

# PEKING REVIEW

24

June 11, 1965

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*Across the Land and Other Features*

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

June 11, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 24

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## THE WEEK

### Among the major events of the week:

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi pledged China's utmost support for the Vietnamese people in their resistance to U.S. aggression when he received Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on June 3.

- Premier Chou En-lai received a tremendous welcome during his visits to Pakistan and Tanzania.

China and Tanzania signed a joint communique in Dar-es-Salaam on June 8.

- The delegation of the Chinese Communist Party and the delegation of the National People's Congress, both led by Peng Chen, returned to Peking on June 6 after visiting Indonesia.

- Commenting on the war situation in south Viet Nam, *Renmin Ribao* in its June 5 editorial hailed the May offensive of the liberation forces which destroyed large numbers of enemy effectives and demonstrated that they clearly had the initiative.

- **Arudji Kartawinata**, Speaker of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament, left Peking on June 7 for a tour of south China.

- Premier Chou En-lai, in a special message on June 3, greeted the opening in Hanoi of the Second Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression.

- The Algerian delegation led by Mohamed Yazid, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Algerian National Assembly, came to Peking on June 4.

### Premier Chou Visits Pakistan

Premier Chou En-lai's arrival in Rawalpindi on the morning of June 2 was the scene of a tremendous welcome from tens of thousands. On hand to greet him at the airport were President Ayub Khan, at whose invitation the Premier made his visit, and other top-ranking Pakistan officials.

In a written statement issued at the airport, Premier Chou thanked his host and the Pakistan Government and people for their warm reception. The Premier said: "In recent years, the friendship between our two peoples has markedly developed and co-operation between our two countries has been exceedingly fruitful. The strengthening of friendship and co-operation between our two countries conforms to the aspirations of our two peoples and is a positive factor in the present international situation. I am convinced that, by our joint efforts, Sino-Pakistan friendship will be further strengthened and developed."

This friendship found expression in the enthusiastic reception given Premier Chou when he drove with President Ayub Khan from the airport to the President's Guest House. All along the route—decorated with coloured streamers, bunting and arches which lent a festive air to the interim capital—the crowds lining both sides of the streets cheered, played music and danced as the motorcade drove past.

In the evening President Ayub Khan gave a banquet in honour of Premier Chou and his party. The two leaders also had held talks the same day.

Before leaving Rawalpindi for Karachi, Premier Chou visited Islamabad, the new Pakistan capital now under construction. As the Chinese Premier drove round the rising city with Pakistan Foreign Minister Z.A. Bhutto and Chairman of the Pakistan Capital Development Authority N.A. Faruqi, workers at construction sites fervently shouted

"Long live Pakistan-China friendship!" Arriving at the site for the Chinese embassy building, at the suggestion of N.A. Faruqi, he planted a tree to mark Sino-Pakistani friendship.

Premier Chou left Karachi on June 3 for Tanzania. Stopping over in Baghdad, he was met at the airport by Iraqi Prime Minister Taher Yahia and other government officials. He also called on President Abdul Salam Mohammed Arif at the President's Palace. In Cairo, Premier Chou was greeted by Premier Aly Sabry with whom he had a talk. While passing through Khartoum, Sudanese Prime Minister Sir El Khatim El Khalifa was at the airport to welcome him.

### **Vietnamese Vice-Premier In Peking**

"The Chinese people will give the utmost support to the fraternal Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression to save their country." This is what Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, said to Le Thanh Nghi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Premier of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, when they met on June 3.

Chairman Liu pointed out that "the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression is a concrete expression of their great proletarian internationalism; it is giving mighty support to the Chinese people, to the people of the countries of the socialist camp and to all revolutionary peoples the world over."

Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi and the government economic delegation he led arrived in Peking on June 1 for a friendly visit. The following evening he and the other Vietnamese comrades were guests at a banquet given in their honour by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien. Welcoming the delegation, Vice-Premier Li acclaimed the victories won by the Vietnamese people in resisting U.S. aggression.

Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi, in his speech, paid high tribute to the revolutionary friendship between the

Vietnamese and Chinese peoples. He described China's support and assistance to Viet Nam as "the most resolute, sincere, timely and effective." Pledging determination to carry the anti-U.S. struggle through to the end, he said: "Under the leadership of our two Marxist-Leninist parties headed respectively by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and President Ho Chi Minh, our joint revolutionary cause of opposing U.S. aggression will win splendid victories."

### **Chairman Liu Receives Indonesian Guests**

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his wife on June 5 received Arudji Kartawinata, Speaker of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament, and his wife.

Speaker Arudji Kartawinata was on a visit to China at the invitation of Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. On June 6, he gave a banquet for Chairman Chu and other Chinese officials. At the banquet, the Indonesian host praised the unity and friendship between the Indonesian and Chinese peoples, which, he said, "are profound and unbreakable." Chu Teh, in his speech, noted that the comradeship between China and Indonesia in the joint struggle against imperialism and colonialism would continue to develop.

Arudji Kartawinata and his wife left Peking on June 7 for Shanghai where Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling received them and had a cordial talk with them.

### **Sino-Albanian Economic Agreements**

China and Albania signed two agreements and two protocols on economic co-operation in Peking on June 8. The two agreements cover a Chinese loan to Albania and an exchange of goods and payments for 1966-70. Signing the documents for the two parties were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Spiro Koleka, First Vice-Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers and head of the Albanian government economic delegation. The signing was followed by a banquet given

by Vice-Premier Li for the Albanian comrades.

Earlier in the day, Chairman Liu Shao-chi received the Albanian delegation and its leader.

