

PEKING REVIEW

25

June 18, 1965

Carry the Struggle Against Khrushchov Revisionism Through to the End

by the Editorial Departments of
Renmin Ribao and *Hongqi* (p. 5).

How China Implements Policy Of Self-Reliance

(p. 12).

From Bandung to Algiers

A factual survey (p. 16).

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報

A GREAT VICTORY FOR LENINISM

— In Commemoration of the 95th Anniversary of the Birth of Lenin

The text of an editorial published in "Hongqi" (Red Flag), No. 4, 1965, commemorating the birth of V.I. Lenin — the great teacher of the proletarian revolution. It deals with three questions: the nature of imperialism, so-called "peaceful coexistence," and the national-liberation movement.

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The Historical Experience of the War Against Fascism

by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao"

This article, written by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao" and published on May 9, 1965, commemorates the 20th anniversary of victory in the war against fascism.

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Commemorate the Victory Over German Fascism! Carry the Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism Through to the End!

Published in "Hongqi" No. 5, 1965, this article, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the victory over German fascism, was written by Lo Jui-ching, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

June 18, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 25

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THE WEEK

Chairman Mao Receives Indonesian Guests

Arudji Kartawinata, Speaker of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament, and his wife left Canton for home on June 12 after a two-week visit. While in China, they were received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung who had a cordial talk with them.

Among those seeing the Indonesian guests off in Canton was Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, who accompanied them on their visit to Shanghai, Hangchow and Canton.

Premier Chou Returns Home

Premier Chou En-lai was welcomed at the Peking airport by Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Ho Lung, Chen Yi and other leaders upon his return to the capital on June 10 following his visits to Pakistan and Tanzania.

On his way home, Premier Chou made a number of stop-overs. In Addis Ababa, he had a talk with Ethiopian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Ketema Yifru who met him at the airport. He was greeted at the Cairo airport by U.A.R. Deputy Premier Kamal Eddin Mahmoud Rifaat. During a three-hour stay in Damascus, Premier Chou held talks with Mohammed Amin El Hafez, President of the Syrian Presidential Council, at the Presidential Palace. In Karachi, he was welcomed at the airport by Pakistan officials.

Reception for Foreign Envoys. Premier Chou gave a reception on June 14 at which he expressed his thanks to the Governments and people of Pakistan and Tanzania and of those countries where he stopped over in the course of his visit. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, Pakistan Ambassador A.M. Raza, Tanzanian Charge d'Affaires ad in-

terim A. Lugimbana, Iraqi Ambassador A.M. Ameen, U.A.R. Charge d'Affaires ad interim Mohamed Gamal Eddin Khalil and Syrian Counsellor Abdul Fattah Yuness were present.

At the reception, the Premier toasted the growing friendship between the people of China and other Asian and African countries, Afro-Asian solidarity and the success of the forthcoming Second African-Asian Conference.

Ambassador A.M. Raza and Charge d'Affaires A. Lugimbana also toasted Sino-Pakistan and Sino-Tanzanian friendship as well as the Second African-Asian Conference.

Albanian Delegation Concludes Visit

The Albanian government economic delegation, led by Spiro Koleka and Koco Theodhosi, left Peking for home on June 9 after more than a month's visit in China. Among the thousands who saw the Albanian comrades off at the airport were Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien.

A press communique on the delegation's visit issued the same day hailed the visit for strengthening the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the people of the two countries. It pointed out that the friendly co-operation between China and Albania, which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, was not only conducive to the socialist construction of the two countries but also was helpful in strengthening the might of the socialist camp and the defence of world peace.

On the evening of June 8, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave a farewell banquet for the Albanian comrades. Both Li Hsien-nien and Spiro Koleka, who spoke at the banquet, pledged that the people of

China and Albania were determined to make any sacrifice to support the fraternal Vietnamese people in their resistance to U.S. aggression till final victory.

The Chinese Vice-Premier condemned the modern revisionists for colluding with U.S. imperialism in an attempt to divert the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people and place it in their "peaceful coexistence" orbit in complete disregard of the vital interests of the Vietnamese people. The Vice-Premier stated that, in order to carry the struggle against imperialism to the end, there should be no let-up in the struggle against modern revisionism.

In his speech, Spiro Koleka paid tribute to the tremendous progress in Sino-Albanian economic co-operation. He said: "The schemes of the imperialists, the Khrushchov clique and their followers to isolate Albania, to force it to submit, and to undermine its socialist construction have suffered ignominious defeat."

Ceylon C.P. Leader Arrives

N. Sanmugathasan, National Organizer of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party, arrived in Peking on June 12 on a visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, and other leaders welcomed him at the airport.

Indian Outrage Protested

The intrusion into Chinese territory by Indian soldiers and their outrageous abduction of two young Chinese women was strongly protested by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a note to the Indian Embassy in Peking on June 14.

On the morning of May 29, three Indian soldiers crossed the China-Sikkim border and carried out reconnaissance and harassing activities on Chinese territory at Dai and its vicinity in Khamba County. At that time two Chinese women from Tibet, one

Chen Yi on Second African-Asian Conference

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that China would do its utmost to contribute to the success of the forthcoming African-Asian Conference in Algiers this month. Speaking at the reception Nepalese Ambassador Kaisher Bahadur gave in Peking on June 11 to celebrate the birthday of King Mahendra, the Vice-Premier said: "The Chinese Government and people will work together with the Government and people of Nepal and other Asian and African countries to make joint efforts to carry the Bandung spirit forward and make the Second African-Asian Conference a success."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi drew attention to the fact that the imperialists and their followers who were afraid of this conference were trying to

undermine it by every possible means. Calling for vigilance against such sabotage, he said: "The great significance of the First Asian-African Conference which took place ten years ago has become clearer and clearer. It is by no means an exaggeration to say that the past decade has been a decade of awakening, solidarity, fighting and victory for the Asian and African countries. Both continents have become the storm centres of the world anti-imperialist revolution. The more than 2,000 million Asian and African peoples fervently hope that the Second African-Asian Conference will be crowned with success and that the common cause of solidarity against imperialism will be carried to a new high."

named Damque, age 23, and the other Jitzongm, age 22, were gathering dye-stuff. The intruding Indian soldiers carried them off and have not released them since.

The Indian soldiers' blatant violation of China's sovereignty and abduction of Chinese women have aroused the great indignation of the people of the area. In its protest note, the Chinese Government demanded that the Indian Government immediately return the abducted Chinese women, punish the culprits and take effective measures to ensure against the recurrence of such incidents.

Outstanding Crew Commended

The title "Vanguard Sea Vessel" was recently conferred on a Chinese Navy gunboat by the Ministry of National Defence. The vessel, *Vanguard No. 1*, has been commended yearly since liberation for outstanding service in combat training, convoy escort, patrol, rescue and other missions. In the 1950 sea battle to liberate the Wanshan Islands off the Pearl River estuary, the crew of the vessel captured a Kuomintang gun-

boat and, together with other vessels, sank another and beat off four enemy warships in escorting a landing craft to shore. In the order conferring the title, the Ministry of National Defence commended the men for the militancy and revolutionary spirit which they had demonstrated in daring to fight against a formidable enemy and overcome difficulties in the discharge of their duties. The Ministry also commended them for carrying forward the glorious tradition and good working style of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The title was handed out at a ceremony in central-south China on June 11. Addressing the gathering, Li Tso-peng, deputy commander of the navy, reviewed the heroic deeds of the crew in defending the country and praised them as glorious pace-setters for the entire navy to emulate. Their achievements, he said, were a result of holding high the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, faithfully carrying out the policies of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, giving primary importance to politics in work and upholding the glorious tradition of the P.L.A.

Carry the Struggle Against Khrushchov Revisionism Through to the End

— On the Occasion of the Second Anniversary of the Publication of "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" —

by the Editorial Departments of "Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi"

TIME flies. Two full years have elapsed since the publication by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of its "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement."

Two years are a mere instant in the long history of the international communist movement. But what fierce struggles and what tremendous changes these years have witnessed!

Two years ago, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov stirred up a gust of ill wind in the international communist movement in order to impose on the fraternal Parties the revisionist line which they had formulated at the 20th and the 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U., that is, the general line of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition," and of the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people." They repeatedly sounded the call for a general onslaught against China, against communism and against the people. They stage-managed anti-Marxist-Leninist farces at the congresses of five European fraternal Parties. They directed more than forty Communist Parties to launch wanton attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties. It seemed as if "the city might crumble under the mass of dark clouds."

The Marxist-Leninist General Line of the International Communist Movement

The "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" put forward by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on June 14, 1963, held aloft the torch of revolution, penetrated the dense fog of Khrushchov revisionism and defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

The Proposal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was a reply to a letter from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of March 30, 1963. In its letter, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. systematically set forth its views on a number of major issues of our epoch and, in particular, raised the question of the general line of the international communist

movement. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party considered it a very good thing that this question was raised. For the differences that had arisen since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. between ourselves and all other Marxist-Leninist parties on the one hand and the leaders of the C.P.S.U. on the other were not differences on this or that particular problem but differences of principle on a number of fundamental problems of the world revolution in our epoch, that is, differences concerning the general line of the international communist movement. The essence of the differences was whether or not the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population, need to make revolution, and whether or not the people already on the socialist road, who comprise one-third of the world's population, need to carry their revolution forward to the end. It concerned the fundamental principles which the entire international communist movement and every political party of the proletariat must adhere to and the basic tasks they must perform.

In "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party upheld the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, the common road of the October Revolution and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement; on the one hand it systematically dissected the theory and general line of the Khrushchov revisionists and exposed their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and of the cause of the proletarian world revolution, and on the other hand it made a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary world contradictions, gave Marxist-Leninist answers to a number of questions concerning the world revolution in our epoch, and put forward a Marxist-Leninist general line of the international communist movement diametrically opposed to the general line of Khrushchov revisionism.

The general line of the international communist movement proposed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party may be summarized as follows:

Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

This general line is one of resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries, one of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the very end; it is the line of effective struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace. It is the Marxist-Leninist general line for winning both complete victory in the revolution and lasting world peace.

The Proposal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was a programmatic document. It drew a clear line between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchov revisionism on a number of major problems of the contemporary world revolution and made a great theoretical contribution to the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism.

The publication of "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" marked the beginning of a new stage in the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism. Since its publication, together with the other Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties, the Chinese Communist Party has carried on a great public debate and launched a general counter-attack against Khrushchov revisionism. The Proposal was a major turning-point in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. It was a turning-point in the transition from the emergence and growth of Khrushchov revisionism, and indeed of the entire modern revisionist trend after World War II, to its complete bankruptcy.

Two Years of Open Polemics and Fierce Struggle

The two years since the publication of the Proposal by the Central Committee of our Party have been years of open polemics and fierce struggle, on an unprecedented scale, between the Marxist-Leninist parties and Marxist-Leninists of the world and the Khrushchov revisionists. In the first sixteen months the struggle was directed mainly against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov, and in the last eight months mainly against the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. who pursue Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov. The struggle has been a process in which Khrushchov revisionism has been incessantly exposed and discredited and in which Marxism-Leninism has incessantly registered progress and victories.

The open polemics and fierce struggle over the past two years have centred on the following three questions:

First, whether to adhere to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism or to anti-revolutionary revisionism. After we put forward the Proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement, the Khrushchov revisionists published their "Open Letter

of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to All Party Organizations, All Communists of the Soviet Union," strenuously defending their general line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful transition," the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people" and fiercely attacking the Chinese Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties. The great value of this Open Letter lay in the fact that it gave all Marxist-Leninists the right openly to expose Khrushchov revisionism and provided them with the negative material with which to develop their systematic criticism of its general line. Like the ill-fated magician of legend, the Khrushchov revisionists conjured up the "genie" by their incantations but could find no way of conjuring it away. The Marxist-Leninists of all countries have carried on the polemics with the Khrushchov revisionists in various ways. We, on our part, wrote nine articles in ten months commenting on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. We presented facts and reasoned arguments on a number of major questions of principle concerning the international communist movement, stripping Khrushchov of his mantle of Marxism-Leninism and further exposing him to the people of the world in his true colours as a renegade from Marxism-Leninism.

Secondly, whether to unite with the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys or to unite with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys against the people of the world. After the publication of the Open Letter, the Khrushchov revisionists committed a series of acts of treachery, the most glaring of which was the signing of the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests with the United States and Britain. This was a major exposure of the Khrushchov revisionists' betrayal of the interests of the Soviet people, the peoples of all the socialist countries and all the peace-loving people of the world. Firmly grasping the opportunity provided by the treaty and by other acts of treachery, the Chinese Communist Party and the Marxist-Leninists of the world fully exposed the Khrushchov revisionists' alignment with the forces of war against the forces of peace, their alignment with the imperialist forces against the socialist forces, their alignment with the United States against China, and their alignment with the reactionaries everywhere against the people everywhere. The facts have proved that Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world is the soul of the Khrushchov revisionist general line.

Thirdly, whether to have unity or a split. Betraying Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Khrushchov revisionists have become the greatest splitters in history. They held a plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in February 1964 at which they made an anti-Chinese report and adopted an anti-Chinese resolution, proclaiming that they were going to take "collective measures" against the Chinese Communist Party. After that, they actively plotted unilaterally to convene a preparatory meeting for an international meeting of the fraternal Parties and then the meeting itself, and they got ready to precipitate

an open split in the international communist movement. Together with many other fraternal Parties, the Chinese Communist Party thoroughly exposed their scheme for a split and adamantly boycotted their divisive meeting. In its letter of July 28, 1964 to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out: "The day your so-called meeting takes place will be the day you step into your grave."

Proceeding from betrayal in theory to betrayal in action and from political to organizational splitting activities, the Khrushchov revisionists have gone farther and farther down the road of destruction. Events developed so quickly that Khrushchov was driven off the stage of history before we finished our comments on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and before the leaders of the C.P.S.U. had time to convene their small schismatic meeting.

In these two years, imperialism headed by the United States has further revealed its aggressive nature, the people's revolutionary struggles have surged forward in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere, Khrushchov revisionism has been increasingly discredited and Marxism-Leninism has won one victory after another. All this proves that the general line of the international communist movement which we proposed is correct, that the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism is necessary, and that the views of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the major issues of our epoch stand up to the test of practice.

