 1957, the Sinkiang-Tibet Highway, a third trunk road linking Tibet with the outside was completed. These three roads have carried a great wealth of goods and materials to aid Tibet. To meet the urgent needs of its emancipated peasants and herdsmen and to develop production after the democratic reforms of 1959, over one million farm tools and implements for stock breeding were brought in as well as large quantities of rolled steel for agricultural use, tractors, seeds of improved strains, pedigree animals, chemical fertilizers and insecticides. These supplies played a big role in enabling the Tibetan peasants and herdsmen to win six successive bumper harvests and increase the number of livestock 40 per cent in six years.

Building materials and factory equipment, the transport of which was formerly impossible, are now being delivered in considerable amounts. Fifty small or medium-sized power plants, motor vehicle repair works, farm implement factories, tanneries and cement

plants have already been built where not a single modern factory existed before in Tibet.

With a steady influx of supplies, the Tibetan market is well stocked with a wide range of consumer goods from Shanghai, Peking, Tientsin and other far-away cities. Every peasant's or herdsman's family can now afford to drink tea, the staple drink of the Tibetan people. A brick of tea often cost a whole sheep before 1954. Now some 4,000 tons of tea are

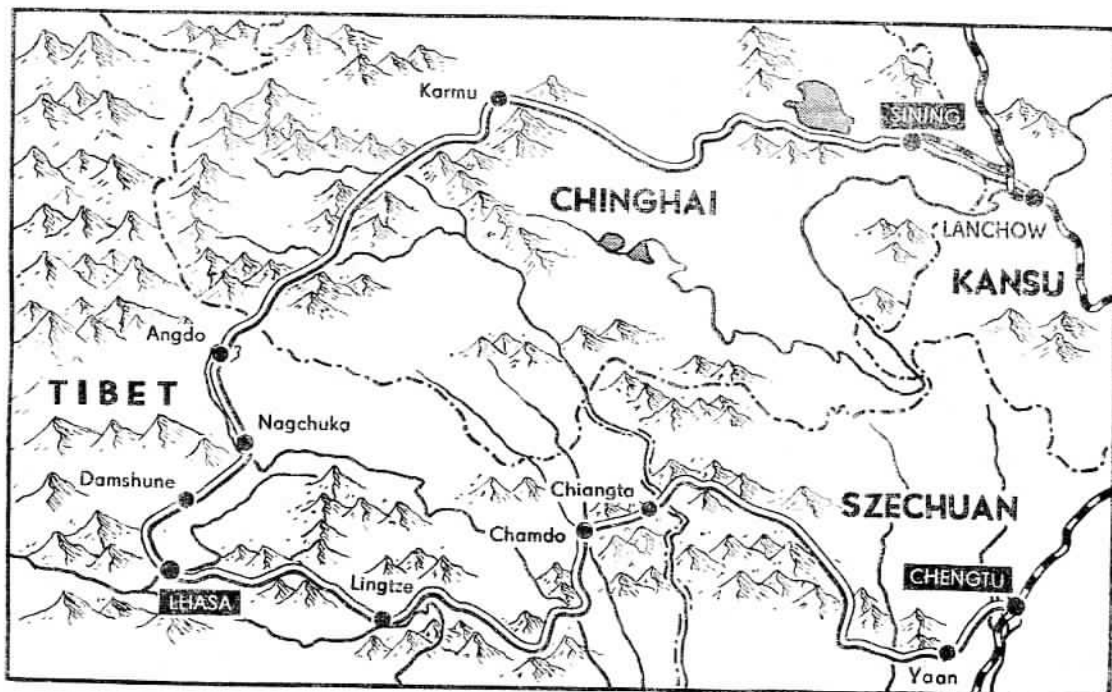
transported to Tibet every year. Retail prices of industrial consumer items have been lowered several times since 1954 while Tibetan products such as wool, hides and medicinal herbs are purchased by the state at fair prices. This alone augments the income of the peasants and herdsman by 5 million yuan a year.

Tremendous changes have come to the villages along the highways. A dozen new towns and several hundred settlements have sprung up in the mountainous areas and on the grasslands. Old towns have grown larger and more prosperous. Formerly deserted Chiangta, Chamdo and Lingtze on the Szechuan-Tibet road have been completely transformed. The city area of Chamdo is six times as large as before and many new factories have been built. Karmu on the Gobi Desert in Chinghai Province, a haunt of gazelles and wild rabbits only ten years ago, has grown into a bustling new town with tens of thousands of inhabitants.