### **Algerian Delegation in Peking**

The Algerian delegation led by Mohamed Yazid, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Algerian National Assembly, arrived in Peking on June 4. The Algerian guests were greeted at Peking Airport by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi who later had talks with Mohamed Yazid. The Vice-Premier gave a luncheon in honour of the visitors the next day. Both Chen Yi and Mohamed Yazid toasted the success of the forthcoming Second Asian-African Conference and the growing friendship between the Chinese and Algerian peoples.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi received the members of the delegation on June 5 and had a cordial talk with them. Mohamed Yazid handed Chairman Liu a letter from President Ben Bella.

### **Chinese C.P. and N.P.C. Delegations Return Home**

Two Chinese delegations to Indonesia returned to Peking on June 6. The delegation of the Communist Party of China attended the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia while the delegation of the National People's Congress paid a friendly visit to Indonesia. Both delegations, led by Peng Chen, made separate visits to Surabaya, Bandung and Lampung where they received a hearty welcome from the Indonesian people.

During its stay in Indonesia, the C.P.C. delegation called on Chairman D.N. Aidit and other leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party on May 21. Accompanied by Chairman Aidit, the delegation visited the Egom Agricultural and Peasants' Movement Academy near Bogor on May 27. Peng Chen gave a speech to the teachers and students. The C.P.C. delegation also met and held talks with the delegations of the Japanese Communist Party and of the Korean

*(Continued on p. 20.)*

# Premier Chou Visits Tanzania

**D**AR-ES-SALAAM, or Port of Peace, was a city of dazzling colours on June 4 when it welcomed Premier Chou En-lai on his first visit to the United Republic of Tanzania. The weather was cool and refreshing and the charm and beauty of the city was never more striking as tens of thousands of its residents turned out in festive garb to greet their Chinese guest.

When Premier Chou came out on the ramp from his special plane, the airport rang to cheers of "Karibu" (Swahili for "welcome") and the beating of drums. President Julius Nyerere led the welcomers as they moved up to the plane-side. The President and the Premier, who last met in February this year, warmly embraced each other. On the tarmac to greet Premier Chou were also First Vice-President Abeid Karume, Second Vice-President Rashidi Kawawa and Minister for External Affairs Oscar Kambona. Amidst more welcoming shouts, a group of young girls rushed up to put a garland round the Premier's neck and to present members of the Premier's party with bouquets. A 21-gun salvo boomed out while the band played the Chinese and Tanzanian national anthems. Then Premier Chou, accompanied by President Nyerere, reviewed a guard of honour.

Driving in an open car with President Nyerere to the State House, Premier Chou was given a hearty welcome from more than 100,000 people along the 10-mile route. Many of them had come the day before from far-away towns and villages by train, bus or bicycle to greet the Chinese Premier.

In the evening President Julius Nyerere gave a state banquet in honour of Premier Chou. When host and guest appeared, they received a standing ovation. A band played the popular Chinese song *We Are Marching on the Broad Road*. On this most friendly occasion, both the President and the Premier spoke. Applause and cheers greeted President Nyerere's tribute to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou's declaration that no force on earth could destroy the friendship between the Chinese and Tanzanian peoples.

## Mass Rally

Premier Chou had a crowded schedule during his 4-day visit. He held talks with President Nyerere, attended receptions given by Second Vice-President Kawawa and Dar-es-Salaam's Mayor Ramadhani Kirundu, and took part in a 65,000-strong mass rally held in his honour at the Tanzanian capital's National



President Nyerere welcomes Premier Chou to Dar-es-Salaam

Stadium. Both President Nyerere and Premier Chou spoke at the gathering.

In his address, President Nyerere said that the Tanzanian people had a two-fold duty: to build their country and to safeguard their country. He told the gathering that the Tanzanians had come a long way in changing life in their country from its colonial past and building it anew. Pointing out that independence would be meaningless if it did not bring about a change in the people's living standards, he stressed that one of the most pressing tasks was to remove all the evils committed by the colonialists, one of which was control of the country's wealth by a few who dominated and exploited the majority. He demanded that the colonialists leave the Tanzanian people alone and not interfere with their work of building and safeguarding their country.

Premier Chou En-lai, in his speech, praised the Tanzanian people for their remarkable success in liquidating colonialist influence and developing their national economy and culture. "Tanzania," he said, "has become a glorious banner in East Africa, a banner against old and new colonialism and for national-liberation struggles." The Premier recalled that, during his visit to ten friendly countries in Africa last year, he had seen the earth-shaking changes on that continent which, once oppressed by colonialism, had become an awakened, militant and advanced continent. "This impression," said Premier Chou, "has been further deepened by what we have seen and heard here in your country." He declared that Africa had become

a front line in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism which used to regard the continent as their strategic rear. The Premier added: "An exceedingly favourable situation for revolution prevails today not only in Africa but also in Asia and Latin America."

Premier Chou sharply condemned U.S. imperialism for its armed intervention and aggression in the Congo (Leopoldville), south Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic. He declared: "In the new situation in our struggle today, particularly when U.S. imperialism has embarked on the adventurist road of war provocations in Viet Nam, it is imperative for Asian-African countries to give full play to the Bandung spirit, unite still more closely, strengthen their co-operation and fight together against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, in order to win and safeguard national independence, develop their national economies and defend world peace. Therefore, it will be of tremendous importance to make the Second Afro-Asian Conference a success."

### In Zanzibar

On June 6, accompanied by Second Vice-President Kawawa, Premier Chou and his party flew to Zanzibar. They were greeted at the bedecked airport by First Vice-President Karume, Zanzibar ministers, members of the Revolutionary Council, the executive committee members of the Afro-Shirazi Party and other leading officials. Riding in an open car on his way to the State House, Premier Chou made a round of Zanzibar town. Tens of thousands of people greeted him, waving Chinese and Tanzanian flags and flowers and green leaves.