Contradicting Themselves, New Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Are in Grave Predicament

Khrushchov's downfall was a signal victory for Marxism-Leninism. But it meant neither the disappearance of Khrushchov revisionism nor the end of the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. had no alternative but to remove Khrushchov from his post, but they took over Khrushchov revisionism in its entirety. They have repeatedly declared that the line laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and in the Programme of the C.P.S.U. was, is and will be their "sole and immutable line in all domestic and external policy."¹ When the Chinese Party and government delegation was in Moscow for the celebration of the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. told us that there was not a shade of difference between them and Khrushchov on the question of the international communist movement and in their attitude towards China. All their deeds in the eight months since their assumption of office have shown that they are indeed following in Khrushchov's footsteps and that they are carrying out Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov.

It is not at all strange that after his downfall Khrushchov's successors should go on doing the same things as he did. Marxist-Leninists pointed out long ago that the emergence of Khrushchov revisionism is not due to a few individuals and is not an accidental phenomenon,

but has deep social roots. It is a product both of the inundation of the Soviet Union by domestic capitalist forces, and of the policies pursued by the imperialists.

After Khrushchov's ascent to power, this arch-schemer gradually usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, and as a consequence the new bourgeois elements in Soviet society gradually became a privileged bourgeois stratum opposed to the Soviet people. This privileged stratum is the social base of the Khrushchov revisionist clique. And this clique is its political representative.

The privileged stratum in the Soviet Union got rid of Khrushchov not because he practised revisionism, but because he was too stupid and disreputable, and because he was impaled on a dilemma in internal and external affairs, was opposed and condemned by the masses, deserted by his followers, and threatened by a growing crisis, and therefore could not muddle on any longer. The revisionist line was like a ramshackle cart which the rash fool Khrushchov was driving unsteadily, and this inevitably endangered the dominant position of the Soviet privileged stratum. Thus it came to pass that Khrushchov himself became an obstacle to the pursuit of Khrushchov revisionism. To protect the interests of the Soviet privileged stratum and press on with the revisionist line, it became imperative to oust Khrushchov and put others in his place.

As a matter of fact, the new leaders who have replaced Khrushchov are still Khrushchov's old cast. The political careers of its chief members are inseparably linked with Khrushchov. Are they not the same men who, along with Khrushchov, were active in attacking Stalin and in working for the restoration of capitalism? Are they not the same men who, along with Khrushchov, made vigorous attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties? Are they not the same men who, along with Khrushchov, strove to split the socialist camp and the international communist movement? And are they not the same men who, along with Khrushchov, colluded with U.S. imperialism against the people's revolutionary struggles in all countries?

Now these old actors face the very awkward and difficult problem of how to deck themselves out as new ones. Having got rid of Khrushchov, they must make certain gestures and play certain tricks to show that they are somewhat different from Khrushchov. But because they are political representatives of the privileged bourgeois stratum in the Soviet Union, just as Khrushchov was, they can only act in conformity with the interests of that stratum and pursue a revisionist line; there can be no difference between them and Khrushchov on this fundamental issue. Thus, for the past eight months they have been in a predicament, contradicting themselves all the time.

They are unable to explain the contradictions in their own statements. They say one thing today and another tomorrow; and every time they give themselves a slap in the face. They say that U.S. imperialism is "the aggressor," "the international gendarme" and "the

main force of war and aggression in our time," but in the same breath they aver that the Johnson Administration is "sensible," "moderate" and can be expected to "take concrete steps towards the further improvement of the world political climate."² They say that they want to oppose U.S. imperialism, but at the same time they declare that there exist "sufficiently broad areas for co-operation"³ between the Soviet Union and the United States. At times they profess condemnation of U.S. aggression in Viet Nam, but each time the objective they have in mind is "improvement of the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States" and they try to bring all world problems within the orbit of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation."

Similarly, they are unable to explain the contradictions between their statements and their actions.

Since they assert that, together with the people of the world, they will oppose U.S. imperialism, why do they maintain close contact, strengthen their collaboration and exchange information with it, and work in mutual understanding against the revolutionary struggles of the people?

Since they assert that they will support the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, why do they want to conspire with the United States to set up a permanent U.N. force, to organize an international gendarmerie for the suppression of the people's revolutionary struggles?

Since they assert that they will strengthen the unity of the fraternal Parties and countries, why have they taken an extremely grave step to split the international communist movement by convening the schismatic March meeting?

Since they assert that they will improve their relations with the fraternal Parties and countries, why do they persist in the policy of great-power chauvinism which Khrushchov adopted towards Albania and refuse to admit their mistakes? Why do they continue their anti-Chinese propaganda and activities at home and abroad, and even give that U.S. favourite, Shastri, the platform of the Kremlin from which to vilify China? Why do they keep on trying to subvert and disrupt the Japanese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party, and other Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties, and even give open support to such renegades from the Japanese Communist Party as Yoshio Shiga and do their utmost to help Shigeo Kamiyama in his election campaign?

Finally, they are unable to explain the contradictions in their own actions. While making some gestures of aid to Viet Nam, they have divulged their "aid" plans to the Americans in advance and have been busy in Washington, London and Paris trying to bring about peace negotiations, in a painstaking effort to find a "way out" for the U.S. aggressors. Does not this precisely confirm our repeated exposure of the fact that they are trying to capitalize on their "aid" to Viet Nam and to bring the Viet Nam question within the orbit of U.S.-Soviet co-operation? Certain remarks made by the U.S. imperialists should give food for deep thought.

They have said that the shipment of Soviet weapons to Viet Nam is an "encouraging element" and will have a "moderating effect." And they added that "the direct confrontation of American and Soviet forces . . . might even hasten negotiations for a settlement in Viet Nam."⁴

Compared With Khrushchov, His Successors Are Practising a More Covert, Cunning and Dangerous Revisionism

In a nutshell, there are both real and sham features in all this self-contradictory behaviour of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., some features being real and others sham. Some phenomena reveal the very essence of things and are real; other phenomena do not and are sham. For all their cheap stage tricks and deceptive writings, in none of their changes have the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. departed from their essence, namely. Khrushchov revisionism, splittism and great-power chauvinism, and Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world. But compared with Khrushchov, they are practising a more covert, more cunning and more dangerous revisionism.

This is how things often happen in history. The reactionary, moribund forces craftily take over progressive, revolutionary slogans as signboards for deceiving the masses and for accomplishing their own reactionary purposes. The revisionists of the Second International used the signboard of "Marxism" to betray the proletarian revolution. The Mensheviks took over Bolshevik slogans concerning the soviets and attempted to establish a bourgeois dictatorship. Tito practises capitalism in the guise of "socialism." Today, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are playing the same old trick. Taking over some of the slogans of the Marxist-Leninists, they are putting up a facade in order to conceal the essence of their continued pursuance of the revisionist line.

The class struggle is very complex, and the external appearances of events in the course of this struggle are even more so. To get to the essence behind the complicated appearances, we have to work conscientiously, to eliminate the false and retain the true and proceed from outward appearance to inner essence. Only by grasping the essence can we acquire a relatively deep and correct understanding of objective things in their totality. Marxism-Leninism serves us both as a telescope and as a microscope; it helps us to penetrate beyond the appearance of things and grasp their essence. After dealing with Khrushchov revisionism for quite a number of years we have become a little wiser. Our experience in discerning Khrushchov as he really was has made it easier for us to see the true nature of his successors without being misled by the false appearances they put on.

Persist in Tit-for-Tat Struggle Against Khrushchov Revisionism

The question confronting the Chinese Communists today is whether to carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end or whether to stop halfway.

To gain a breathing space, to recuperate, and to accumulate capital for a redoubled effort in pushing revisionism, the Khrushchov revisionists are using every possible means to blur the dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and are trying in vain to halt the struggle against revisionism. We must do the exact opposite; we must continue our triumphant pursuit and firmly carry forward the fight against Khrushchov revisionism to the very end.

Of late, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been loud in chanting honeyed words such as "unity." One must not just think it ridiculous that the self-same people who disrupted the unity of the international communist movement by brazenly calling the schismatic March meeting are now harping on "unity" today. There is more to it than just ridiculousness. They have a despicable aim. They are trying to capitalize on the aspirations of the people of the world for the closer unity of the revolutionary forces in face of the U.S. imperialists' rabid aggression. Under the pressure of events the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have had to change their tactics. Unlike Khrushchov, who adopted the open, naked, crude and high-handed policy of forcing the fraternal Parties to submit to his revisionist line, they are pretending to be quite accommodating and to care for overall interests in their attempt to sap the militant will of Marxist-Leninists in fighting against revisionism. To put it bluntly, by "unity" they mean that we should refrain from combating and exposing revisionism and should follow their revisionist practices, or at least leave them a free hand in such practices.

In our struggle against the revisionists, we must be able to deal both with their tough and with their soft tactics, we must dare to resist all their pressure and must refuse to be misled by any of their fine words. In the past, we were not afraid to oppose Khrushchov despite all kinds of pressure. We were fully aware that he would reply by exerting more pressure, yet we persisted in our principled struggle. Today, too, we should not be misled by the various guises and tricks of Khrushchov's successors and give up our principled struggle. On the contrary, we should be still firmer in our stand and raise our banner still higher.

The Chinese Communist Party is a Marxist-Leninist party, a serious and principled party. Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that "a policy based on principle is the only correct policy." It is correct to exercise the necessary flexibility in struggle, as long as this is done on the basis of principle. But flexibility should serve principle. It would be wrong to exercise unprincipled flexibility, to create ambiguity and confusion on questions of principle on the pretext of flexibility. There are clearly a series of fundamental differences of principle between us and the Khrushchov revisionists. The Khrushchov revisionists have completely transposed enemies and friends. If we were to abandon our principled stand and accommodate ourselves or yield to the Khrushchov revisionists, that would amount to white-washing them, helping them deceive the people of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist countries and of the

whole world, and to joining these revisionists in rendering service to imperialism; it would be a grave historical mistake. If we did that, the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world would never forgive us.

For quite a long period we refrained from publicly refuting Khrushchov revisionism. While keeping to our principled stand, we made concessions to Khrushchov on certain questions. Our purpose was to bring the leaders of the C.P.S.U. back to the road of Marxism-Leninism. But they returned evil for good. In one of our articles commenting on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., we expressed our readiness to accept criticism from comrades of fraternal Parties if they asked us why we had not let them know the truth about the differences and why we had made concessions to Khrushchov on certain questions. For us this is an important historical lesson in the struggle against revisionism.

We had hopes regarding the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., and watched and waited for several months. But they soon revealed their true colours and expressed their determination to continue along the path of revisionism. In these circumstances, we must firmly defend the ideological positions of Marxism-Leninism and persist in our tit-for-tat struggle against Khrushchov revisionism.

The struggle against Khrushchov revisionism has a vital bearing on the future of the international communist movement, the development of the people's revolutionary struggle and the fate of mankind.

Revisionism has always been a force hostile to and disruptive of the revolution. To make revolutions or to support revolutions, it is imperative to carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end.

Revisionism has always been a social prop of imperialism, a force serving imperialism. To combat imperialism, and above all U.S. imperialism, it is imperative to carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end.

Revisionism has invariably engaged in splitting activities against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary people, has invariably been a force sapping revolutionary unity. To safeguard the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to safeguard the unity of the revolutionary people of the world, it is imperative to carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end.

The Struggle Against Khrushchov Revisionism Will Win

The struggle against modern revisionism has won great victories in the last two years. Of course, this struggle is a protracted one, and some twists and turns and difficulties are unavoidable. But it is quite certain that Marxism-Leninism will triumph over revisionism in the end. This is proved by what has already happened and will also be confirmed in the future.

The Khrushchov revisionists are confronted with innumerable contradictions. They cannot resolve their contradiction with the Soviet people, Soviet Party members and cadres, who constitute over 90 per cent of the Soviet population, nor can they resolve their contradiction with the masses of the people and the Marxist-Leninists of all countries, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population of the world. They can neither resolve the contradiction between the great Soviet people who are determined to follow the socialist road, and U.S. imperialism, nor the contradiction within the ranks of the revisionists themselves. It was precisely these irreconcilable contradictions that wrecked Khrushchov's political career. Those who follow in his footsteps will not be able to avoid the same fate.

The forces of Marxism-Leninism have grown immensely in the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism, and particularly so since the beginning of the open polemics. Never have the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism been so widely propagated. The Marxist-Leninist ranks have undergone a new tempering. As we carry the anti-revisionist struggle forward today, we benefit from Lenin's experience in opposing the revisionists of the Second International, from Stalin's experience in opposing Trotsky and Bukharin and from the experience already gained in combating modern revisionism, and Khrushchov revisionism in particular. We must make full use of all these favourable factors and firmly combat Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov.

The task of the Marxist-Leninists is to know the world and to change it. It is through mastery of the laws of historical development, through reliance on the strength of the masses and through revolutionary struggle that Marxist-Leninists push the wheel of history

forward. But the revisionists go against the laws of historical development; they side with the reactionary and decaying forces, set themselves against the people, oppose revolutionary struggle and try to hold back the wheel of history. As Lenin said, "The winner in the long run is the side which has the force of historical development behind it."⁵ We have boundless confidence in the complete victory of the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people will unswervingly follow the general line of the international communist movement which we proposed two years ago. We will raise still higher the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism and, together with the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world, we will carry forward to the end the struggle against imperialism and reaction headed by the United States, carry forward to the end the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism, and strive for the triumph of the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, and for a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

NOTES

¹ Brezhnev's speech at a mass rally in Moscow, October 19, 1964.

² Commentator's article in *Izvestia*, November 5, 1964.

³ Gromyko's speech at the United Nations General Assembly, December 7, 1964.

⁴ *Washington Post*, April 17, 1965.

⁵ V.I. Lenin, "The Tsar Against the Finnish People," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1963, Vol. 16, p. 80.

(Subheads ours.—P.R. Ed.)

Britain's Role in U.S. Aggression In Viet Nam

Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Commentary, June 11

ON June 3 the British Government issued a White Paper on the question of an international conference on Cambodia in which it gave a distorted account of the history of the proposal to convene the conference, wilfully slandered the just stand of the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China and viciously assailed the Indo-Chinese People's Conference held in Phnom Penh last March.

On the same day, British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart made a statement on Cambodia and Viet Nam in the House of Commons in which he tried in a still more overt way to defend the U.S. imperialist crime of aggression in Viet Nam and indicated that

he would push the scheme of dividing Viet Nam and perpetuating U.S. occupation of south Viet Nam in accordance with Lyndon Johnson's peremptory preconditions for "unconditional discussions" and on the basis of the Belgrade Appeal.