Great Engineering Feats

In addition to the three roads mentioned above, Tibet now has four other trunk roads and more than 70 feeder roads totalling 15,000 kilometres and serving 90 per cent of all the counties in the region. This is a far cry from a decade ago, when travellers had to move along old courier routes with slow-moving yaks as the sole means of transport. A round trip from Lhasa to Chengtu or Sining then took from four to six months. Because of the hazards involved, some travellers never reached their destination.

The Tibetan people had long dreamed of a highway for their plateau. But their dream began to be realized only after the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1950. In that year, inspired by Chairman Mao Tse-



THE SZECHUAN-TIBET AND CHINGHAI-TIBET HIGHWAYS

Sketch map by Su Li

tung's call "Defy difficulties and work hard to build a road to help the fraternal nationalities!" tens of thousands of People's Liberation Army men, road builders and Tibetan civilian workers began their herculean efforts to lay the Szechuan-Tibet road, the first motor road on the world's highest plateau. A survey party trekked 10,000 kilometres over 200 mountains to find the best route. Builders worked on untrodden mountains covered with perennial snow. In many places, the road is built half way up the face of rocky cliffs which drop sheer for hundreds of metres. Not even mountain goats braved these fastnesses. Its intrepid builders pushed the road through virgin forests, marshes, shifting sand and over glaciers.

Work on the Chinghai-Tibet road started in the following year. With the enthusiastic help of thousands upon thousands of local people — Tibetans, Mongolians, Huis and Kazakhs — both roads were completed by the end of 1954. The magnitude of the task can be seen from the fact that in laying the roadbed of the Szechuan-Tibet Highway alone, 29 million cubic metres of earth and stone were excavated — and all this at a height of thousands of metres above sea level.

The road maintenance workers have shown a like heroism. They live and work for years near or above the snowline where the mercury often drops to 20° below zero Centigrade. Rarefied air, frozen earth and sudden changes of weather add to the difficulties of maintenance work. Even cooking is a problem at these great heights for water boils at around 80° C. Maintenance men are a tough, cheerful lot. They look on it as a privilege to serve their country's socialist cause at this post of hardship and honour. It is with this revolutionary spirit that they keep the roads on the "Roof of the World" open to traffic all the year round.

ACROSS THE LAND

Comet Discovered

CHINESE astronomers at the Tzu Chin Shan (Purple Mountain) Observatory in Nanking have discovered a comet. It was first spotted on the night of January 1, 1965, as a new, faintly luminous object in the Constellation Gemini. Observations on January 5 confirmed the discovery and it was tentatively identified as a comet.

At the time of discovery, the comet was estimated to have a brightness of the 15th magnitude. Its image was still somewhat obscure, and no tail was observed. It was situated at right ascension 6 hours 45 minutes, declination (north) 25 degrees 22 minutes, and moving northward. By January 5, its right ascension had decreased 16 seconds. Its declination had increased 1 degree 23 minutes.

Observations on January 7 and 8 showed that, maintaining a brightness of the 15th magnitude, it was now moving north at a speed of one-third of a degree daily. The inclination of its orbit to the ecliptic was estimated to be about 10 degrees. Now approximately 100 million kilometres from the earth, the comet will cross the perihelion of its orbit at the end of January. Its distance from the sun will then increase.

Busy Winter Season on Farms

CHINA'S farms are casting aside the slack spell that used to come with the cold days. The depth of winter has become another busy season for commune farmers. This year, more peasants than any in the past few years have turned out to collect manure, build water conservancy works, terrace hillsides and otherwise improve their fields. Their aim is to get a rich harvest this year and increase the area of farmland giving stable, high yields.

The socialist education movement now unfolding in the countryside is the key to bringing about this change in the farm work cycle. Figures from Shantung, Hopei and

seven other provinces show that compared to last year 80 per cent more people are doing winter farm work. They have already done twice as much earth and stone work as at this time last year.

Building of water control projects got off to an early start. Cement, timber and other building materials began arriving at construction sites in good time for early winter work. Most projects are small scale and undertaken by communes and their brigades and teams on their own. A number of big projects—reservoirs, canals, etc.—are also being built with state funds. Efforts are concentrated on completing extensive drainage and irrigation systems so as to benefit the greatest area of farmland possible.