That day First Vice-President Karume gave a luncheon in Premier Chou's honour. They also held talks and together attended a mass rally. They drew tumultuous applause when they spoke of the close comradeship between the Chinese and Tanzanian peoples in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Premier Chou, in his speech, paid tribute to the Tanzanian people's struggle for national independence which, he said, "dealt a heavy blow at imperialist colonial rule in East Africa." Referring to the armed struggle in January 1964 through which national liberation was won, he praised the 300,000 people on the isolated island of Zanzibar for daring to despise the enemy, make revolution and win victory. Said the Premier: "That was a marvellous achievement. The Chinese people sincerely admire the indomitable revolutionary and militant spirit of the fraternal Zanzibar people."

### China's Consistent Stand Towards African Countries

Premier Chou flew back to Dar-es-Salaam after a day's visit to Zanzibar. On the evening of June 7 he gave a farewell banquet which was attended by President Nyerere, Second Vice-President Kawawa and other Tanzanian leaders. Expressing heartfelt thanks to the Tanzanian Government and people for their hos-

pitality, Premier Chou said that he was impressed by what he had seen during his visit. "The Tanzanian people, under the leadership of President Nyerere, are united as one and dedicated to the prosperity and advancement of their country," he said. "The union of the two sister countries—Tanganyika and Zanzibar—is displaying with increasing force the mighty strength of unity. It has not only greatly advanced the Tanzanian people's cause against imperialism and for social progress but has also set a brilliant example for the unity and solidarity of all countries in East Africa and, indeed, the whole of Africa." He went on to say that, despite the imperialists' anger and uneasiness, the anti-imperialist revolution would continue its victorious advance in Africa. "An independent and sovereign new Africa without imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is bound to emerge. An economically and culturally advanced Africa, prosperous and strong, is bound to appear," he declared.

Speaking of China's friendly relations with African countries, Premier Chou said: "China has consistently and unswervingly taken the following stand: (1) It supports the African peoples in their struggle to fight imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence. (2) It supports the pursuance of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment by the governments of African countries. (3) It supports the desire of the African peoples to achieve unity and solidarity in the manner of their own choice. (4) It supports the African countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultations. (5) It holds that the sovereignty of African countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed."

Premier Chou drew attention to the fact that the imperialists and their lackeys were trying their utmost to undermine China's friendly relations and co-operation with the African countries. But, he said, no matter what plots or manoeuvres they might resort to, the imperialists and colonialists would only expose themselves for what they were.

President Nyerere also spoke at the banquet. He said that Premier Chou's visit had made a great contribution to the establishment of a new kind of friendship between China and Tanzania. **Though Tanzania pursued a policy of non-alignment, this did not imply indifference to the evil practices of colonialism and neo-colonialism which, he said, "are a direct threat to Africa, and Africa must defend itself."**

Premier Chou left Dar-es-Salaam for home on June 8. He was given a grand send-off by President Nyerere, First Vice-President Karume, Second Vice-President Kawawa and other top-ranking Tanzanian officials. The Premier's visit and the joint communique he signed with President Nyerere (see p. 7) have filled a new page in the annals of Sino-Tanzanian friendship. They will greatly contribute to the solidarity and further development of friendly co-operation between the two countries.

# China-Tanzania Joint Communiqué

*Following is the full text of the China-Tanzania joint communiqué signed in Dar-es-Salaam on June 8 by Premier Chou En-lai and President Julius K. Nyerere. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**A**T the invitation of President Julius K. Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania, Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China paid a goodwill visit to the United Republic of Tanzania from June 4 to 8, 1965. Accompanying him on the visit were: Chang Han-fu, Vice-Foreign Minister; Lo Ching-chang, Deputy Secretary-General of the State Council; and Ko Hua, Director of the Department of African Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During their stay in Tanzania, Premier Chou En-lai and his party toured Dar-es-Salaam and visited Zanzibar. They met leaders and people of all circles of the United Republic of Tanzania, and were accorded a grand welcome and warm hospitality everywhere by the Tanzanian Government and people. This was a vivid demonstration of the close fraternal friendship between the peoples of China and Tanzania.

During the visit, talks were held between Premier Chou En-lai and President Nyerere.

Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were: Chang Han-fu, Vice-Foreign Minister; Lo Ching-chang, Deputy Secretary-General of the State Council; Ko Hua, Director of the Department of African Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Ho Ying, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the United Republic of Tanzania.

And on the Tanzanian side were: the First Vice-President, Sheikh A.A. Karume; the Second Vice-President, R.M. Kawawa; the Minister of External Affairs, O.S. Kambona; the Minister of Home Affairs, J.M. Lusinde; the Minister of State in the President's Office, I.M.B. Munanka; various cabinet ministers, and the Tanzanian Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, Alhaj T.S. Tewa.

The talks were held in a most friendly and cordial atmosphere. The two parties had a comprehensive exchange of opinions and reached agreement on the question of further developing the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and on current major international issues.

Both parties noted with satisfaction that the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Tanzania had developed steadily and especially since President Nyerere's visit to China last February, they had undergone an all-round development in the political, economic and cultural fields. Both parties pointed out that **the fruitful co-operation between the two countries in all fields fully demonstrated the spirit of mutual respect, mutual support and equality.** They held that the consolidation and growth of the relations of friendship and co-operation not only accorded with the interests of the peoples of the two countries, but was also an important contribution to the strengthening of African-Asian solidarity and the defence of world peace. They were fully confident of the broad prospects for the development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

The Chinese party expressed great admiration for **the indomitable will and revolutionary spirit of the Tanzanian people united as one under the leadership of President Nyerere in opposing imperialist intervention and subversion and safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty;** and it warmly praised the remarkable successes achieved by the Tanzanian people in their great endeavour to develop their national economy and culture and build their country independently through hard work and thrift. It expressed hearty joy over the fact that the United Republic of Tanzania was playing an increasingly important role in supporting the national-liberation movement in Africa, upholding African solidarity and strengthening African-Asian solidarity. Premier Chou En-lai took the opportunity to express his congratulations once again on the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, considering that this union had strengthened the Tanzanian people's forces of unity against imperialism and promoted the cause of the African people's solidarity against imperialism.