This is another most unseemly action by the British Labour Party in tailing after the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war since it came to power.

A review of the activities of the British Labour government in connection with the question of Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China clearly shows that it actively follows and supports each new step taken by U.S. imperialism in its aggression, and plays the

role of an accomplice. When U.S. imperialism spread the flames of its war of aggression from south Viet Nam to north Viet Nam, the British Government hastened to beat the drum for it, clamouring that bombing of north Viet Nam was "necessary." When U.S. imperialism resorted to the "unconditional discussions" hoax to induce the Vietnamese people to surrender after its policy of war blackmail had repeatedly failed, the British Government immediately responded by sending off its high officials as "peace" brokers for the Johnson Administration. At present, along with the "escalation" of its military adventures, U.S. imperialism is sinking deeper and deeper in the quagmire of its war of aggression in Viet Nam, and is finding itself in a more difficult and isolated position than ever after the failure of its tricks of "unconditional discussions" and "temporary suspension of air attacks." In these circumstances, the British Government has issued the White Paper and its Foreign Secretary made the statement. **The purpose is still to mislead world opinion and lay a new trap of "peace negotiations" so as to render more service to U.S. imperialism.**

In its White Paper, the British Government tried hard to pretend as if it had all along worked sincerely for an international conference on Cambodia, but this was futile. In its statement of June 7, the Royal Government of Cambodia unmasked the British Government by setting forth irrefutable facts. The British Government indeed has sincerity — the sincerity to be at the U.S. Government's beck and call, and invariably to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism. The British Government stubbornly opposed the proposal for an international conference on Cambodia after it was first put forward by the Royal Government of Cambodia in August 1962. It was only in April 1965 that it made an about-turn and began to show great interest in such a conference. **The sudden rise of the British Government's attitude on the matter from the freezing to the boiling point is by no means due to a rapid change of heart in solicitude for the sovereignty of an Indo-Chinese state. "What the drinker is after is not the wine itself."*** In plain language, it is due to the fact that the ventures of the U.S. Government to extend its aggression in Viet Nam and intensify its war blackmail have met with a resolute rebuff from the people of Viet Nam and the whole world. It is due to the fact that Johnson's peace hoax has suffered one setback after another. Hence the idea of using an international conference on Cambodia as a bait for continuing to induce the Vietnamese people to surrender. Who is not clear about this? Gordon Walker, the British politician who travelled thousands of miles for the said intrigue, recently said frankly, "The first step towards an honourable settlement for Viet Nam would be a conference on Cambodia." The *New York Times* also openly admitted on June 4, "The importance of a Cambodian conference . . . is that it would permit informal talks on Viet Nam." It is nauseatingly hypocritical

* A Chinese saying describing a person doing something to divert attention from his real aim. — *Ed.*

for the Labour government to profess concern for the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

In its White Paper, the British Government tried to mislead public opinion by slanderously accusing Cambodia and China of a "departure" from their original proposals regarding the representation of south Viet Nam. This clumsy trick is also futile. The Royal Government of Cambodia rightly pointed out in its statement of June 7, "If the British Government considers that new conditions allow it now to accept the conference which it has refused till now, it would be highly logical for it to admit that new conditions also prevail in south Viet Nam." **Great changes have taken place in south Viet Nam in the past three years or more. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has not only liberated four-fifths of the territory of south Viet Nam with a population of more than 10 million, but politically represents the will and wishes of all the south Vietnamese people.** On the other hand, the Saigon puppets have become mere toys in the pocket of the U.S. Government, which can change them at will. In less than a year, the Saigon puppets have been changed more than ten times. Today, people only know that the U.S. Ambassador is the overlord in Saigon, but are never sure of the name of the new puppet. In face of these clear objective facts, it is only natural that the countries concerned should refuse to admit into an international conference the Saigon puppets who represent nobody. It is again futile and ridiculous for the British Government to disregard the objective facts and try to thrust the Saigon puppets into an international conference to usurp the seats due to the representatives of the south Vietnamese people.

On the question of Indo-China, the British Government has met with repeated setbacks in its activities to serve U.S. imperialism and to induce or compel the Vietnamese people to submit. But it is still not reconciled to them. Michael Stewart's statement of June 3 contains nothing new. It only shows that the British Government is still tailing after U.S. imperialism and trying to revive the already discredited "peace negotiations" plot. The "sequence of events" it set forth is only a repetition of the Johnson Administration's old trick of buying over the people of Viet Nam and the whole of Southeast Asia with one billion American dollars and inducing them to surrender at the conference table. To achieve this objective, Stewart has even tried to use the Belgrade Appeal as a magic weapon. All this can only serve to further expose before the world the sinister features of the British Government in colluding with U.S. imperialism and antagonizing the people of Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China.

The British Labour government has become disreputable and is caught in a dilemma because it faithfully follows the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Should it continue to pursue this course, it will ultimately fall a sacrifice for the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Viet Nam and will come to no better end.

As usual, Washington expresses approbation and appreciation whenever London makes a new effort to support the United States by trying to induce or compel the Vietnamese people to surrender. On this occasion, immediately after the publication of the White Paper, a spokesman of the U.S. Department of State said on June 4 that the British proposal was "constructive and interesting" and that the United States "would be most interested in what reaction it elicits from other quarters." On June 6, Lyndon Johnson hurriedly struck a pose by inviting the socialist countries to "reason together" with the United States and twaddled that "our door is unlatched, our table is set." A speech

in the same vein was made by Dean Rusk. But the echo of the U.S. cry of "peace," "peace" had barely subsided before the Johnson Administration formally admitted on June 8 that it had given orders for U.S. troops to take a direct part in the war of aggression in south Viet Nam, thus climbing up another even more dangerous step in the "escalation" of the war. **Everybody can see that the latest manoeuvre of the British Government to induce the Vietnamese people to surrender was in effect a direct support to this new step taken by U.S. imperialism in extending the war. Consequently, the British Labour government will not be able to shirk its responsibility for the grave developments which may ensue in the Viet Nam situation.**

How China Carries Out the Policy Of Self-Reliance

by TSENG YUN

THE Chinese people have adhered to the policy of self-reliance both in revolution and in construction. It is a policy of key importance.

Marxist-Leninists see the people as the makers of history and the peoples of the various countries as the makers of the histories of their countries. Revolution cannot be exported. The revolution in a country can only be made by its own people. In line with this principle, the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, relied mainly on themselves in their protracted and arduous struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and carry the democratic revolution to victory.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people continued to follow the policy of self-reliance in socialist construction. Relying mainly on their own efforts, they rapidly restored the run-down, war-ravaged economy left by the reactionary Kuomintang regime, started large-scale planned economic construction, developed agriculture and laid a preliminary and solid foundation for an independent industry.

The practical experience of the Chinese people has fully testified to the correctness of the view set forth by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement* that "every socialist country must rely mainly on itself in construction."

Main Aspects of the Policy

What are the main aspects of the policy of self-reliance during the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction?

First, self-reliance means to rely on the strength and diligent labour of our people to carry on economic construction.

Man is the most valuable asset of society and the leading factor in the social productive forces. After the victory of the democratic revolution, China immediately took steps to carry out the socialist revolution and free all the working people in the country from the system of exploitation. Our working people have thus become the real masters of their country. They show boundless enthusiasm for socialist construction, in which their vital interests lie. This enthusiasm has proved to be a great dynamic force in our socialist construction and the decisive factor in the high-speed development of our national economy. In undertaking any task and considering any problem, we always take full account of the fact that China has 650 million hard-working and courageous people.

In addition to the socialist system, it is essential to have a Marxist-Leninist line in order to mobilize the initiative of the broad masses of the people fully and make steady progress in socialist construction.

In 1958, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, summing up experience in China's socialist construction on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, put forward the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, quicker, better and more economical results in building socialism. This is a Marxist-Leninist general line — a general line that brings all positive factors into play for the building of socialism.

The achievements of the Taching Oilfield and the Tachai Agricultural Production Brigade clearly demonstrate what power the Chinese people can dis-

play under the guidance of the general line of socialist construction.

Relying on their own efforts and working under most difficult conditions, the Taching oil workers got a full knowledge of the size and reserves of a big oilfield in a little over a year and built a modern oil enterprise in the short span of three years. Displaying a similar spirit of self-reliance, the Tachai peasants built up their farm with industry and thrift. By a collective effort they terraced seven

ravines and scores of gullies and turned them into fertile land. Thus, in a relatively short period, they succeeded in transforming a poor hilly region into an area giving high yields of grain and other crops.

We Chinese people used to be looked down upon by the imperialists. Even when we had won our basic victory in the revolution, the imperialists did not believe that we would be able to undertake construction. Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State of the United States, and his like predicted that the Chinese Communist Party would never be able to solve the problem of feeding the people. They calculated that we would inevitably have to beg the U.S. imperialists for help. But Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on behalf of the Chinese people, solemnly declared: "Once China's destiny is in the hands of the people, China, like the sun rising in the east, will illuminate every corner of the land with a brilliant flame, swiftly clean up the mire left by the reactionary government, heal the wounds of war and build a new, powerful and prosperous people's republic worthy of the name." This prediction of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has become a living reality: A powerful and prosperous People's Republic of China now stands towering in the East.

Secondly, to build socialism self-reliantly means to make full use of all available resources in our country.

China has an area of 9,600,000 square kilometres and rich natural resources. Before the liberation, because of imperialist aggression and the reactionary rule of landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists, the rich natural resources of our country were far from being explored and developed; those resources that had been opened up were recklessly plundered by the foreign imperialists and the reactionary rulers at home and suffered great damage and waste. Thus, when China



Posters calling on all to emulate the oil workers of Taching and the peasants of the Tachai Production Brigade who have demonstrated a splendid spirit of self-reliance

By Pao Yi-ju and Shan Ying-kuei

began her socialist construction, certain natural resources were found to be lacking. In most cases, however, it was not that these things were really lacking but that they had not yet been discovered or extensively exploited due to scientific and technological backwardness or other causes. With the establishment of our socialist system and progress in our science and technology, our ability to know and change nature has grown tremendously. With soaring revolutionary

spirit, our people have forged steadily ahead in the conquest of nature and in the endeavour to explore and develop the natural resources of our country.

The imperialists have in the past spread all kinds of lies about China lacking the natural resources necessary for industrial development. During the 1930s, James Arthur Salter, a British bourgeois economist who was previously on the staff of the imperialist-controlled League of Nations, came to China to make an economic survey of the country. After this survey, it was declared that China did not have the necessary natural resources at home to develop heavy industry and thus could only develop agriculture and industries to process farm products. China was also considered an "oil-poor" country by some imperialist know-alls and bourgeois experts. The liberated Chinese people, however, have worked miracles in their land: They have found various natural resources and built new branches of heavy industry one after the other. They have also exploded the myth that China is oil-poor. Rich oil deposits have been found. An oil industry has been swiftly developed and China is now basically self-sufficient in oil.

Thirdly, to build socialism self-reliantly means to get the necessary funds for construction through internal accumulation. Being a socialist country led by a Marxist-Leninist party, China cannot procure funds for construction by contracting enslaving foreign loans at the expense of her sovereignty and independence, by resorting to imperialist methods of seizing colonies and grabbing the fruits of labour of other countries, or by launching wars of aggression and extorting war indemnities from the defeated countries. All this is incompatible with our socialist system. Our only source of funds for construction is our people's efforts to increase production and practise economy.

Before the liberation, as a result of ruthless exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, our industrial and agricultural level was low, our national income was small, and a considerable portion of this income, small as it was, was taken by our domestic and foreign exploiters. After the liberation, we abolished all privileges enjoyed by the imperialists in old China, confiscated the bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises and turned them into enterprises owned by the people's state. We also carried out land reform throughout the country, distributed to the landless and land-poor peasants a total of 700 million *mu* of land formerly owned by the landlords, and thus relieved the peasants of the burden of an annual rent of over 30 million tons of grain paid to the landlords. Immediately after land reform we took steps to realize agricultural collectivization step by step. At the same time, we brought about the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce owned by the national bourgeoisie. With the means of production transferred to ownership by the whole people or collective ownership by the working people, the material wealth created by the working people is no longer turned into profits for the imperialists or capitalists* or land rent paid to the landlords. Apart from that part allocated for raising the living standards of the working people and aiding other countries, it can now all be used as funds for construction.

In order to accumulate more funds for construction, while on the one hand endeavouring to increase production, we have resolutely followed the policy of building our country with industry and frugality and of running all our enterprises industriously and thriftily. We have advocated the practice of economy and opposed waste and extravagance in construction. A small sum saved by an enterprise or organization may seem negligible by itself, but, as China is a big country, a surprisingly big sum will be saved up if each enterprise and organization in the country does its bit of saving.

Ours is a planned economy. All construction funds are concentrated and used according to plan. In making our plans for capital construction, we apply the principle of "concentrating forces to fight a war of annihilation." In order to ensure the most rational use of funds and get the maximum economic results from them, we concentrate our funds on the most urgently needed projects so that they can be completed and commissioned as quickly as possible and refrain from building or postpone the building of those projects which are not necessary or not urgently needed. This constitutes the greatest economy in the use of funds.

In undertaking large-scale socialist construction, we have not borrowed a penny in loans from the capitalist countries. We have also completely paid off

* Following the change-over by whole trades of capitalist industry and commerce into joint state-private operation, the capitalists are paid interests on their shares at a fixed rate (generally 5 per cent per annum) by the state.

all our debts (including interest) to the Government of the Soviet Union to the total amount of 1,406 million new rubles. We rely solely on internal accumulation of funds for large-scale construction.

Fourthly, self-reliance in building socialism also means that we must gain and accumulate our own experience in building socialism and get to know the laws of socialist construction through our own efforts instead of copying the experience of other countries.

A country must rely mainly on itself to accumulate and sum up its experience in construction. It should also learn from the good experience of other countries, but not copy it mechanically without considering its own conditions. It must not regard the experience of other countries as a "golden rule" and so bind itself hand and foot. It is all the more impermissible to have a blind faith in foreign countries. A nation must think independently and dare to create something original and to develop and assimilate the useful experience of other countries and integrate it with its own practice in construction.

All roads are made by man and all experience is accumulated in the course of practice. By summing up our experience in construction, we have formulated our general line for socialist construction, a general line which conforms to the actual conditions of our country, as well as a number of specific policies necessary for the implementation of this general line. We have also gained fairly rich experience now in overcoming various kinds of difficulties. We are still constantly summing up our experience in order to understand the objective laws of construction better and amass more experience in building socialism.