Commune members are busy digging more drainage channels in the basins of the Sungari, Liao, Haiho, Yellow and Huai Rivers. More mechanized pumping stations are being built to extend the already strong networks of such stations in the Yangtse and Pearl River Deltas and in other vital grain areas.

In the low-lying regions drained by the Huai and the lower reaches of the Yellow River, thousands of commune members are building "raised fields." These are made by digging drainage ditches around the fields and using the excavated earth to raise the height of the fields. This lowers the water table and reduces soil alkalization. Since last October a million *mu* of higher yielding land has already been built in eastern Hopei and western Shantung Provinces.

On the loess highlands in northwest China and in other mountainous and hilly areas, commune

members are busy terracing the hillsides, building check dams, planting trees and taking other measures to conserve soil and water. This type of work is being done on a much larger scale than in any of the last few years.

In planning this kind of work the communes have taken into consideration specific local conditions and both immediate and long-term interests.

Developing a Plant by Self-Reliance

A SHANGHAI plant which started from scratch has turned out 2 million sets of miniature bearings in four years. Chief credit goes to the workers who equipped their factory largely by their own efforts and mastered the required special techniques.

Skill and high-level equipment are called for to produce the high-quality bearings made at the Shanghai Miniature Bearing Plant.

The plant, which went into production in 1960, was formed by the merger of a cotton mill and a generator factory. Reconstruction was finished in less than two years. Normally such a plant requires three to five years to complete and an investment ten times as great as was the case here.

Before 1960, the entire equipment consisted of 13 antiquated machine tools. The workers were virtually



Inspecting miniature bearings

all new hands, transferred from textile, generator and cigarette factories. Only 18 had some knowledge of the technology involved in processing bearings, and only one worker-technician had some production experience.

Instead of asking the state for the necessary skilled manpower and equipment, for which there were competitive claims, the plant got off the ground by its own efforts. Hundreds of women textile workers, who had never used a cutting tool, practised in their spare time on clay models and scrap iron. Many learnt to read mechanical drawings, measure with precision instruments and solve mathematical equations.

For equipment construction a special contingent was formed with the 18 veteran workers serving as the backbone. This group collected literature and learnt operational methods from other plants.

During the first year of production, workers designed a high-precision table grinder to help add new varieties and improve the quality of the bearings. They later equipped it with high-speed grinding wheels, utilizing their own precision bearings after a stage-by-stage series of improvements. This grinder costs only one-sixth the price of an imported one.

The workers continually sought after improvements and made more than 1,000 technical innovations. All machines have developed from simple designs to their present advanced standards.

To date the workers have made 165 specialized machines for processing miniature bearings and 470 auxiliary machines and devices, accounting for 80 per cent of the total. Eighty-five per cent of the testing apparatus is also made by the workers. The Shanghai Miniature Bearings Plant now manufactures several hundred different varieties of bearings.

Health in Minority Areas

THE successful battle against disease and the building up of medical care and service in the areas

in which they live has added to the better life of China's many national minorities. All autonomous *chou* and counties have modern hospitals, and many of the latter also boast efficient anti-epidemic, maternity and child-care centres. While hospitals and sanatoria in these areas by the end of 1963 more than quadrupled those of 1949, there were also 20 times as many beds and 31 times the number of medical workers.

Scourges such as smallpox and venereal diseases, once common among the minority people, have been eliminated in the main and several others have been brought under control. The age-old pestilence in the south, malaria is on the way out. In the worst-stricken places in multi-national Yunnan Province the incidence before liberation was between 50-100 per cent. Another killer which is being brought to heel is keshan disease, a heart disease first discovered among peasants in Keshan County, Heilungkiang Province. Modern midwifery has cut down birthbed and infant mortality.

Such results have been mainly the result of the increasing awareness of the need for personal and public hygiene, better living standards and better health service. Following the setting up of people's communes, medical and health services were rapidly expanded to reach every corner of the rural areas inhabited by the minority nationalities. Clinics have also been established in most minority communes to give quicker treatment.