Both parties reaffirmed the views on the international situation, particularly the situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America, expressed in the joint communiqué issued by the two parties during the visit of President Nyerere to China in February 1965. The development of events had proved the complete correctness of these views.

Both parties noted that in the recent period the peoples of the world had engaged in bitter struggles

and serious trials of strength with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and scored great victories. But the nature of imperialism will never change. It is still carrying on a frantic last-ditch struggle. **Both parties expressed the determination to make continuous and unremitting efforts with other peoples of the world to smash all the imperialist schemes of aggression and war.**

**Both parties paid high tribute to the Vietnamese people fighting heroically against foreign intervention. They pointed out that justice was entirely on the side of the Vietnamese people.** They sternly condemned the bombing of north Viet Nam and the deliberate spreading of the war in Indo-China. They pledged firm support for the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle against foreign intervention. They held that the Vietnamese people's basic national rights to independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity must be respected, that the imperialist forces must withdraw from Viet Nam and that the Viet Nam question must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves. This is the only way to a peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question.

**Both parties expressed deep sympathy and firm support for the struggle against foreign exploitation and suppression in Latin America and voiced their condemnation of foreign intervention in the Dominican Republic.** They pointed out that the progressive forces in Latin America were rising in a new upsurge. They expressed the deep conviction that, with the support of the people of the whole world, the Latin American peoples would finally win in their struggle against imperialism.

**Both parties paid high tribute to the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) who were fighting to preserve their national independence and freedom.** In order to strangle the Congolese (L) people's cause of national liberation, imperialism is stepping up its schemes to split and undermine the forces in Africa which are united against imperialism. Both parties held that foreign intervention must cease and the imperialist troops and foreign mercenaries must withdraw from the Congo (L). They expressed the belief that, with the support of the people of all Africa and the whole world, the Congolese (L) people would eventually win genuine independence and freedom.

**Both parties strongly condemned the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination pursued by the South African and Southern Rhodesian white racist minority governments.** They pointed out that, supported by imperialism, the Southern Rhodesian colonial authorities, disregarding the strong opposition of the peoples of all Africa, were obstinately pushing their colonial rule and stepping up their scheme for "independence" under the rule of a handful of white racist settlers, which was a serious provocation to the people of Zim-

babwe and all Africa. Both parties expressed firm support for the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa in their just struggle against racial discrimination and colonial rule and for independence and freedom.

**Both parties pledged firm support to the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa and other African peoples still under colonial rule in their struggle for national independence.**

Both parties pointed out, the cause of African-Asian solidarity against imperialism had greatly developed since the Bandung Conference of 1955. **They looked forward with confidence to the successful convening of the Second African-Asian Conference. They were convinced that the conference would certainly carry on and develop the Bandung spirit, continue to encourage the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and make important contributions to the noble cause of winning and safeguarding national independence, developing national economy and national culture, strengthening African-Asian solidarity and co-operation and defending world peace. They expressed their determination to make great efforts for the complete success of the conference.**

**Both parties held that a summit conference of all the countries of the world should be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that, as the first step, the nuclear powers and the countries which may soon become nuclear powers should undertake not to use nuclear weapons.** Both parties were firmly convinced that so long as the peoples of the world persevere in their unremitting struggle for peace, the nuclear weapons can be prohibited and a nuclear war can be prevented.

Both parties noted with satisfaction that President Nyerere's visit to China in February 1965 and Premier Chou En-lai's present visit to Tanzania had made, and would continue to make, important contributions to the further strengthening of the friendship between the Chinese and Tanzanian peoples and the fruitful relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries, and to the promotion of African-Asian solidarity.

**CHOU EN-LAI,**

**JULIUS K. NYERERE,**

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China      President of the United Republic of Tanzania

Dar-es-Salaam, June 8, 1965.

# D.N. Aidit Welcomes Peng Chen To Aliarcham Academy

**A**T a meeting welcoming Peng Chen, head of the Chinese Communist Party delegation attending celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.), to the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences on May 25, D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the P.K.I., made a speech. Aidit said that it was an honour for the academy to be able to welcome the Chinese Communist Party delegation and to hear the speech of Comrade Peng Chen, a great son of China and one of the leaders of the great Chinese Communist Party.

The P.K.I. and the C.P.C. were as close as flesh and blood in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism which are "twin brothers," he said.

Those who were not firm enough in combating revisionism frequently adopted a subjective attitude towards the C.P.C.. Aidit continued. They said that the C.P.C. was dogmatic and not "flexible" in its struggle against modern revisionism. "I am not speaking about those who are out-and-out revisionists but those who are one-third or half revisionist.

"We hold that the C.P.C. is a red beacon light in defending Marxism-Leninism and combating modern revisionism. It is true that sometimes we could not immediately grasp the meaning of the C.P.C.'s statements on modern revisionism. We had to read these statements over and over again and study them deeply. On the whole this arose from the fact that we lacked an overall understanding of the situation. But eventually we understood these statements very well. In the light of this experience, we regard the C.P.C.'s statements on and attitude towards modern revisionism as a red beacon light, a signal, which constitutes a line and guide for us. Of course, we Indonesian Communists have our own way and style in expressing our attitude towards modern revisionism. This is only natural because the P.K.I.'s attitude towards modern revisionism should be well understood by the Indonesian workers and other Indonesian people."

Lukman, First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the P.K.I., thanked Peng Chen on behalf of the Party for his speech.



Comrades Peng Chen and D.N. Aidit at airport

Lukman said that Comrade Peng Chen analysed the arguments advanced by the modern revisionists and the struggle against modern revisionism being waged by the C.P.C. on the world stage. The C.P.C. never expected any thanks for the aid it extended to others. It had indeed set an example of true proletarian internationalism.