For an Independent, Comprehensive and Modern Economic System

In building socialism self-reliantly our goal is to establish an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system in accordance with the conditions and needs of our country.

Agriculture and industry are the main branches of material production in the national economy. In building our national economic system, we have followed the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing the national economy, arranged our plan for economic development in the order of priority of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and correctly handled the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

Agriculture is the foundation for the development of the national economy. It supplies food and other basic means of livelihood to the people, provides raw materials and a market for industry and accumulates funds for national construction. The labour power needed for economic development comes mainly from the countryside. Therefore, we have always paid great attention to the growth of agriculture and made vigorous efforts to develop it in accordance with the

policy of diversification with grain production as the key link. We have also enlisted the efforts of all trades and professions in giving support to agriculture so that it can develop at a fairly rapid rate.

Industry is the leading factor in the development of the national economy. As the producer of means of production, and primarily the instruments of production, industry, particularly heavy industry, supplies agriculture and other branches of the national economy with modern technical equipment to promote the modernization of the entire economy. In old China, industry was extremely backward. Modern industry accounted for only 10 per cent of the total value of industrial and agricultural output. The few industries that did exist were in the service of imperialism. They were mainly processing plants and plants doing repairs and assembly. They could not even make simple machines and equipment. They depended on foreign countries for their supply of raw materials and technical guidance. Hence, an important task that confronted us at the beginning of our socialist construction was the socialist industrialization of our country.

Starting from a weak industrial base, we have met many difficulties in building new branches of industry and manufacturing products which we had never made before. But we Chinese people have the determination and means to overcome difficulties. Consequently, one difficulty after another has been surmounted. Today, we are able to rely entirely on ourselves in designing and building many important modern industrial enterprises, designing and making various large, complicated and high-precision machines and equipment and producing large quantities of high-quality raw and other materials and fuels of a fairly complete range of types and specifications. The number of complete sets of equipment we are manufacturing has also increased. Beginning from last October, we have successfully exploded two atomic bombs which we made ourselves.

In industrializing our country, we do not place a one-sided emphasis on heavy industry and develop it in isolation. On the contrary, we have developed heavy industry step by step on the basis of ensuring a comparatively bigger growth of agriculture and light industry in order to speed up industrialization. Facts have proved that this is the correct road to China's industrialization.

Our experience in construction over the last 15 years shows that there can be no real political independence in the absence of economic independence. It is the implementation of the policy of self-reliance that has enabled us to withstand the pressures of imperialism, old and new colonialism and modern revisionism and preserve our national independence and sovereignty.

As soon as New China was founded, U.S. imperialism, along with other imperialist countries, took piratical measures to impose an economic blockade on us in an attempt to strangle the newborn People's Re-

public. In recent years, when our country was struck by serious natural calamities for three consecutive years, the Khrushchov modern revisionists employed unprecedentedly perfidious means to put pressure on us, such as the withdrawal of Soviet experts working in China and the scrapping of contracts and agreements, in an attempt to make us submit to their revisionist line. But neither blockade nor pressure can intimidate the Chinese people who have maintained the glorious tradition of self-reliance. On the contrary, these only served to stimulate our revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, enterprise, hard struggle and building the country by diligence and thrift, and thus helped quicken the tempo of our socialist construction. Far from submitting to the pressures of imperialism and modern revisionism, we have consistently held aloft the banner of struggle against imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism and continued to contribute to the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

Self-Reliance and International Aid

As a result of our implementation of the policy of self-reliance and the smooth development of our national economy, we are now in a better position to fulfill our internationalist duty. Our increased capacity for building socialism self-reliantly has directly strengthened the might of the whole socialist camp. Through the successful advance of our national construction, we have not only lightened the burden on the fraternal socialist countries but gained greater strength to assist them. We have also been able to give strong support to those countries which have just freed themselves from imperialist rule and won their national independence and to those peoples who are still engaged in revolutionary struggles.

While adhering to the policy of self-reliance in our socialist construction, we have highly valued and welcomed international assistance. But life has taught us the lesson that it is important to discern the real nature of foreign aid before accepting it. The foreign "aid" provided by imperialism and old and new colonialism is nothing but an instrument of aggression. We Chinese people do not want such "aid." We welcome and accept aid given on the basis of proletarian internationalism, aid coming from socialist countries which uphold Marxism-Leninism as well as aid provided by the revolutionary people all over the world.

Acting in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Chinese people have always endeavoured to develop economic co-operation and trade relations with the socialist countries and other friendly countries. We are not in the least harmed no matter how certain people, because of our adherence to the policy of self-reliance, slander us for "maintaining a policy of exclusion," "going it alone" and "building an autarkic national economy." We will continue to persist in our policy of self-reliance — a policy that is making itself felt ever more strongly in the socialist construction of our country.

From Bandung to Algiers

The Second African-Asian Conference is scheduled to open on June 29 in the imposing new building at the Club of Pines in Algiers, Algeria. The more than 2,000 million people of Asia and Africa who make up more than half of the world population have been looking forward to this day. It is their cherished hope, and that of the people throughout the world, that this conference will hold high the banner of unity against imperialism-colonialism and carry forward the tradition of the 1955 Bandung Conference. What were the achievements of the Bandung Conference? How has the Algiers Conference been called? Here are some pertinent facts.

The Bandung Conference

Asia and Africa Standing Up. The peoples of Asia and Africa created outstanding civilizations that date back to antiquity and made great contributions to mankind. But, throughout modern times, most of the Asian-African countries to a greater or lesser extent have been subjected to colonial plunder and oppression, and have thus been forced to remain in a stagnant state of poverty and backwardness. For a long time, their voices had been suppressed, their aspirations shattered and their fate placed in the hands of others. They have no choice but to rise against colonialism.

Profound changes took place after World War II with many countries in the region taking their destiny into their own hands after long years of endeavour, casting off the shackles of colonialism. Awakened and militant people throughout Asia and Africa strongly desired unity in their common fight against colonialism and imperialism, and in their efforts to develop and build their own lands.

29 Participants. It was in these historical circumstances that the Asian-African Conference was proposed. It was to be the first of its kind, where the Asian-African countries gathered together, without the interference of the colonial powers.

Bandung, a beautiful city in West Java surrounded by mountains, was chosen as the venue of the conference. Meeting between April 18 and 24, 1955, at Bandung's Merdeka (Independence) Hall and the Dwiwarna (Bi-Colour) Hall, the conference was attended by the following 29 participants:

Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Egypt (now U.A.R.), Ethiopia, Gold Coast (now Ghana), India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, south Viet Nam and the Yemen.

The Soviet Union, which is neither an Asian nor an African country, did not ask to participate. Nor was it (or its union republics in Asia) invited by the conference sponsors.

"Let a New Asia and Africa Be Born." The opening session of the conference heard a heartening speech by the Indonesian President. In his speech entitled "Let a New Asia and Africa Be Born," President Sukarno declared:

Nations, states have awakened from a sleep of centuries. Passive peoples have gone outward, tranquillity has made place for struggle and activity. Irreversible forces have swept the two continents. . . . Hurricanes of national awakening and re-awakening have swept over the land, shaking it, changing it for the better.

Seeking Common Ground. It is true that the Asian-African countries have different social systems and hold different political views—there are even disputes between some of them. But, thanks to the joint efforts of many delegations, the conference in a matter of days reached unanimous agreement on various questions such as opposing colonialism and striving for and safeguarding national independence. The call from Bandung shook the already tottering framework of colonialism.

Seeking common ground while setting aside differences was a key to the Bandung success. As China's Premier Chou En-lai said at the conference:

Is there any basis for seeking common ground among us? Yes, there is. The overwhelming majority of the Asian and African countries and peoples have suffered and are still suffering from the calamities of colonialism. This is acknowledged by all of us. If we seek common ground in doing away with the sufferings and calamities under colonialism, it will be very easy for us to have mutual understanding and respect, mutual sympathy and support, instead of mutual suspicion and fear, mutual exclusion and antagonism.

Colonialism Condemned. The seven-day conference adopted a final communique embodying the conclusions of the discussions that took place. The communique consists of seven items. They are: economic co-operation; cultural co-operation; human rights and self-determination; problems of dependent peoples; other problems; promotion of world peace and co-operation; and declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

In the resolution on the problems of dependent peoples, the conference emphatically declared that colonialism in all its manifestations [political, military, economic, cultural and social] was an evil which should be speedily brought to an end. The conference also paved the way

for closer co-operation among the Asian-African countries. It was agreed that the participating countries should work for economic co-operation, based on mutual benefit and respect for national sovereignty. In the cultural field, the participating countries stressed the need for greater contact and exchange, while denouncing the suppression of national cultures by the colonial powers.

The Ten Principles. In the declaration on promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted by the conference, the following ten principles were enumerated to guide relations between nations:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.

4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

6. (A) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

(B) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

9. Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.

10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

These have become known as the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. The historic conference gave birth to the Bandung spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity against colonialism and imperialism.

Torch of Independence

Epoch-making changes have taken place since the 1955 Asian-African Conference. Asia and Africa have become the world's storm-centres of revolution where the contradictions between the imperialist powers and oppressed nations converge. Inspired by the spirit of Bandung, many oppressed nations have come into their own again by overthrowing their oppressors.

In the space of ten years 35 more countries, mostly in Africa, have won independence. This means that nearly 210 million people inhabiting an area of over 20 million square kilometres have freed themselves from colonial shackles.

ASIAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE WON INDEPENDENCE SINCE 1955

Name	Date of Independence	Capital	Area (in sq. km.)	Population
Africa				
Sudan	Jan. 1, 1956	Khartoum	2,500,000	13,180,000
Morocco	Mar. 2, 1956	Rabat	455,577	12,500,000
Tunisia	Mar. 20, 1956	Tunis	125,130	4,290,000
Ghana	Mar. 6, 1957	Accra	238,188	7,500,000
Guinea	Oct. 2, 1958	Conakry	245,857	3,357,000
Cameroon	Jan. 1, 1960	Yaounde	475,000	4,560,000
Togo	Apr. 27, 1960	Lome	56,600	1,603,000
Mali	Sept. 22, 1960*	Bamako	1,204,021	4,394,000
Senegal	Aug. 20, 1960	Dakar	197,161	3,360,000
Malagasy	June 26, 1960	Tananarive	592,000	5,650,000
Congo (Leopoldville)	June 30, 1960	Leopoldville	2,345,809	15,170,000
Congo (Brazzaville)	Aug. 15, 1960	Brazzaville	342,000	840,000
Somalia	July 1, 1960	Mogadishu	660,000	2,300,000
Dahomey	Aug. 1, 1960	Porto Novo	112,622	2,250,000
Niger	Aug. 3, 1960	Niamey	1,276,627	3,127,000
Upper Volta	Aug. 5, 1960	Ouagadougou	274,122	4,650,000
Ivory Coast	Aug. 7, 1960	Abidjan	322,000	3,660,000
Chad	Aug. 11, 1960	Fort Lamy	1,284,000	2,803,000
Central African Republic				
Gabon	Aug. 17, 1960	Libreville	267,000	453,000
Nigeria	Oct. 1, 1960	Lagos	923,772	55,650,000
Mauritania	Nov. 28, 1960	Nouakchott	1,169,000	1,000,000
Sierra Leone	Apr. 27, 1961	Freetown	72,326	2,183,000
Rwanda	July 1, 1962	Kigali	26,338	2,873,000
Burundi	July 1, 1962	Bujumbura	27,834	2,600,000
Algeria	July 3, 1962	Algiers	2,200,000	12,000,000
Uganda	Oct. 9, 1962	Kampala	236,037	7,190,000
Kenya	Dec. 12, 1963	Nairobi	582,646	8,847,000
Tanzania	Apr. 26, 1964**	Dar-es-Salaam	939,719	10,110,000
Malawi	July 6, 1964	Zomba	127,900	3,922,000
Zambia	Oct. 24, 1964	Lusaka	752,620	3,610,000
Gambia	Feb. 18, 1965	Bathurst	10,367	310,000
Asia				
Malaya	Aug. 31, 1957	Kuala Lumpur	131,794	7,607,000
Cyprus	Aug. 16, 1960	Nicosia	9,251	589,000
Kuwait	June 19, 1961	Kuwait	16,000	400,000

*Date Mali left the French Community.

**Tanganyika achieved independence on December 9, 1961, and Zanzibar on December 10, 1963. The two countries decided for union on April 26, 1964, and on October 29, 1964, became known as the United Republic of Tanzania.

Road to Algiers

The changes in Asia and Africa have been most inspiring. But the tasks facing the Asian-African peoples remain arduous.

A number of Asian-African countries are suffering under direct colonialist rule. Those which have attained independence are still subjected to or menaced by imperialist exploitation, intervention, subversion or outright aggression. Old colonialism has not died while neo-colonialism has become a rising and real danger to many newly independent countries.

The harsh realities of international life convince the Asian-African peoples that the struggle against imperialism, against colonialism old and new, remains their most pressing common task. As President Sukarno said (April 10, 1964 in Djakarta):

Make no mistake, sisters and brothers, that struggle must continue! Make no mistake, that struggle will continue to be hard! Make no mistake, that struggle is bound to demand our attention, to call for our time!

It was in this spirit that the Indonesian President initiated the Second African-Asian Conference. It was in the same spirit that many governments and the general public of the two continents have expressed themselves strongly in favour of the convening of such a conference.

Djakarta Preparatory Meeting. Thus, the Preparatory Meeting of the Second African-Asian Conference took place in Djakarta from April 10-15, 1964. The 22 participating nations were:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Cambodia, the Cameroon, Ceylon, the People's Republic of China, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Syria, Tanganyika, Turkey, the United Arab Republic.

In spite of imperialist manoeuvres, the meeting proved a great success. The Final Communique (for full text see *Peking Review*, No. 17, 1964) recorded the unanimous view that "at this juncture in international developments the convening of a Second African-Asian Conference was of paramount importance." The meeting decided, in view of the fact that the 1955 Asian-African Conference was held in Asia, that the second be held in Africa on March 10, 1965, at a heads of state and heads of government level. Selection of the venue would be left to the Organization of African Unity (which chose, in July 1964, Algeria as the host country).