Most nationalities now have their own trained medical personnel. For example, child specialist Dr. Tao Su-chen, one of the first modern doctors belonging to the Tai nationality trained after liberation, is doing excellent work for her people. Before liberation, Dr. Tao came from a family which suffered the evils of ignorance and superstition and which was declared to be possessed by a "devil" and thus held responsible for epidemics which took many lives. The medical and health picture in the minority areas has changed considerably since the not so many years ago when such witchcraft held sway.

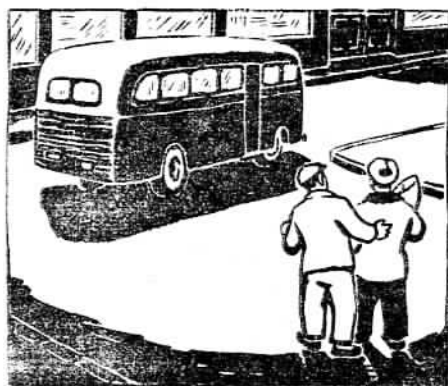
No Ordinary Holiday

Shih Chuan-hsiang, a well-known night-soil collector and People's Deputy to the National People's Congress, spent New Year's Day collecting night soil with students from a local middle school. All were out working at the crack of dawn. Responsible cadres from the Public Sanitation Bureau and other cadres swept the streets and collected garbage together with teachers and students from 30 schools. On January 2, Shih went back to his seat in the N.P.C. to discuss state affairs.

A driver on Route 22 spent New Year's Eve with his family, thanks to his Party branch secretary Ho Hsi-ching who insisted on replacing him at the wheel of a chartered bus. Ho himself spent a happy evening waiting to take people home after the big New Year's party which Chairman Mao and Chairman Liu and

50,000 citizens and members of the P.L.A. attended.

As Ho was delivering the last of his passengers on the city outskirts, the clock struck midnight. On his way back, he saw a young father trudging towards the city, carrying a child in his arms. Ho stopped the empty bus. On learning that the man was taking a sick child to hospital, he told him to get in, and made for the nearest children's hospital.



PEKING OPERA

"*Raid on the Tiger Regiment*"

Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes, which rose to national popularity with last summer's festival, have remained there. One show in the capital for which there are never enough tickets is *Raid on the Tiger Regiment*, one of the best examples of the "fighting" or acrobatic type of Peking opera.

This type of Peking opera has some unique features. Its conventions have their roots in the martial arts of the past. They include tumbling and aerial somersaults, "flying kicks," "splits" and other acrobatic movements which are difficult to perform, but graceful and exciting to watch.

Some were worried that such traditional conventions would find no place in operas on modern and contemporary themes; the hand weapons of modern war, for instance, are rifles, grenades, and sub-machine guns. The success of *Raid on the Tiger Regiment* and other new Peking operas of the fighting type has proved these worries groundless. Not only are the acrobatics still used, but by being adapted to and integrated with modern life to create images of present-day people, they have been brought closer to modern audiences.

Militant Sino-Korean Friendship

This particular opera is based on the exploits of a reconnaissance platoon of the Chinese People's Volunteers during the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. In the story, a C.P.V. commander and a liaison man of the Korean People's Army together lead a squad of Volunteer scouts on a reconnaissance mission deep behind the enemy lines. Disguised as puppet troops of Syngman Rhee, they cleverly slip through enemy posts, and aided by Korean villagers, reach and raid the headquarters of the crack "Tiger Regiment." This completely upsets the enemy's plan of attack and helps the main forces of the C.P.V. and the K.P.A. to win a resounding victory.

The courage and resourcefulness of the Chinese Volunteers, and the friendship of the Korean and Chinese people fighting shoulder to shoulder against the U.S. imperialist invaders and their puppets, is an inspiring theme, and the production is packed with dramatic action and suspense. Characteristics of Peking opera are well used.

The Acrobatics

The scouts start off on their mission on a stormy night. The road is muddy and tortuous, and the enemy soldiers are not asleep at their posts. The actors take full advantage of this for a display of acrobatic prowess.

Heads are bent against the imaginary gusts of wind and rain; an occasional movement to wipe the water off their faces; a sudden slip as the line advances and half a dozen helping hands offering assistance—a tense picture of the march is conjured up without benefit of stage props or change of scene. With nimble, staccato Peking opera steps they circle the stage several times—showing their spirit on the march. Abruptly and noiselessly they drop to the ground—enemy searchlights flit over them. They come up against a barbed-wire fence. With four agile tumbles they get on the run, and then leap across the fence with

a somersault. They make flying leaps down a high precipice, with an extra somersault in the air. When they alight, an additional "small tumble" is thrown in, indicating that they are trying to steady themselves on their feet.