He added: "There is no better form in which to express our gratitude than to strive further to intensify our revolutionary struggle in combating imperialism and modern revisionism and in winning the Indonesian revolution."

Before Peng Chen delivered his speech, Pro-Rector Sugijono, on behalf of the academy, warmly welcomed the C.P.C. delegation's visit to the academy and Peng Chen's speech. "On the strength of our own experience," he said, "we Indonesian Communists have never concealed our utmost esteem and high respect for the Chinese Communist Party. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution not only has changed the face of Asia, but has become a model for the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America — the countryside of the world. The C.P.C. is truly a vanguard full of vigour in the fierce struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism and combat modern revisionism."

# Speech at the Aliarcham Academy Of Social Sciences in Indonesia

by PENG CHEN

*Following is a translation of the speech delivered by Peng Chen, head of the delegation of the Communist Party of China and Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, on May 25 at the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences in Djakarta, Indonesia. — Ed.*

**Dear and Respected Comrade Aidit,**

**Dear Comrade Lukman,**

**Dear Comrade Hutapea,**

**Dear Comrade Sugijono,**

**Dear Mrs. Sukimah Aliarcham,**

**Comrades,**

Today I am very much honoured and pleased to be here to talk to you at the request of the leading comrades of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

The Indonesian people is a great and heroic people. The Indonesian Communist Party is a great and staunch Marxist-Leninist party. The Communist Party of Indonesia and the Indonesian people have made very important contributions to the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are proud to have such staunch comrades-in-arms.

Now I would like to discuss with you the question of combating imperialism and modern revisionism.

## **The Principal Contradiction in The Contemporary World**

Ours is the era of proletarian revolutions and revolutions of national liberation, the era in which socialism is advancing towards worldwide victory and imperialism is heading for its doom.

Since World War II, the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world has entered a new stage. The rapid growth of the people's revolutionary forces and

the rapid decline of the counter-revolutionary forces are general trends in the postwar world situation.

After World War I, there was only one socialist state in the world. But today, socialism has won victory in a number of countries, which form the socialist camp. The socialist countries which uphold Marxism-Leninism constitute a powerful bulwark for the acceleration of the world revolution.

After World War I, only tsarist Russia and its colonies were liberated, while imperialism continued to maintain its colonial system in wide areas of the world. But today, the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America have set ablaze the raging fire of anti-imperialist struggle. The long night of centuries of colonial rule is coming to an end, and the colonial system of imperialism is in the process of rapid collapse.

After World War I, the capitalist system enjoyed a short period of relative stability. Since World War II there has been no such relative stability. The forces of imperialism have been greatly weakened. U.S. imperialism, the main prop of the imperialist system, is also in a state of general decline. The general crisis of capitalism has greatly deepened.

The international balance of class forces is very favourable to the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of the world and very unfavourable to imperialism and all the reactionaries. The international balance between the forces of revolution and of counter-revolution has changed, but not one of the basic contradictions of the contemporary world—the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and the contradictions among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly capitalist groups—has disappeared. These basic contradictions are all objective realities and they are becoming increasingly acute.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has stepped into the shoes of German, Italian and Japanese fascism

and become the chief enemy of the people of the world. Throughout the postwar period, repeated and intense struggles have been going on between the people of the world on the one side and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys on the other. The vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the main battlefields of these struggles.

Taking the world situation as a whole, the contradiction between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the most prominent and most acute of all the basic contradictions and is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world.

Since World War II, tremendous revolutionary storms have risen in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The victory of the Chinese revolution, the victory of the Korean and Vietnamese revolutions, of the Korean people's war against U.S. aggression, of the Cuban revolution, of the Algerian war of national liberation and of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people as well as the successive great victories of the national-liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have all dealt heavy blows at the imperialists headed by the United States and greatly changed the face of these vast areas.

Today, the national-democratic revolutionary movement is continuing to surge forward in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In Indo-China, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Dominican Republic and other vast areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America, fierce hand-to-hand struggles, including armed struggles, are going on between the oppressed nations and imperialism. The strategic rear areas of the imperialists have become the front lines of fiery struggles.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are the life-line on which imperialism depends for the maintenance of its rule, and they are the areas where imperialist rule is most vulnerable. A revolutionary situation exists in these vast areas today. The national-democratic revolutionary movement in these areas is the most important force directly hitting imperialism. This is an objective fact. It can neither be invented nor gainsaid.

The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will always be thankful for the influence and impact of the advanced proletariat of the West, for the inspiration and assistance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and for the enlightenment and guidance of the founders of Marxism-Leninism.

The historical development of different countries is uneven, and so is the development of their revolutionary movements. While the proletariat in Western Europe and North America is experiencing a new awakening, for various reasons the situation there is not yet ripe for revolution; on the other hand, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are holding high the torch of revolution and marching forward.

As Lenin pointed out, the centre of the growing European working-class movement switched from Britain to France, which was comparatively backward economically, then from France to Germany, which was likewise comparatively backward economically, and then from Germany to Russia, which was again comparatively backward economically. The comparative economic backwardness of Asia, Africa and Latin America today does not prevent the people in these regions from becoming new shock brigades of the world revolution, and in fact they have already done so.

The national-democratic revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America is an important component part of the contemporary proletarian world revolution. It has shaken the imperialists' strategic rear areas, weakened their rule in their own countries, and promoted and supported the revolution of the proletariat and other working people within these countries.