The Objectives. In its decisions on the objectives of the Second African-Asian Conference, the meeting laid stress on further inspiring the Asian-African peoples in their continued struggle against imperialism, all forms of colonialism, racial discrimination and foreign economic exploitation, and on supporting the complete emancipation of countries still under foreign domination. The meeting also emphasized that the Second African-Asian Conference would strive to promote mutual understanding and friendship among the nations and peoples of the two continents, strengthen their economic, social and cultural co-operation on the basis of political sovereignty, economic self-reliance and cultural self-assertion, and enhance the role of the Asian-African countries in international affairs and in the maintenance of world peace.

In the light of these objectives the meeting worked out a provisional agenda for the Second African-Asian Conference. It also made decisions on some other questions.

Reaching Unanimity Through Consultations. The Djakarta meeting gave full play to the Bandung spirit of stressing areas of agreement rather than points of difference and of reaching unanimity through consultations. As China's delegate, Vice-Premier Chen Yi, said (April 17, 1964 in Djakarta):

The relationship between us Asian and African nations differs from that between the imperialist powers and the weak and small nations and also differs from that among the imperialist powers themselves. Among us, the minority cannot impose their views on the majority; nor can the majority impose their views on the minority. Among us, things that are agreeable to all will be done and things that are not will not be done. Throughout our six days of meeting no decision was reached by voting; there was not a single occasion on which a vote was cast. Why? Because unanimous agreement was reached on all matters through consultation. This is the key to the success of the meeting.

In pursuance of the decision of the Djakarta meeting, an economic preparatory meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference was called in Geneva on June 16-17, 1964. Forty-one Asian-African countries were represented. A joint communique released on June 18 declared that the meeting "unanimously recognized the great significance of strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity and co-operation for the winning of economic independence." The communique also contained a "preliminary review of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development by its African and Asian participants."

The Djakarta meeting decided to set up a permanent committee at ambassadorial level to prepare for the Second African-Asian Conference. The 15 members of the committee were:

Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, Ethiopia, India, the People's Republic of China, Cambodia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Tanzania, Iran, Malawi and Zambia.

At its fourth meeting on February 8-9, 1965 the committee approved the Algerian Government's request for postponing the conference from March 10 to June 29, 1965 because of material difficulties.

On June 8, the committee concluded its seventh and final session in Algiers. A meeting of Foreign Ministers is scheduled to begin in the Algerian capital on June 24 prior to the opening of the conference on June 29.

The Asian-African people set great store by the Bandung tradition. Last April, 40 countries from both continents sent representatives to Indonesia for the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference.

The Asian-African people place high hopes in the Algiers Conference. They expect it to carry forward the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism to a new high.

—SU MIN

Imperialist Plunder — Biggest Obstacle To the Economic Growth of "Underdeveloped" Countries

by KUO WEN

THE imperialists in recent years have tried to spread the false idea that "colonialism is dead" and that economic differences between the "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries are the sole question that separates them today. Their aim is to cover up the basic contradictions between the oppressors and the oppressed, the exploiters and the exploited, which mark the relations between the imperialist countries and many Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Imperialist oppression and exploitation is the main reason for the retarded economic development of many Asian, African and Latin American countries. The only way they can build independent and prosperous national economies is to make a clean sweep of colonialist economic relationships and to oppose vigorously the political and military measures used to support them.

Investment Overseas — Basis of Imperialist Exploitation

The huge capital invested by the imperialist monopolies abroad is, as Lenin pointed out, "a sound basis for the imperialist oppression and exploitation of most of the countries and nations of the world."¹ In the vast "underdeveloped" areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, this basis has not yet been destroyed, but it must be destroyed.

The end of World War II saw the nationalization of some imperialist enterprises in a number of "underdeveloped" countries. But this has not been followed by a fall in the investments of the imperialist monopolies; on the contrary they have increased. **By these investments, imperialism has seized more and more sources of raw materials in the "underdeveloped" countries, exploited an increasing number of local workers and raked in bigger and bigger profits. As a result,**

despite their hard-working people and rich resources, the "underdeveloped" countries find it difficult to accumulate national capital and develop independent national economies.

Take, for example, the United States, the biggest colonialist of our times. According to U.S. Department of Commerce statistics, the book value of direct investments by U.S. monopolies in the "underdeveloped" areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America more than doubled from about \$5,700 million in 1950 to \$13,340 million in 1963. The real value of these investments, however, should be \$26,680 million as the department itself admitted that the book value roughly represented only half the actual worth.

These large investments have enabled U.S. monopolies to control countless important sources of raw materials in the "underdeveloped" countries. For instance, more than half the production of crude oil in these countries is now under the control of U.S. monopolies. They also exploit large numbers of local workers. In Latin America, 2 million people are directly employed by enterprises controlled by American capital. Because the mines in these countries are extraordinarily rich and the wages of local workers are extremely low, the rate of profit on U.S. investment there is very high. In 1963, even according to official U.S. figures the return from direct U.S. private investments in the "underdeveloped" countries was 17.1 per cent, approximately twice as much as from direct U.S. private investments in the "developed" countries. It was as high as 76.7 per cent from the oil industry in the Middle East.

Staggering profits. The large increase in the amount of capital invested in "underdeveloped" countries, with its high rate of profit, has brought bigger and bigger profits to the U.S. monopolies. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, in 1950 U.S. monopolies earned \$970 million in profits from their direct investments in the "underdeveloped" countries. By 1963 these

¹ *Collected Works*, English ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXII, p. 242.

had increased to \$2,280 million. These figures were, of course, greatly minimized. It has been estimated that the profit concealed would amount to about 75 per cent of the official figures. Calculated on this basis, the U.S. monopolies in 1963 grabbed \$4,000 million in profits from their direct investments in the "underdeveloped" countries, or \$2,300 million more than what they actually were in 1950.

The imperialist monopolies remitted home a portion of their profits, issued generous dividends to shareholders and paid their directors handsomely. In addition to feeding this pack of parasites at home, they also reinvested part of their profits in the "underdeveloped" countries. In 1961-63, profits ploughed back for reinvestment made up about one half of the U.S. monopolies' newly increased direct investments in these countries.

If this process is allowed to continue, imperialist monopolies will be able to use their earnings to exploit still larger numbers of local wage labourers, lay hold of still more resources and reap still bigger profits.

Latin America—a case in point. This is best illustrated by investments in Latin America where U.S. monopoly capital has a long history of infiltration and exploitation. The U.S. Department of Commerce gave the book value of the total increase in direct U.S. private investments in Latin America from 1946 to 1962 as \$6,600 million. If calculated on the basis that the actual value is double the book value, the total increase was \$13,200 million. And it is legitimate to say that the new investment was made possible entirely by exploiting local wage labour because capital outflow of new direct U.S. private investment to Latin America in that period was about \$6,000 million less than the profits remitted back to the United States. With the steep increase in investment, the profits which U.S. financial oligarchies had secured doubled during the same period.

The above-mentioned \$13,200 million plus \$6,000 million roughly equalled the aggregate profits from direct U.S. private investments in Latin America in that period — \$19,200 million. These figures were three times the total postwar U.S. economic "aid" to Latin American countries up to fiscal 1962, and about \$10,000 million more than the total foreign debts incurred by the "underdeveloped" countries on that continent up to the end of 1962.

This shows that if "underdeveloped" countries in Latin America had taken over all the U.S. capital-controlled enterprises in postwar years, and had used them to accumulate national capital instead of allowing them to be used by the U.S. monopolies to extort profits, it would have been entirely possible for these countries to free themselves from foreign "aid" and foreign loans and to create favourable conditions for the development of their national economies.

"Political guarantees." It is pertinent to point out that the imperialist monopolies have to rely not only on their

own economic power for investment and profit grabbing abroad but also on the backing of their governments, not excluding the use of supra-economic means.

"Political guarantees," as is well known, are more needed for investments than for trade. After the end of World War II, the imperialists have had to use some neo-colonialist tricks to cope with the surging tide of the national-liberation movements, and in certain circumstances they have recognized the independence of their former colonies. But when the newly independent countries "infringe" upon the colonial interests of the financial oligarchies, it is not unusual for the imperialists to retaliate by every possible means, including the use of violence. An example of this is the Anglo-French war against Egypt over the latter's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company.

U.S. imperialism has an even worse record in this respect.

In 1953, the United States engineered a military coup d'état in Iran and overthrew the Mossadegh government which nationalized the oil industry. U.S. oil magnates then secured from the pro-U.S. Zahedi regime 40 per cent of the shares in the reconstituted International Petroleum Company.

In 1954, the United States subverted Guatemala's popularly elected Arbenz government because it expropriated land held by the U.S. United Fruit Company and started building a state power station to break the monopoly of the U.S.-owned Empresa Electrica de Guatemala. Then Carlos Castillo Armas, a placeman of U.S. imperialism, became President, Carlos Salazar Gatica, a United Fruit Company lawyer, was appointed Foreign Minister, and Jorje Arenales Catalan, a lawyer for the Empresa Electrica de Guatemala, Minister of Economic Affairs. The Armas government gave back the expropriated land to United Fruit. Work on the state power station was stopped.

In April last year the United States engineered a military coup d'état in Brazil because the Goulart government not only opposed intervention in Cuba but also took some steps to restrict foreign capital and protect the interests of the national economy. These measures included abrogation of the mining rights of the U.S. Hanna Corporation, restriction of the outflow of profits mulcted from the people by foreign capital and plans to take over oil refineries controlled by American capital. The new Brazilian authorities have ordered the repeal of the law restricting the remittance of profits abroad.

Unequal treaties. Another way of providing "political guarantees" for investments is to coerce the "underdeveloped" countries into signing unequal treaties. Today the old-type unequal treaties which provided only for naked colonialist investment prerogatives, are gradually being replaced by unequal treaties of a new type which, on the face of it, seem to be "reciprocal" but are

actually advantageous to the imperialist investors only. In this category are those treaties which the imperialists concluded with their former colonies when the latter obtained independence, and which included "national treatment" granted by one party to investors of the other. The 1946 U.S.-Philippine "Treaties of General Relations" specifically stipulated that the property rights enjoyed by citizens or legal persons of one party should be respected and protected in the same way as those of citizens or legal persons of the other. The "treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation" which the United States concluded with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the south Korean puppet authorities and the reactionary regime in south Viet Nam also incorporated clauses of "national treatment."

The facts mentioned above demonstrate that in order to cut off the tentacles of the imperialist monopolies which suck their life blood in the form of capital export, the "underdeveloped" countries must fight staunchly against the various means of colonialist oppression the imperialists use to protect their investments.

Exploitation Through Unequal Terms of Trade

Imperialist exploitation by means of investment is accompanied by exploitation in the form of unequal terms of trade with the "underdeveloped" countries which are exporters of primary products.

During the period of industrial capitalism the "advanced" capitalist countries in Europe and North America, backed by gunboat diplomacy, had already begun the large-scale export of commodities to Asia, Africa and Latin America. This led to the destruction of the handicrafts of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the throttling of their national industries, thereby turning them into suppliers of raw materials. In the period of imperialism, by means of capital exports, the monopolies took a direct part in developing the production of primary products in the "underdeveloped" countries, which they needed themselves, particularly mineral raw materials. At the same time they established more factories there. As a result, the national industries suffered both from competition from imported goods and directly from local factories operated by foreign capital. The economies of the "underdeveloped" countries thus became more lopsided.

After the end of World War II, many "underdeveloped" countries tried to develop a number of national industries so as to extricate themselves from their position as mere appendages supplying agricultural and mineral products to the imperialists. All kinds of imperialist obstruction, however, barred their path.

Imperialist trade privileges. Even today a number of "underdeveloped" countries are still compelled to grant the imperialists many colonialist trade privileges including immunity from import quotas, reduction in or exemption from tariff rates. Foreign industrial

goods hit hard at local industries. Take the Philippines for instance. Its markets are flooded with American goods, protected by various kinds of trade privileges. Its national industries, especially the textile industry, are facing great difficulties. In a report presented prior to his resignation, former Chairman of the Philippine National Economic Commission Sixto Roxas charged the United States with squeezing Filipino industrial goods out of the local markets by means of immunity from taxation, low taxes and smuggling, with the result that local industry operated below capacity, some branches working at only 28 per cent of it.

In recent years, the imperialists have stepped up their efforts to establish factories in the "underdeveloped" countries in order to rob the latter of their markets for industrial goods in a more direct way. Even such old commercial monopolies as the British United Africa Company are busy with setting up new factories in the African countries. Certain major U.S. industrial branches also put emphasis on building and extending local factories as a means of cornering the Latin American markets. According to a report of the U.S. Department of Commerce, in 1962, the sales of goods made by the factories set up in Latin America by U.S. machine-building, electric equipment, communications, chemical, rubber and paper-making industries doubled the figure for 1957. Whereas in 1957 the value of these sales was about 50 per cent less than that of the goods exported by these industries to Latin America, by 1962, the former was 30 per cent more than the latter.

In addition to seizing the "underdeveloped" countries' domestic markets and thus hampering those sections of the national industries which supply them, the imperialists have also prevented the "underdeveloped" countries from exporting manufactures into their own domestic markets and are thus crippling the growth of those national industries which depend on foreign markets.

It is common knowledge that a big number of the tropical agricultural products of the "underdeveloped" countries are dependent to a large extent on foreign markets, especially the markets of the imperialist countries. If the "underdeveloped" countries can process these agricultural products first before exporting them, which does not in any case require large capital, then they have the opportunity to develop an important aspect of their national industries. But, as a rule, the imperialists only want to buy their unprocessed farm products, and charge progressive import duties on processed ones. This poses serious problems to the "underdeveloped" countries in developing their agricultural products processing industry. As the former Ghanaian Foreign Minister Kojo Botsio aptly said: "In Ghana we know that the processing of cocoa and other raw materials could be an important factor in our industrialization programme. Yet it is impossible for us to embark upon such an enterprise because the industrialized

countries have arranged their tariffs in such a way as to prevent us from so doing."

"Underdeveloped" countries remain suppliers of primary products. Up till now the "underdeveloped" countries have not been able to get rid of their position as suppliers of primary products to the imperialist countries. This is shown by the following:

1. The national industries of the new emerging countries are very weak. According to the August 1964 issue of the *U.N. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, the share of the manufacturing industries of the "less-industrialized countries"—even if those factories owned by the imperialists are counted in—made up only 9 per cent of the capitalist world's manufacturing industries in 1963. It was only 4.4 per cent in so far as the metal products manufacturing industry was concerned.