The climax of the action takes place in the headquarters of the Tiger Regiment. As the scouts pour in, a U.S. "advisor" puts the light out with a shot, and pandemonium ensues. But it is an artfully contrived, perfectly co-ordinated pandemonium. An enemy soldier makes a headlong dive out of the window; a scout doing a "tiger leap" gains the top of a table and tumbles out the window after him. Scouts and puppet soldiers "dive" at each other, a crisscrossing pattern of flying figures in the air, while the drums thunder and the cymbals crash.

Throughout the play, the acrobatics and the fighting conventions reflect and are woven out of the real life of the scouts. They are closely linked with the dramatic development and relevant to the story.

Singing and Dancing

In acting, dancing, singing and music, too—the other important elements of Peking opera besides the acrobatics—*Raid on the Tiger Regiment* has introduced new elements.



A tense moment—disguised C.P.V. scouts come face to face with Syngman Rhee troops

In the opening scene, for instance, the platoon is shown spending a short leave in a Korean village where they had stayed a year before. The reunion between the young platoon leader and a village elder, Grandma Li, is movingly acted. Instead of using the traditional convention in such cases of a respectful but impersonal greeting, they look at each other, pause for a split second, then warmly embrace like mother and son. This is all done in dance movements, rhythmic and graceful. A lyrical passage of singing here by the platoon leader expresses the deep bonds of kinship between the two peoples and adds to the drama of the moment.

When the platoon leader briefs his men on the situation and exposes the hypocrisy of the U.S. imperialists who are holding "peace talks" with Korea and China while actively preparing further attacks on them, he sings: "Although we are holding peace talks, we must maintain our vigilance, and be ever ready to give the greedy American wolves blow for blow!" The last half of the sentence is taken from the famous *March of the Chinese People's Volunteers*, as is the melody, but both are well integrated with the traditional melodies of Peking opera.

Actors and Characters

The Shantung Peking Opera Troupe was the first to put on this opera, which has now been adapted into many other operatic forms. The librettists and most of the actors and actresses of the Shantung troupe came originally from army ensembles of the People's Liberation Army and some of them had also fought or performed at the Korean front during the war. Twenty-three-year-old Sung Yu-ching, who gave an excellent performance as the platoon leader, came of a poor family in the old society. His father was a professional musician. When Sung was only six years old, he was sent to a Peking opera troupe to learn the trade. Here, however, for two years, he learnt nothing but the taste of kicks and cuffs. At eight, liberation came, and he joined an ensemble of the P.L.A. There he really learnt the funda-

mentals of Peking opera and became skilled in the art. It was there too that he grew to understand what is meant by the revolutionary spirit and heroism of a people's fighter. The other actors of the play had similar experiences, and this helped them to create truly convincing stage images of revolutionary fighters. But they did not rest content with past knowledge alone. Before starting rehearsals for this opera, they met and heard the personal experiences of Combat Hero Yang Yu-tsai of the Chinese People's Volunteers, whose feats and those of his men were the basis on which the opera was written. They also lived among today's P.L.A. units, training with them and learning from their thoughts and feelings.

A Chinese saying goes: "A minute on the stage means three years of hard work behind it." As actors, they were only required to perform artistic syntheses of the operational techniques and movements of scouts. But they insisted on learning the "real stuff" first, to understand the essence of what they were doing.

An even harder job was to portray fully the heroic sentiments of the scout heroes. In the opera, the platoon leader is a main character who typifies the image of the revolutionary fighter. The danger exists of creating a stereotyped hero, out of an empty concept of a "hero." Sung Yu-ching, however, succeeds in recreating a human, true-to-life hero. His is a commander who does not boss it over his men, but is completely at one with them. His modesty and simplicity, as well as his alertness against the enemy, are well brought out. In many of the unexpected situations in the story, Sung uses his eyes to excellent effect in portraying the calm and unruffled poise and decision of a commanding officer. In one scene, a scout, ahead of the others, unwittingly steps on



Flying somersaults across a barbed-wire fence

Sketch by Wang Tung-hai

a land mine; he stands immobile, keeping his foot tightly pressed on the detonator so as to prevent it from exploding. At this critical moment, several of the men step forward. Looking round at his fearless comrades, each ready to sacrifice his own life for the rest, the platoon leader betrays an indefinable expression of pride in and concern for them. Finally, he decides to do the job himself; goes forward, carefully digs away the earth around the mine with his fingers, and exposes and disconnects the detonator. In this scene the whole troupe succeeded admirably in bringing out the high revolutionary heroism and collective spirit of the unit, and the stature of its commanding officer.