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America has hit at and weakened the imperialist forces of aggression and war. This revolutionary struggle gives support both to the struggles of the proletariat of the countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania which has not yet won victory and to those of the already victorious states of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As Comrade Aidit has said,

On a world scale, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the village of the world, while Europe and North America are the town of the world. If the world revolution is to be victorious, there is no other way than for the world proletariat to give prominence to the revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that is to say, the revolutions in the village of the world.<sup>1</sup>

The development and resolution of the contradiction between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States have a vital bearing not only on the future of the people of these areas but also on the future of the people of the whole world. This is not a regional question but a question of an overall character in the contemporary world. Its development and resolution are of key importance in promoting the development and resolution of the other basic contradictions.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are the areas in which the various contradictions of the contemporary world are focused. Fierce struggles are going on in these areas between the oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and imperialism and its lackeys on the other. The contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on an international scale, between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries and between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists all find acute expression in these areas. And so do the contradictions among the imperialist countries.

The inexorable facts since World War II and what is now taking place all go to show that the contradiction between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world.

It is essential for Marxist-Leninists to single out this principal contradiction from among the intricate contradictions of the contemporary world and grasp it firmly. Only by so doing can one correctly discern and determine the principal enemy and the principal target of attack in the world today, decide which forces to rely on and which to unite with, and formulate the correct strategy and tactics.

Both the socialist countries which persevere in the Marxist-Leninist line and the proletariat of Western Europe, North America and Oceania who unswervingly follow a revolutionary path regard it as their most important internationalist duty to give resolute support to the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The attitude one takes on this question constitutes the most important criterion for distinguishing between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries and between real revolutionaries and sham revolutionaries.

The Khrushchov revisionists strenuously deny the great international significance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They assert that Asia, Africa and Latin America "are not the focus of contradictions," "are not and cannot be the centre of contemporary contradictions" and cannot possibly be the storm centres of world revolution in our age. They accuse anyone who asserts the contrary of "substituting geographical principle for a class analysis of the revolutionary forces" and denounce him as a "nationalist," a "racist," or an adherent of the "colour" and "geographical" principles.

In the opinion of the Khrushchov revisionists, it is only Europe and North America that can be the centres of the world, whose inner "centres" are the two major powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

Taking over the racial superiority complex of the European and American bourgeoisie and the imperialists, the Khrushchov revisionists shout in tune with the imperialists about "coloured people opposing white people," as soon as they see the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America rising against the imperialists headed by the United States. There is not an iota of Marxism-Leninism in this view, which is a betrayal of the socialist countries and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in the West. It is the propagators of this view who are actually putting themselves in the same boat as the nationalists, racists, or adherents of the "colour" and "geographical" principles.

The Khrushchov revisionists accuse us of belittling the role of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries and setting the national-liberation movement against the international working-class movement. In fact, it is they themselves who set the national-liberation movement against the international working-class movement. They have completely abandoned the Leninist theory concerning the national-liberation movement.

Since the October Revolution, the national-liberation movement has ceased to belong to the category of the bourgeois world revolution, but belongs to that of the proletarian world revolution, of which it forms a part. Lenin said,

... the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialism-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries against international imperialism.<sup>2</sup>

He also said that the proletariat in the imperialist countries "will not be victorious without the aid of the toiling masses of all the oppressed colonial peoples, and primarily of the Eastern peoples."<sup>3</sup>

The Khrushchov revisionists' purpose in spreading their views is simply to disintegrate and suppress the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to oppose and hinder the extension of firm support by socialist countries and the international proletariat to the revolutionary movement in these areas and to serve imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism, in promoting neo-colonialism.

### **U.S. Imperialism Can Definitely Be Defeated**

U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy confronting the people of the world. Since the war, it has made use of its economic strength, which was inflated during the war, to build up an unprecedented and colossal war machine, brandishing its nuclear weapons and carrying out frantic aggression everywhere in its attempt to dominate the whole world.

How one regards and assesses the strength of U.S. imperialism, whether or not one has confidence in winning the struggle against U.S. imperialism and whether or not one dares to wage resolute struggle against it are major questions in the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

U.S. imperialism is strong in appearance but weak in essence. Postwar developments have proved that neither its dollars nor its armed forces can prevent the final victory of the people's revolution of the world. Similarly, the nuclear weapons in the hands of U.S. imperialism cannot possibly save it from its doom or prevent the progress of human history.

Let us leave aside what happened in the past and take a look at events which are attracting worldwide attention today!

In Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is being badly battered by the 14 million south Vietnamese people, despite the fact that this huge monster has been engaged in its aggression for more than ten years, in the course of which it has expended thousands of millions of U.S. dollars, sent in tens of thousands of troops and employed new weapons of all kinds except nuclear weapons. In the face of the organized armed people, the U.S. aggressors find themselves besieged and attacked from all sides, so that they take the very rustle of a leaf and the very shadow of a tree for an enemy. As the American press has put it, "The war in south Viet Nam is largely a war against an unseen enemy. The enemy is everywhere and nowhere at the same time." U.S. imperialism is doomed to defeat in Viet Nam. Like a buffalo rushing into a fiery maze, it will certainly be burnt to death.

In the Congo (Leopoldville), U.S. imperialism has not been able to strangle the national-liberation struggle, whether by armed intervention in the name of the United Nations or by direct armed intervention. The grass cannot be burnt out by a prairie fire but grows again with the spring breeze. The people of the Congo (Leopoldville) have regrouped their forces and, arms in hand, renewed their victorious struggle.

In the Dominican Republic, an island country with a population of 3 million at the very gate of the United States, the people's armed uprising has thrown U.S. imperialism into confusion. It has dispatched more than 30,000 invading troops to engage in suppression. This fully shows that U.S. imperialism is in a grave predicament.

The path U.S. imperialism is taking now is the same path Hitler took in his day. Its aggressive ambition far surpasses Hitler's, but it is weaker than Hitler, the disparity between strength and ambition being greater. Today it finds itself in an ever worsening strategic position.

Like a mad dog dashing everywhere, U.S. imperialism is frantically pursuing its policies of aggression and war, committing aggression everywhere and riding roughshod over the world, thereby arousing the people's universal resistance and its allies' opposition and completely isolating itself.