2. The "underdeveloped" countries must, through the channel of foreign trade, export large quantities of agricultural and mineral products in exchange for a certain amount of manufactures, including machinery and equipment which are needed for the development of their national economies but of which they can produce only a little or none at all. In recent years, generally speaking, six-sevenths of their exports have been primary products while two-thirds of their imports have been manufactures. Moreover, more than half of the exports of many "underdeveloped" countries comprise only one or two kinds of agricultural and mineral products. The results of an analysis of 1960-61 foreign trade statistics made by the British National Institute of Economic and Social Research are revealing: 55 "underdeveloped" countries or regions depend for more than half of their exports on one kind of agricultural or mineral product, 33 on two, and five "underdeveloped" countries on three.

3. The "underdeveloped" countries export primary products mainly to the imperialist countries in exchange for their manufactured goods. In 1961, according to recent U.N. statistics, 95 per cent of the foreign trade of "underdeveloped" countries was conducted within the capitalist world economic system, 70 per cent of their primary products were exported to six major imperialist countries (the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan) and 80 per cent of their manufactures were imported from these same countries.

Prices of primary products forced down. The imperialists, with their monopoly position on the capitalist world market, also intensify their exploitation of the "underdeveloped" countries through non-equivalent exchange, namely, forcing down the prices of primary products while boosting those of manufactures.

The mineral products exported by "underdeveloped" countries are almost entirely owned by foreign monop-

olies while the exported farm products, generally speaking, are grown mainly by their own people. The prices these agricultural products fetch on foreign markets have a direct bearing on the ability of the "underdeveloped" countries to accumulate national capital from the farming economy, on the amount of foreign exchange earnings to import machinery and equipment needed by the national economy and on the incomes and purchasing power of the peasants who form the overwhelming majority of the population.

But it was precisely these tropical agricultural products which suffered the most drastic fall in prices on the postwar capitalist world market as a result of imperialist monopolies' manipulation, and this brought enormous losses to the "underdeveloped" countries. In the eight years from 1955 to 1962, foreign exchange earnings of the "underdeveloped" countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were down by \$14,850 million, or an average of \$1,860 million a year, through the price falls of coffee, cocoa and tea alone.

Coupled with the sharp fall of prices in farm produce exported by the "underdeveloped" countries there has been a big rise in the prices of machinery and equipment bought from the imperialist countries. The *U.N. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* in its January 1965 issue revealed that from 1951 to 1962 the fall of prices in food and drink exported by the "underdeveloped" countries to the imperialist countries averaged 20 per cent and the prices of raw materials fell by 42 per cent while the prices of machinery and equipment imported from the imperialist countries rose by 32.5 per cent.

This means that the "underdeveloped" countries now must export an increased amount of agricultural products in order to buy the same amount of machinery and equipment. At a meeting of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva on March 25, 1964, Ernesto Che Guevara, leader of the Cuban delegation, presented some relevant data. He showed that, compared with 1955, the percentage increase in the quantities of primary commodities needed to be exported to buy a 30-39 h.p. tractor in 1962 was as follows:

Commodity	Country	Percentage Increase
Cocoa	Ghana	133
Coffee	Brazil	101
Cotton	United Arab Republic	61
Natural Rubber	Malaya	70
Tea	Ceylon	55

It is clear that the widening gap between the prices of exported farm produce and imported machinery and equipment has done great harm to the national economies of the "underdeveloped" countries, particularly their efforts to increase the fixed assets of their national enterprises.

(To Be Continued)

Three Rivers' Irrigation System

THE hilly region of west Anhwei, east China, is freeing itself from the age-old threat of drought. The rural landscape has been transformed over a wide area. Canals intersect the land. Irrigation channels branch out from them, like silver filigree settings for the emerald rice fields. Shining paddies are now found both in the plains and the uplands. Formerly arid farmlands are gradually giving way to fertile croplands bearing heavy yields.

These changes in the 13,000-square-km. region have mainly been brought about by the huge water-control system that now links up the Pi, Shih and Hangfu Rivers and five big reservoirs. Large as the project is, the engineering work is being done primarily by the people's communes which have shown an extraordinary spirit of self-reliance in the way they have set about and carried through this massive work.

The Pi-Shih-Hangfu project as it is called will irrigate 12 million *mu** when completed. Now, with the seventh stage of building completed last winter and spring to bring another 400,000 *mu* of farmland under irrigation, it already satisfies the water needs of a total of 3.4 million *mu*.

Though still unfinished, the project has already helped the people's communes boost grain output by one million tons in the past six years and played a leading role in beating the five dry spells in these years. In addition to turning more land into paddies and creating more farms with stable, high yields, the project has also shown its value in several other ways—expanding water-borne transport, increasing power generation and fish farming.

Problems to Be Tackled

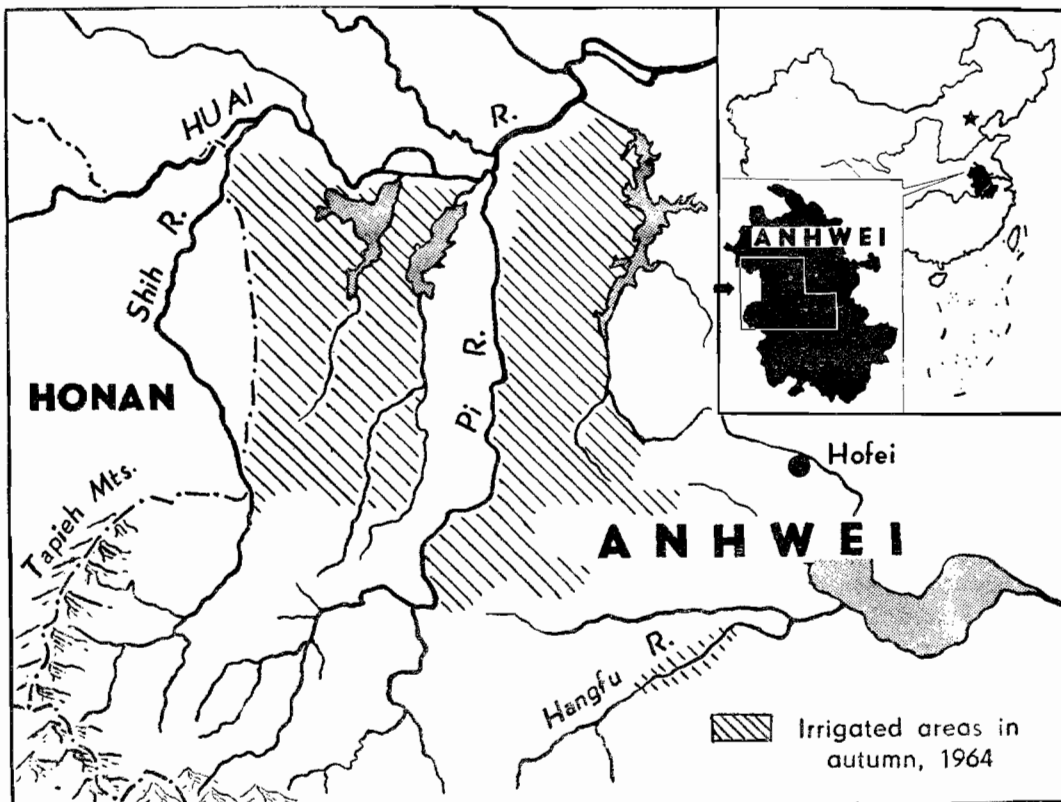
The area served by the Pi-Shih-Hangfu project accounts for a large part of the Chianguai region which extends from the Yangtse River in the south to the Huai River in the north. The topography and uneven distribution of annual rainfall posed a constant threat of drought to the farms there and their yields were low. Records for nearly three centuries before liberation show a drought on an average every five years. During prolonged droughts, whole villages were deserted by their inhabitants.

The three rivers linked by the new project carry a large volume of water, but flowing as they do for

the most part 10 to 20 metres below the level of the fields this, without pumps, was of little help to the farms. Rain is abundant in the early spring but little falls in the late spring and early summer just when the crops need most water. Furthermore, during the rainy season the mountain torrents, in the absence of water conservancy measures, rushed down to flood the low-lying farms on the plain while the upland farms, comprising four-fifths of the region's cultivated acreage, suffered from drought.

The local peasants long hoped to

* one *mu*=1/15 hectare.



Areas irrigated by the Pi-Shih-Hangfu Irrigation System

Sketch map by Su Li

harness the rivers for productive use. But this demanded a great deal of engineering work, some of it on an enormous scale involving the building of dams, reservoirs and sluice gates and the digging of new river channels over long distances. The poverty-stricken peasants in pre-liberation days even dared not dream of launching such an ambitious scheme. As to the reactionary Kuomintang authorities, they saw no reason to concern themselves with this kind of "unprofitable" project. In those days, even existing water conservancy works were neglected and fell into disrepair. Whenever there was a long dry spell, the local landlords would seize control of water sources and take priority for their land. The working peasants had to struggle to get drinking water, let alone water for their farms.

Multi-Purpose Project

The effects of drought were relieved somewhat after liberation when the peasants built and repaired a number of dams and small reservoirs and other projects to store water. Then, the great work to harness the unruly Huai River was started in 1951. As part of the overall plan, four big reservoirs were built in the Tapih Mountain area. These reservoirs stored huge amounts of water and so basically removed from the low-lands the perennial threat of flood but because of the low river beds it was still not possible to carry their waters to the upland fields.

Meanwhile socialist construction forged ahead. The peasants set up co-op farms and their collective economy grew and expanded. Conditions grew steadily more favourable for undertaking the sort of big scale engineering works needed to solve the water problems of the Chianghuai area. In the autumn of 1958, people's communes began to be organized. Larger than the co-op farms, the communes are able to dispose of more manpower, material and financial resources. The peasants felt that the problem of drought could be tackled and solved once and for all.

The local Communist Party committee and people's government approved the peasants' demand. After detailed discussions and careful surveys, a plan of work was mapped out. This demands the linking of the Pi, Shih and Hangfu Rivers to use their waters in a unified way, building of a new reservoir on the Hangfu and new river channels and canals to lead water from the reservoirs to the upland farms and hill fields.

This is big scale construction work including some huge engineering works. The 19 large canals alone, each at least 15 metres wide at the base, have a total length of 1,320 kilometres, roughly the distance from Peking to Shanghai. Since they have to be taken through hill regions this necessitates cuttings through hillsides and the filling of many gullies. Besides many smaller irrigation channels, such auxiliary works as sluice gates, culverts and bridges have to be built.

When completed, this gigantic system will irrigate 12 million *mu* of cropland, over 80 per cent by force of gravity. The rivers and canals will be navigable by small ships.

Construction began in 1958 and has continued in the winter-spring period each year when the peasants have been relatively free from field work. A great part of the project has been completed. It includes 1,200 kilometres of canals, more than 1,000 big and small auxiliary works and thousands of irrigation channels. To help navigation and the building of hydro-electric power stations, a lot of work has also been done to raise the water head near towns and large villages and dredge and straighten the rivers and canals.

Model of Self-Reliance

Self-reliance has been the watchword on this project. At the start of the project, a technical force of only 100 was available for surveying and designing. This was too small for such a job. Moreover, only seven were engineers; the rest were young technicians. Experience was lacking and so was technical reference materials. The leadership decided to get the technical staff from the masses and 1,500 commune members were selected and trained as technicians. In this way the surveying and designing was finished in four months.

The final designs give a revealing picture of the peasants' enthusiasm, determination and boldness in this battle against nature. For instance, there is abundant tail water from a hydro-electric power station for irrigation if it is led to the north, but this way was blocked by a watershed, which at its lowest is 20 metres above the level of the tail water. One draft suggested the building of a big electric pumping station to carry the water over the watershed. This called for an investment of 50 million yuan and would delay use of the tail water for at least three years. After further studies and discussion with the people, the project's leadership turned this down and approved another design which leads the water through the intervening high ground. The builders completed a 2-km. channel through rock and earth in one year, and the water now flows north to irrigate 800,000 *mu*.

Completion of this project was greatly speeded up by the builders' talents in devising a variety of efficient and economical methods that used simple, home-made equipment. This was typical, indeed, of all work on the project. The people's communes built about 1,000 small engineering works entirely by themselves and they tried by every method to lower the cost while ensuring good quality. To save expensive materials in foundations, these, wherever possible, are anchored on natural rock bases. Stone from the nearby mountains has been used as much as possible. Government subsidies have been given to build trunk irrigation channels and the medium-sized or larger works, but in general such funds only account for 15-40 per cent of the cost of earthwork.

Aid to Farming and Navigation

Among the most conspicuous benefits brought by the project to date is the increase in farm yields. Since 1959, the second year after the start of the work, the people's communes benefiting from it have raised their grain output by an average of 10 to 20 per cent each

year. The average per-*mu* yield has gone up from 200 to 350 *jin*. In places where unirrigated land has been turned into paddies, per-*mu* yield has increased as much as 200 per cent.

In July and August last year — the vital time for the growth of paddy crops — rainfall in western Anhwei was scarce. However, yields were adversely affected only in those districts still not covered by the new irrigation system. The people's communes with access to the irrigation ditches actually got a per-*mu* yield one-fifth heavier than in 1963. As a result, the whole region sold more surplus grain to the state than it planned. The amount of surplus grain sold by a number of communes or brigades was nearly as much as their total annual harvest before 1958.

Another benefit is the many small hydro-electric power stations which have been built at suitable sites on the irrigation system to supply power for processing farm products and light the farmhouses.

Yet another benefit is that considerable sections of the 1,200 kilometres of river courses and canals are now navigable. In the past two years, boats on the new Pi River alone have moved 150,000 tons of grain, coal, chemical fertilizers, timber and articles of daily use. The freight cost is only one half of that by road.

One elderly boatman comments: "The new Pi River is ideal for sailing! Its wide course, depth and absence of shoals and underwater rocks enable steamboats and junks to ply the 150-km. section day and night, all four seasons of the year. I haven't forgotten the narrow channel, rapid currents, dangerous shoals and silted course of the old Pi River. It was really only navigable a few months every year, but during the low-water season we still had to 'sail,' hauling and pushing the boats over the shallows. Certainly we are happy now."

Since most of the villages along the Pi are six or seven kilometres away from the government purchasing agencies in the town, the peasants had to carry their grain over that distance to the collecting points with pole and baskets. With the greatly improved water-borne transport, they can now deliver their grain to the nearby government purchasing stations set up on the wharves along the river. A great deal of manpower and time is thus saved.