SHORT NOTES

U.A.R. Artists of the Reda Folklore Dance Company have been delighting Chinese audiences with music and dances from the Nile Valley. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among those who saw their performances.

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2nd National Sports Meet. New China's Second National Sports Meet will take place in Peking this September. This was announced last week by the Preparatory Committee for the meet which was formed with Marshal Ho Lung, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Chairman of the Chinese Physical Culture and Sports Commission, as the Chairman. The games will have a programme of 23 events. The First National Sports Meet was held in 1959.

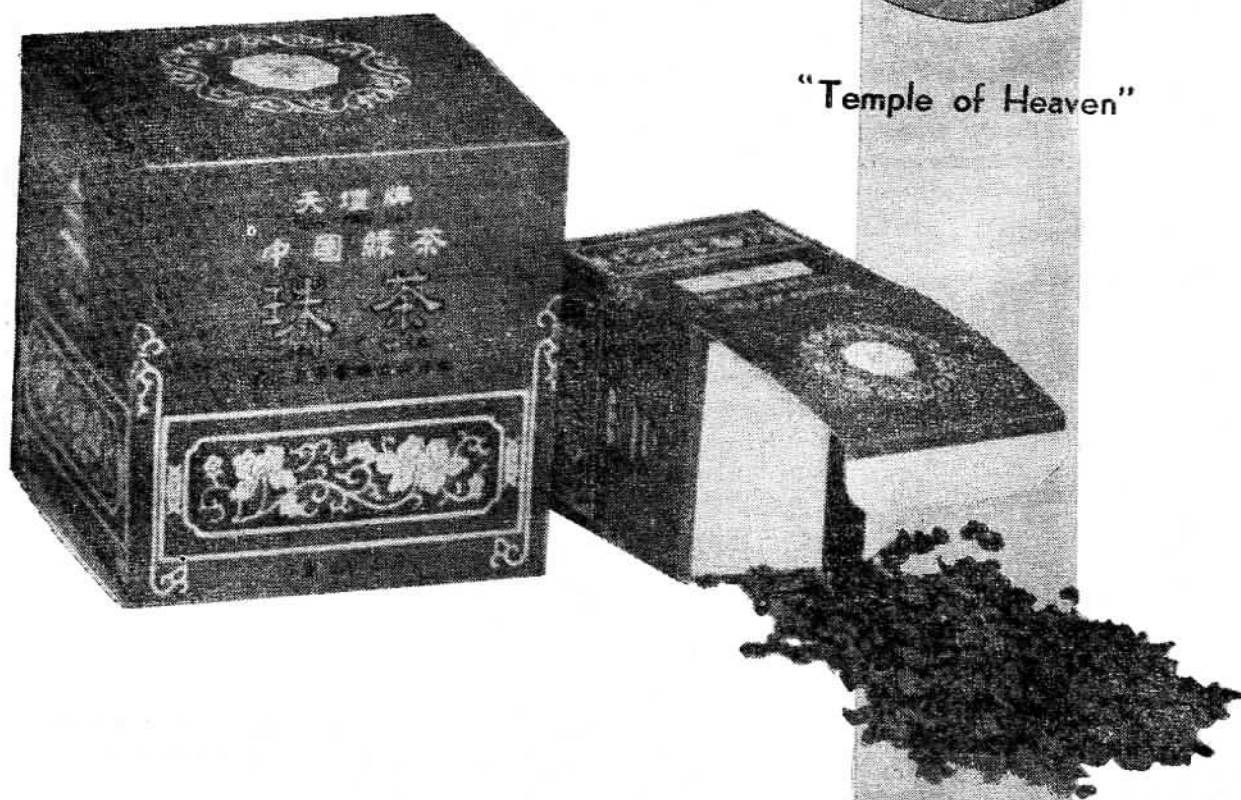
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