U.S. imperialism has over-reached itself. It has deployed its armed forces in every continent and ocean of the world; it has committed aggression and tried to suppress the people's revolution everywhere. With its shortage of troops, its far-flung battle fronts, its remote rear and the dispersion of its forces, it is keeping up its strength in one place at the expense of others, and is unable to attend to everything at once. Its position is becoming very passive and strategically it is already receiving blows on all sides.

In the meantime, with new changes in the balance of forces among the imperialist countries, the dominant position of U.S. imperialism in the capitalist world has become precarious. The imperialist camp is disintegrating.

As the last and largest bulwark of imperialism, U.S. imperialism is trying to save the incurably sick imperialist system, but in vain—the result can only be like drinking poison to quench one's thirst. It is trying to dam the world current of the people's revolution, only to make it more tempestuous. Everywhere it is creating its own grave-diggers in increasing numbers to dig its grave for it.

The people of the world can definitely defeat this ferocious enemy provided that they clearly recognize U.S. imperialism as their chief enemy, unite with all the forces that can be united, and form the broadest possible united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The Khrushchov revisionists are spreading pessimistic and defeatist views everywhere in order to intimidate the people of the world and sabotage their revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In contrast to the Marxist-Leninists, the Khrushchov revisionists have no faith at all in the strength of the people and in victory in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. They are exponents of the theory that weapons, and in particular nuclear weapons, decide everything. They play up and exaggerate the horrors of war, asserting that with the emergence of nuclear weapons it is no longer possible to wage anti-imperialist struggles or to make revolution. They dare not touch U.S. imperialism themselves and, what is more, they forbid others to struggle against it. They have no confidence in victory themselves, and try to shake and sap the confidence and will to fight of other people. They do not want revolution themselves and forbid others to make revolution. They capitulate themselves, and want to drag others along with them in their capitulation, or force others to capitulate.

Whether or not one dares to fight and dares to win victory when confronted by powerful and vicious class enemies internally or externally has always been the dividing line between Marxist-Leninists and opportunists, between revolutionaries and capitulationists. The outcome of the struggle is invariably victory for the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries and the people, and the consignment of the opportunists and the capitulationists to the garbage heap of history along with the collapse of the class enemy.

History shows that the newborn revolutionary forces are invariably weak to begin with, but that they always keep on growing, developing from small and weak to large and strong forces, and eventually defeat the seemingly strong forces of counter-revolution. To begin with, the newborn revolutionary forces have no

arms at all or are only poorly equipped, but they always defeat the forces of counter-revolution which are well-equipped and armed to the teeth. In the final analysis, it is men and not things, the masses of the people and not weapons, that are the basic factor deciding victory or defeat.

In Lenin's famous words, "Do you want a revolution? Then you *must* be strong!"<sup>4</sup> Why? The revolutionaries represent the new emerging forces of society and believe in and rely on the strength of the people, which is invincible, and that is why they should be strong and will inevitably be strong. The reactionaries cannot but be weak, and inevitably so, because they divorce themselves from the people and are opposed by the people. They will fail in the end however strong they are outwardly for a time.

After World War II, Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the celebrated thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. Basing himself on the objective laws governing social development, he had faith in the inevitable triumph of the new emerging social forces over the decadent social forces and of the people's forces over the anti-popular forces. Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a profound analysis of the changes in the postwar international balance of class forces and pointed out: "The strength of the world anti-imperialist camp has surpassed that of the imperialist camp. It is we, not the enemy, who are in the superior position."<sup>5</sup> He added, "All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."<sup>5</sup> The development of the world situation has since testified to the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis.

The people's revolutionary struggle is surging forward and winning constant victories, while imperialism is being battered everywhere and nearing its doom. The Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries are fighting together with the masses of the people with full confidence, dealing hard blows at imperialism and propelling it to its grave. All pessimism is utterly groundless. Whoever spreads pessimistic and defeatist views will be punished by history.

### **Modern Revisionism Is the New Social Prop of Imperialism**

The great Lenin taught us that "a struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked up with the struggle against opportunism is an idle phrase, or a fraud."<sup>6</sup>

In endeavouring to bolster up the tottering edifice of imperialism, in addition to the direct use of violence, the monopoly capitalists of the imperialist countries invariably rely upon the labour aristocracy as a social prop and life-saver to sap the revolutionary will of the proletariat, to fool and divide the revolutionary people and to resist the proletarian revolutionary storm.

Before World War II, monopoly capital, with its superprofits exacted from the people of the colonies and semi-colonies, pursued a policy of bribery and corruption with regard to the working class in its own country, nurturing the labour aristocracy and making social democracy its social prop. Since World War II, with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, monopoly capital needs such a social prop more than ever in order to maintain its rule. It is aware that it is not enough merely to use the Right-wing social-democratic parties as its tool for undermining the working-class movement. While continuing its policy of bribery and corruption with regard to the working class in the capitalist countries, fostering new labour aristocracy and causing the Communist Parties of some capitalist countries to degenerate into new bourgeois labour parties and new social-democratic parties, it is practising the policy of "peaceful evolution" towards the socialist countries and is causing the leadership of the Communist Parties in some socialist countries to degenerate into its flunkies and agents.

In the postwar years, U.S. imperialism has spent thousands of millions of dollars in fostering the Tito clique, the "bellwether" that betrays socialism and the proletariat. But the Tito clique can play only a limited role. Therefore U.S. imperialism has looked around for something new and employed the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of threats and blandishments, using the stick and the carrot. Khrushchov revisionism is the product of this U.S. imperialist policy.

Khrushchov first put forward his counter-revolutionary revisionist line at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. It was systematized and officially embodied in the Programme of the C.P.S.U., which was adopted at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. with Khrushchov's hallmark.