The canals are also providing many towns with water for drinking and industrial uses. When a new canal is completed by the end of this year, the factories of Hofei, capital of Anhwei, will be using water supplied by this irrigation system. This is only one of the many benefits that the Pi-Shih-Hangfu project will bring to the Chianghuai region in the years to come.

— CHI HO-TEH

FRIENDLY CO-OPERATION

New Leather and Shoe Factory in Nepal

King Mahendra officiated at the June 2 opening of the Nepal Leather and Shoe Factory, a big modern tanning and shoe-making works in the northwestern suburbs of Kathmandu. With an annual output of 30,000 pairs of shoes and 21,000 pieces of leather, this factory together with the output from handicraft industries will in the main meet Nepal's domestic needs.

In a speech at the opening ceremony, Industry and Commerce Minister Vednanada Jha thanked the Chinese Government for its economic and technical aid and the specialists and workers of China and Nepal for the speedy completion of the project.

China Buys Chilean Copper

Trade between China and Chile is on the increase. This month a commercial mission of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade was set up in San-

tiago. Recently the Chinese trade council had signed contracts with Chile's Maurico Hochschild Company for the purchase of 1,500 tons of fire refined high conductivity copper and with the National Mining Company for 6,000 tons of electrolytic copper wire bars.

Earlier this year it had signed a contract with Chile's Nitrate and Iodine Sales Corporation for the purchase of 48 tons of iodine and 40,000 tons of nitrate.

Well for Yemen State Farm

The Chinese hydro-geological survey group in Yemen, after having completed a survey for the water supply and the drilling of wells for the Sanaa Textile Mill which China is helping to build, undertook the job of drilling a well for a state farm near Sanaa. The well will enable the farm to enlarge its irrigated area and help solve the vegetable supply problem for the citizens of Sanaa.

Animals Presented to Korea

A number of rare animals were sent from Peking to Korea as gifts

from Mayor of Peking Peng Chen to Kang Hi Won, Chairman of the Pyongyang City People's Committee. Among the animals, which are now on display at the Pyongyang Zoo, are a giant panda, a hippopotamus, blue sheep (*bharal*), Indian sambar deer, a Tibetan grizzly bear, a python, a salamander and white peacocks.

"Friendship Boats"

Peasants in the northern part of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam use bamboo splints to plait light and manoeuvrable rowing boats able to carry a load of 400 kilogrammes. Handy and inexpensive, these boats are just what the peasants in the Tunghsing Nationalities Autonomous County in China's Kwangtung Province want, but they did not know how to make them. On learning of this, the Provincial Committee of Quang Ninh Province, D.R.V., sent two craftsmen over to Tunghsing in April to teach their skill to their Chinese brothers. Today the people in Tunghsing call these bamboo-plaited craft "Friendship Boats" in token of Sino-Vietnamese friendship.

ROUND THE WORLD

Washington's Hopeless War

A Yawning Graveyard

Washington boosted itself another step higher in escalating its aggressive war when a State Department spokesman on June 8 announced what has long been a fact—the direct participation by U.S. ground forces in south Viet Nam. Gone is the fiction that the American troop mission there is in an “advisory” capacity or is one of securing and guarding important installations; instead, the Johnson Administration’s avid desire for a Korean-type war has been underscored.

Washington’s new move has re-emphasized the right of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation “to call, when necessary, for volunteers from the armies of north Viet Nam and friendly countries to go south to oppose the U.S. aggression,” declared the June 9 statement of the N.F.L. On June 14 a spokesman of the D.R.V. Foreign Ministry pledged full support for the N.F.L.’s stand. Also, direct and open U.S. participation in the war has all the more entitled China to come to the aid of the Vietnamese people. And in Hanoi, Hoang Quoc Viet, Chairman of the Bureau of the International Conference for Solidarity with Viet Nam, has issued an appeal to international organizations and the people of the world to support the Vietnamese people and send them weapons and volunteers.

The announcement about American troops taking more direct action is a confession that the cowardly scheme of the U.S. imperialists to use south Vietnamese against their own countrymen has been a dismal failure.

Lack of will to fight and growing desertions among the puppet troops are notorious. Officialdom, buried snout deep in Washington’s trough, has reached new peaks in corruption. The *New York Herald Tribune* reported that corruption “has now reached scandalous, unprecedented proportions.” And June 12 brought yet another coup, the sixth this year and the twelfth in the last 18 months, which toppled the “civilian government” General Maxwell Taylor had

slapped together with great difficulty. The chaos and confusion in Saigon sent Taylor, who was then on one of his periodic shuttles to Washington, rushing back to grasp the shaky helm again.

Washington is bent on a new Korean-type war. This will only take U.S. imperialism down the road to a more awesome defeat in Viet Nam where a yawning graveyard now awaits it. Even the pro-American *Times* of London admitted on June 9: “By almost any standards the war there has already been lost.”

The clobbering of American forces by the South Viet Nam Liberation Army in recent weeks points up what is in store for them in a bigger way in the monsoon months. What it all adds up to is that the American “fighters” are just as good at losing as are their puppets. Actually, they are even more faint-hearted, more afraid to die, than their south Vietnamese underlings.

U.S. Marines Suffer

139 Killed at Thanh Son

Since the U.S. Government has imposed a news black-out on the first major engagement of the U.S. marines in south Viet Nam, the story is worth recounting in detail from the report released by the South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency. In an intense half-hour battle on the night of May 27, an entire U.S. marine company was wiped out with a total of 139 killed.

This U.S. marine company was stationed on Thanh Son in An Tan area, Tam Ky district, on the border of Quang Nam and Quang Ngai Provinces. It was supposed to safeguard the construction of an air base for U.S. jet aircraft nearby. Its members had committed monstrous crimes. To hack out land for the airfield, these U.S. troops did not hesitate to run bulldozers and tanks against the houses of the local population and tear up paddyfields. Like a pack of wild beasts, they robbed and raped in broad daylight. Even old women and children were violated.

The Liberation Army decided that the U.S. aggressors must pay for their crimes. A careful plan was worked out and a company of light-footed liberation fighters moved into enemy territory before midnight on May 27. At 1:30 a.m. the following morning they struck. It was close quarter fighting within the marine stronghold. All the superior weaponry of which the United States boasts was rendered useless. Stunned out of their beds, marines were bayoneted before they could fire a shot. Many were killed instantly. Amid shouts of “Kill Yankees!” the South Viet Nam Liberation Army-men mowed down with handgrenades and machine-gun fire those who tried to escape.

The battle ended as quickly as it had begun. Before a U.S. marine battalion garrisoned close to the hill realized what was happening and fired flares for help, the nimble attackers had swiftly withdrawn. From the 7th Fleet off the coast came only a few shells in answer to the distress signal.

Attacking at night again, the liberation forces made a flash raid on the U.S. airfield in An Tan on June 5. They inflicted heavy casualties on the marines guarding the airstrip, killing and wounding 70, demolishing seven barracks and smashing one power station. Again it all happened so suddenly that in spite of their numbers the marines could not avoid serious losses.

Heavy Toll at Dong Xoai

The South Viet Nam Liberation Army has struck at other points. On the night of June 9 its units mounted a two-pronged attack on the town of Dong Xoai, some 90 kilometres northeast of Saigon, and a nearby U.S. “special forces” camp. They took the town, the camp and the airstrip near it in a lightning raid, annihilating the puppet troops in Dong Xoai and 21 U.S. “advisers” and “seabees” as well as 300 commando trainees at the camp. The booty was large, including two 105 mm. howitzers.

Skilful tacticians and masters of the ambush, the liberation fighters knocked out the relief battalion sent to the scene in helicopters in the morning. In four days’ fighting from

June 9 to 12 they wiped out 1,500 enemy troops, including a puppet airborne battalion and 50 Americans. Sixteen enemy aircraft were brought down. The liberation forces' anti-aircraft fire was so intense that, according to a Western news report, "It prevented armed helicopters from going to the aid of the town's defenders . . . the wounded and dead Americans were still in their camp by noon Thursday (June 10) and efforts to evacuate them apparently had failed." Reuter described the Dong Xoai battle as the "biggest since the bloody action at Quang Ngai" where from May 29 to 31 four battalions of puppet troops were cut to pieces.

U.S. Imperialism at Bay

Dollars, Distortion and Doom

There is no question what the world at large thinks of the war waged in the name of "freedom" by the United States in Viet Nam. It is unprovoked and unjustified, dirty and immoral, a war of aggression pure and simple. But how do the American public, press and politicians look at this war which has become the dominant theme in American political life? A reading of the American press yields interesting information, furnishing glimpses into the rotting core of the decadent American body politic and impelling one to the conclusion that U.S. imperialism, for all its bluff, bluster and ballyhoo, is nothing but a paper tiger. The course of the war in Viet Nam shows this in ever greater clarity.

Money Is Not All Powerful

Fear is writ large on the face of the American fighting man in south Viet Nam. Every tree that sways in the wind at night is taken for a "Viet Cong" sniper. Sentries shoot at suspicious images and often kill their own men. Trepidation has reached such proportions that, according to a UPI dispatch, U.S. marines in south Viet Nam are known to hire bodyguards for their own safety. It said, "American servicemen are digging into their own pockets to pay the new guards five dollars a day."

They can afford it. U.S. troops in south Viet Nam draw "combat

allowance," a Johnsonian touch to boost sagging morale. Those who have been under "enemy gunfire" over six days in a month are entitled to 55 dollars in "combat allowance" and the longer the period they risk their necks the greater the benefits.

In addition, the Johnson Administration has exempted U.S. troops in south Viet Nam from paying income tax. Writing about this "shot in the arm" for morale's sake, UPI said, "Almost every serviceman has been doing some mental arithmetic, and a few have taken out pencil and paper to figure how much the exemption is going to mean to them in dollars and cents."

Money-boosters and moral incentives through the award of medals are not enough and spirits among the U.S. servicemen are low. How is it possible for officers and men who measure everything in dollars and cents not to have cold feet? Their only thought is to get home with a whole skin when their 12 months is up.

No Room at the Morgue

Saigon's morgue and hospitals are crowded with an unending stream of killed and stretcher-cases following heavy defeats in the field and bomb explosions in the city and elsewhere. "In the wake of the twin disasters at Hau Nghia and Song Be," said a UPI report recently, "Saigon's morgue and hospitals were jammed with the overflow of dead and wounded . . . Corpses were piled like cordwood on the cemetery grounds because there was no room in the morgue."

Washington is not unmindful of the awkward situation. U.S. military sources in Saigon have disclosed that among the 15,000 reinforcements now on their way to south Viet Nam is a special "mortuary company" to handle the ever increasing number of American dead.

Nothing but Johnson's "Truth"

With a sharply rising toll of men, with recruiting for service in south Viet Nam getting harder and with the critics at home getting more vociferous, the Johnson Administration is trying its best to present the "truth" as it would like it to be. The White House is exercising direct con-

trol over propaganda. But not without causing resentment. "To sweep under the rug what we don't like, what does not serve our tactical purpose, is a sign of weakness," was the comment of the disgruntled Chief of the Voice of America. *Newsweek* also reported that scriptwriters at the VOA who find broadcasts "overlarded with a propaganda line inspired by the White House" are demanding that "their names be removed from texts too heavily edited."

Senators are nettled at the way the "news" is controlled. UPI reported that "some Senators said newspapers were doing a better job than the Administration in reporting the facts." Senator McGovern described the "American involvement" in Viet Nam as "unexplained, undiscussed, undebated war." Senator Wayne Morse, who led a demonstration against the war before the U.N. plaza in New York on June 8, charged that "U.S. reporters have been muzzled and that the Administration has not disclosed information," added UPI.

Sleepless White House

Gaunt, worried and nervous are the adjectives the U.S. press now uses to describe the President of the United States, weighed down by the losing war in Viet Nam. Let the *Washington Post* (June 6) tell the story: "Lyndon Johnson, a man who lives by the telephone, confesses his greatest dread is the urgent ring that rouses him in the dark of his bedroom. Beside him the First Lady stirs and murmurs, 'Oh, no!' Then both wait in anguish to learn what new crisis or emergency has arisen. For a president is seldom awakened to hear good news."

It continued: "At 1 o'clock in the morning, a tired and troubled President Johnson settled into bed . . . precisely at 3 o'clock, he stirred and woke without prompting from an alarm clock. He reached for his bedside phone, asked for the situation room and in a voice blurred by fatigue mumbled, 'How're my boys?'" In the *Post's* June 4 issue, the paper explained the significance of 3 o'clock. "Three in the morning is about the time the news is in from Viet Nam on the casualties and the hits after each bombing raid."

ACROSS THE LAND

Good Summer Harvest

RICE harvesting began on Hainan, China's tropical southern island, in early May and a good early rice crop is reported.

Rapeseed, winter wheat, barley and beans have been harvested in China's southern provinces. Rapeseed is one of the country's main edible oil-yielding crops. Szechuan Province, the leading producer, has nearly finished harvesting and threshing and reports an output more than 20 per cent bigger than last year's. Yunnan reports an increase of over 10 per cent. Hunan has just brought in its harvest. It sowed a bigger area to rapeseed than last year and per *mu* yield in most areas is larger.

Harvesting the summer-ripening wheat has begun in the Yellow and Huai River basins, China's major producers of winter wheat. Honan, Kiangsu, Hopei, Anhwei, Shensi and Shansi Provinces started reaping this month. Many parts of Honan report their best winter wheat crops for years. A local government survey gives wheat output figures 20 to 50 per cent higher than last year for 38 northern Kiangsu Province production teams.

Anhwei Province has just completed summer harvesting on 30 million *mu* of land. Output in most areas is better than last year. The wheat crop in the area north of the Huai River is said to be the best in years. Shensi, an important wheat area, reports a bumper harvest on 23 million *mu*. Wheat harvests in most parts of Shansi are reported to be heavier than in 1964.

Hupei Province has brought in its wheat, broad bean and other summer-ripening crops from 29 million *mu* of land. The Hsiangyang Special Administrative Region, which accounts for one-third of the province's summer crop area, reports a 25 per cent increase in output.

Encouraged by good summer crops, commune members are working to win still better harvests in the autumn, which accounts for the bulk of the year's output. They have reason to be optimistic. Transplanting of rice and sowing of cotton have been completed in good time and the crops are doing well.

All this adds up to a picture of a new high-tide in China's agricultural production stemming from the socialist education movement in the countryside and the drive to learn from the more advanced, catch up with them and help those who still lag behind. Contributing to this great movement are the hundreds of thousands of office workers who have gone to the rural areas to take part in farm work. In Shensi Province alone, 40,000 cadres at provincial, regional and county levels are working in the wheat fields.

New Textile Mills

THIRTEEN new cotton textile mills have gone into full or partial production since the start of the year. They are among the 46 major textile projects in the 1965 construction plan. Some of these are entirely new plants; others are new extensions to old plants.

The 46 projects are: 37 cotton mills, six printing and dyeing works and three silk weaving mills. They are distributed in 19 provinces and autonomous regions. Each of the traditional cotton-producing provinces of Hopei, Honan, Shansi and Shantung are adding around 150,000 spindles to their capacity in new mills or extensions to old ones. Some of the new mills are being built in Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei and other provinces in the Yangtse River valley where cotton growing has developed rapidly in recent years. In view of the needs of the national minority areas, the cotton industry is also being expanded in the autonomous regions of Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia and Kwangsi.

State investments for expansion of the cotton industry are larger this year than last because more raw cotton is available following last year's good harvest. At the same time the textile industry has upped output and improved quality by re-equipping its older mills. Most of the mills in Kiangsu Province, one of China's oldest textile centres, were built before liberation. All are renovating old equipment and adding new machinery. Many old mills have been completely transformed. This is especially so in Shanghai's textile industry which has a history of 70 years. Since 1958, more than 1,800 technical innovations by workers, technicians and research scientists have helped modernize its plants.

Former Glass-Blower Leads High Vacuum Research

THE very bright high-pressure mercury vapour lamps installed recently in the streets of a number of Chinese cities are one of 30 new types of lamps developed in this country by Tsai Tsu-chuan and his colleagues. Tsai is well known for his brilliant work in the field of high vacuum technology. Much has been written about him as a working-class revolutionary who worked hard to achieve his specialist knowledge and maintained uncorrupted his fine working-class qualities.

This 39-year-old former peasant boy and underground revolutionary fighter, who had only three years schooling before liberation, is the present head of the research laboratory on electrical lighting sources attached to Fudan University in Shanghai. In 1949, Tsai was a glass-blower by trade, eager to make the fullest use of his skill in the service of socialism. Liberation gave him the opportunities and facilities to continue studying while he worked. Through patient study and linking theory with practice he became a leading expert in high vacuum technology.

The research team he now heads has played a big part in helping the country master the techniques for producing various types of electric

lamps indispensable to the economy and modern industrial and scientific research. They include photo-chemical lamps used for testing the fastness of dyes and in processing rubber, amethyst infra-red lamps used in seed processing, and lamps for laboratory analysis.

Up to recently, such lamps were all imported at considerable cost. Tsai and his

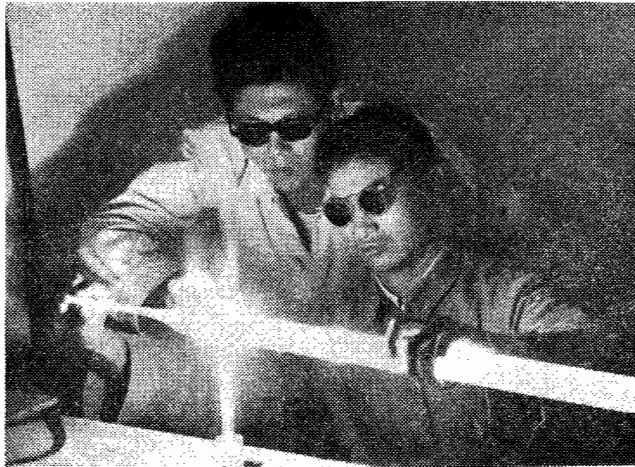
colleagues began studying how to make them in 1961. No one laughed at him then as a few did in 1955 when he, a semi-literate glass-blower, set out to make some of the latest types of high vacuum glass instruments the country needed so much. With the help of scientific colleagues, he and his staff of young assistants had succeeded, making 24 specifications of those instruments. This helped put an end to China's dependence on imports in this field.

Tsai Tsu-chuan today is an acknowledged specialist on high vacuum techniques and electrical lighting sources, but there is nothing of the "big specialist" about him. He lives simply and thriftily, just as he did when he was a rank-and-file worker. He is a man who likes doing things himself, from blowing his own glass envelopes to lending a hand in cleaning up the lab.

This worker-turned-specialist does not care a whit for personal fame or gain. He regards himself as just another worker with a job to do for the people. "He is a good comrade, a good team man, who lives for the collective," his co-workers say. "What does it matter," he once said when someone pressed him to take credit for his work, "the thing is that the country is the better for it."

Attack on Smog and Pollution

THREE major industrial cities in northeast China — Shenyang, Anshan and Fushun in Liaoning



Tsai Tsu-chuan (seated), the high vacuum technologist at work

Province — have launched a massive attack on city smog and pollution. There has been an immediate improvement in environmental hygiene and gains to farming in their outskirts.

Seventy projects have been completed in the three cities to trap smoke and dust before they escape into the air, recover chemicals from waste water and turn slag and cinders into building materials. Another 30 projects are under construction and a further 26 are scheduled.

Several Anshan streams polluted by industrial waste containing phenol and other harmful substances are now running clear again. Local peasants are delighted. They are starting to breed ducks in them again and use their water for irrigation. A new canal system built jointly by Shenyang and Fushun carries non-polluted sewage water to farmland between these two cities.

By installing dust removers on all stacks and using gas instead of coal for heating moulds, the 30-year-old cast-tubing mill in Anshan has managed to eliminate most of the contribution it used to make to the city's smog. Cinders and other factory wastes in Shenyang are no longer trucked out to the city dumps but are used for making bricks, pre-fabricated building sections, and cement. More than 16,000 tons of crude oil, carbon black and other chemicals have been recovered by the 15 new waste-recovering plants in Fushun.

The three cities were long plagued by the problem of industrial waste disposal. When they were first built dozens of years ago, many of the factories there were put up carelessly. In some cases they were sited right in the middle of residential areas. Little attention was paid to waste disposal and the diseases caused by smog and harmful wastes.

Steps to improve working conditions and environmental hygiene were initiated right after liberation. These include the installation of ventilation and dust removal systems, the building of new living quarters away from the factories, the planting of trees and green belts, the establishment of clinics in all factories and free provision of medical care for all workers. The new drive begun last year to eliminate pollution at source marks a new stage in this campaign for better health for the masses and greater economy in production.

BRIEFS

An electronic instrument for testing the accuracy of clocks, watches and other such types of time-pieces has been put into production in Nanking. The rhythmic ticks of a clock are automatically reproduced as dotted lines, and irregularities can be checked instantly against the high precision standard frequency of the new instrument.

* * *

New buildings for 26 schools have been completed in Peking. They are part of the capital's 1965 plan of new school building which includes new premises for 73 secondary or primary schools, the expansion of 17 existing schools and the building of 16 half-work half-study schools. The new floor-space will make possible an enrolment of 100,000 more students in the Peking area this year.

* * *

The first sanatorium built in Tibet is specially for workers of the Tibetan nationality. It has just received its first 30 patients. Set in picturesque surroundings in Lingtze County, eastern Tibet, the sanatorium accommodates 150 patients. Medical treatment is free of charge.

MUSIC

6th Shanghai Spring Festival

This year's Shanghai Spring Music Festival, the sixth since 1960, showed that the musicians and dancers of China's largest metropolis have taken a big step forward in making their art revolutionary, national and popular in style. The festival, now an established institution, serves as an annual review of progress. Eighty per cent of the 200 items presented in the nine days (May 8-16) were new works. They well reflected the spirit of the times and the life of today.

Portraying Spirit of the Time

The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra and the Shanghai Film Orchestra joined forces to give an inspiring performance of *Hail the Red Banner*, an orchestral piece that puts into music the soaring spirit of the Chinese people as they march to the future, raising high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This is a new work by 35-year-old composer Lu Chi-ming. He joined the revolutionary army at the age of ten and fought in the War of Resistance Against Japan. Since liberation he has lived and worked among Anshan and Shanghai workers, on the Huai River harnessing project and on ships on the Yangtze. It is these experiences that give concrete depth of feeling to his new composition.

Particularly well received was a cantata dedicated to the workers of the famous Taching oilfield by the composer Chu Wei. Chu Wei, one of the composers of the well-known opera *The White-Haired Girl*, lived and worked last year in Taching where he came to know the workers and cadres well and drew inspiration from them. He took his thematic material from workers' chants and folk melodies and has succeeded in mirroring in music the confidence and drive of the man and women of Taching whom the whole nation is emulating.

New Revolutionary Ballet

Special interest attached to a new ballet, *The White-Haired Girl*, staged by the Shanghai Dance School. It represents Chinese dancers' second

successful attempt at adapting the European ballet form to depict modern revolutionary themes. The first, *The Red Detachment of Women*, has won wide acclaim (see P.R., No. 6, 1965).

A full-length ballet, *The White-Haired Girl* is adapted from China's first revolutionary opera of the same name, the production of which in Yen-an in the forties was a landmark in the country's theatrical history. A film version of the opera has been shown in many countries.

Set in a north China village in the thirties, the story tells of Hsi Erh, a poor peasant girl who, persecuted by a landlord, escapes into a mountain fastness. Her hair turns white through years of bitterness and hardship. Finally with the liberation she comes back to her village to accuse the landlord.

The choreography is by Hu Jung-jung, one of China's earliest ballerinas and now Director of the Shanghai Dance School, and three others. It brings out in bold relief the unyielding character of Hsi Erh, who burns with a deep hatred for the oppressor. While traditional movements of the ballet are utilized to the full, innovations have been introduced where necessary to project the revolutionary content more effectively. In addition to dancing on the point and using balletic pirouettes and leaps, the choreographers have drawn upon classical Chinese dances and folk dances and acrobatic movements of the Peking opera. The latter are used, for example, in the first scene when the villagers fight the landlord in an attempt to protect Hsi Erh. The role of Hsi Erh was danced with credit by ballerinas Ku Hsia-mei and Tsai Kuo-ying.

To project the story, delineate the characters more forcefully and increase the emotional impact, songs—solos and choruses—have been introduced. The woman composer Yen Chin-hsuan wrote the music for an orchestra using both Western and Chinese instruments.

European classical ballet is a very young art form in China, and the Shanghai Dance School (founded in 1960) is even younger than its counterpart in Peking. Nevertheless, its

production of *The White-Haired Girl* has made a strong contribution to revolutionizing the ballet in China.

Varied Programme

The music-making was not limited to professionals. At one concert amateurs joined in—workers, peasants from the suburban areas, soldiers and students—3,000 in all singing revolutionary songs. As in other parts of China, mass singing has come of age in Shanghai. It now has several thousand amateur choirs.

At both the opening and closing concerts Shanghai musicians and dancers, in true internationalist spirit, devoted part of their programme to support for the Vietnamese and Dominican peoples fighting the U.S. aggressors. The 180-voice Shanghai Chorus sang a new cantata *Storm Over the South Sea* praising the Vietnamese people's heroic fight against the U.S. imperialists. A 100-voice choir gave a rousing rendering of *Chairman Mao's Statement Stirs the World*, a militant song written by a worker on the day the statement was issued, calling on the peoples to unite and give firm support to the just fight of the Dominican people.

Shanghai musicians and dancers have once again shown that their art is the voice of the time and a clarion call to battle.

ART

Szechuan Woodcuts

Szechuan woodcut artists have produced some powerful new works recalling capitalist exploitation of the working people before the liberation. These were a centre of attraction at the Exhibition of Art From Southwest China lately shown in Peking and now in Shanghai. In sets of six to eight prints each, they tell of true happenings in old Chungking's steel and textile mills, coal mines and other capitalist enterprises. Bold, incisive lines and uncompromising black and white highlight the grim realities of their themes. By bringing back these realities of the past, the pictures

alert their viewers, especially the young, to the deep-going class struggle between socialism and capitalism today and steel their determination to carry on the revolution.

The Swindle uncovers one capitalist dodge to get work off the poor for nothing. Artists Li Shao-yen and Li Huan-min heard of this true incident: one Chungking steel



Title print in the series "Two Worlds — A Miner's Recollections" by Cheng Wei

mill owner put up a "hands wanted" sign. Hundreds of unemployed came. They were told to carry steel sheets from the banks of the Chia-ling River up to the mill as a test of their strength. When all the steel sheets had been carried to the factory in this "test," the workmen were told that no one had passed it. The eight woodcuts the two artists carved on this theme blaze with anger. They follow the workers' trail from river bank to factory. The file of barebacked workers bowed beneath the dark sheets of steel climbing Chungking's steep slopes, the smug figures of the boss and foreman, the explosion of anger when the workers discover the fraud—leave an unforgettable impression.

In his ten woodcuts of *The Boatmen*, Hsu Kuang recreates a tragedy of the past in which a debt to the boss enslaves three generations of a boatman's family. The tone of this

true story is set in the opening picture. On a desolate river bank under a leaden sky, a man, his young son beside him, is burying his boatman father. Afar a gang of boatmen laboriously pulls a boat over the shoals. The next scene shows him, rebellious but impotent, before the boss at a noisy riverside teahouse, compelled to re-live his father's life.

Overhead, the canvas top of the teahouse sags heavily; he is hemmed in by a forest of masts and ropes. The artist skilfully creates the atmosphere of a cage. In another picture, oppressive clouds surround a web of sails and ropes amid which hangs the dark figure of the man—his punishment for attempting to escape. The last print shows the orphaned boy, lying amid the reeds on the river bank. In the distance a single sail goes by and an eagle circles the quiet-flowing river. All ten woodcuts have the river as their background—a river flowing with the blood and sweat of the poor.

Two Worlds, *Child Labourers* and other series probe other scandals of capitalist exploitation that testify to Marx's famous words: "Capital comes [into the world] dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."

The late Lu Hsun, China's great revolutionary writer, introduced the woodcuts of progressive West Euro-



When father comes off shift . . .

By Lin Chun

pean and Soviet artists into China in the 1930s, and was one of the most energetic promoters of modern wood-engraving in China. Chinese modern woodcut art from its inception was dedicated to the service of the revolution. Since the liberation, woodcut artists have eagerly used their gravers to aid socialist revolution and socialist construction, and depict the people's struggle in other lands. The Szechuan artists, in these and other works, show themselves in the van of these endeavours.



From "The Swindle"

By Li Shao-yen and Li Huan-min

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