The Khrushchov revisionists have made a wholesale revision of the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and emasculated its revolutionary soul. They have replaced dialectical materialism by subjective idealism, revolutionary dialectics by the philistine theory of evolution, and they have become faithful followers of bourgeois pragmatism. They have substituted the theories of class conciliation, class collaboration and class capitulation for the teachings of class struggle, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They spread the view that the nature of imperialism has changed, and they try to cover up the contradictions inherent in the imperialist system, openly proclaiming that the Leninist thesis on imperialism is outmoded.

The Khrushchov revisionists serve the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism by advancing the general line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition" and practising policies of appeasement towards imperialism, which are in effect capitulationism. In advancing the fallacies of "the state of the whole people" and "the

Party of the entire people," they have abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat and changed the character of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat. They have replaced proletarian internationalism with great-power chauvinism and national egoism, and worked to split the socialist camp and the international communist movement and undermine the great unity of the revolutionary people of the world.

Khrushchov revisionism is disintegrating the socialist camp, splitting the international communist movement, sabotaging the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary movement in all countries, lulling the vigilance of the people of the world and playing the role of a special detachment of the U.S. imperialists and all reactionaries; it is doing all these things which the U.S. imperialists, all reactionaries and the old-line revisionist renegades are not in the position to do. By all this, the Khrushchov revisionists have set themselves against the masses of the people who comprise more than 90 per cent of the world's population, and cannot but arouse the resolute opposition of all genuine Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary people. Khrushchov revisionism is doomed to failure, and in fact has rapidly been discredited.

Khrushchov, the founder of Khrushchov revisionism, has already been driven off the stage of world history. This is a major event. It marks a victory for the Marxist-Leninist line and a failure for Khrushchov revisionism. It testifies to the necessity and correctness of the struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties and Marxist-Leninists against Khrushchov revisionism.

All Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people understand that the rise and growth of Khrushchov revisionism is by no means a matter involving a few individuals, or an accidental phenomenon. It has deep social and historical roots. As the 1957 Declaration has pointed out, "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source."

Khrushchov revisionism is the creation of the capitalist forces in the Soviet Union. With Khrushchov's coming to power, a bourgeois privileged stratum gradually came into being in the Soviet Union as a result of his erroneous policies. This stratum has completely divorced itself from the Soviet people and thoroughly betrayed the cause of proletarian world revolution. It is the main social base of Khrushchov revisionism. Khrushchov and his like are the political representatives of this bourgeois privileged stratum whose interests all their lines and policies seek to serve. They have usurped the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state. Catering to the needs of imperialism, they have led the C.P.S.U. founded by Lenin on to the dangerous road of degeneration and have led the first socialist country, the Soviet Union, on to the dangerous road of

capitalist restoration. This in itself is the greatest betrayal of the Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the world.

The facts are crystal clear. What Lenin said about the old-line revisionists applies equally to Khrushchov and his like: "... objectively, they are a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, ... transmitters of its influence, its agents in the labour movement."<sup>7</sup>

Is it conceivable that opposing imperialism alone without opposing revisionism is enough?

Lenin repeatedly taught us that "it is useless talking about the struggle against imperialism, about Marxism, or about the socialist labour movement,"<sup>8</sup> unless a determined and ruthless struggle all along the line is conducted against the bourgeois labour parties. There can be no doubt that Lenin's teaching remains the guide to action for Marxist-Leninists. For the victory of the struggle against imperialism, for the liberation of all oppressed people and nations and for the realization of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man, we must resolutely go on thoroughly exposing the true features of Khrushchov revisionism and carry the struggle against it through to the end.

### **Marxist-Leninists Must Be Good at Grasping The Essence Behind the Appearance**

More than six months have elapsed since the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. came to power. We had hoped that they would correct their mistakes and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism, or at least prove a little better than Khrushchov. But all their actions have turned out contrary to our hopes.

Khrushchov's successors understood that Khrushchov had become too unpopular and that if they were to put on exactly the same appearance as Khrushchov, they would be unable to explain why they should have taken his place. That is why they have to redecorate themselves as best they may and try by all means to appear different from Khrushchov. They have made "revolutionary" gestures, used a lot of "anti-imperialist" phrases, and uttered a great many fine words about "unity." They have also carried out a number of minor manoeuvres and played some political sleight of hand. They think that in so doing they will be able to delude people by their false appearance and prevent them from grasping their essence.

What are the things that express their essence?

They are still stubbornly clinging to the whole of Khrushchov's revisionist line as laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and embodied in the Programme of the C.P.S.U. and opposing the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries.

They are still stubbornly clinging to the line of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world," declaring that there are "sufficiently broad

areas for co-operation" between the Soviet Union and the United States, and moreover they are quickening their pace in pursuit of "co-operation" with U.S. imperialism.

They are still stubbornly clinging to the divisive line. They openly and faithfully carried out Khrushchov's orders by convening the schismatic Moscow meeting last March.

So long as they cling to these fundamental lines, all their gestures of "revolution," "opposition to imperialism" and "unity" are mere subterfuge and camouflage and can in no way change the essence of the matter.

If they had really changed Khrushchov's revisionist line, why should they continue to collaborate with U.S. imperialism as international gendarmes suppressing the oppressed people and nations? Why should they have they retabled at the United Nations the proposal which Khrushchov put forward last July for the organization of a U.N. armed force? Why should they have they joined the United States in voting in the U.N. Security Council for a resolution calling for "ceasefire" and "national reconciliation" in the Congo (Leopoldville) and supported U.S. imperialism in its attempt to put down the patriotic armed struggle of the Congolese people?

If they had really changed Khrushchov's revisionist line, why should they continue to pursue Khrushchov's policy of selling out the German Democratic Republic? When the West German militarists shamelessly convened their *Bundestag* in West Berlin and thus made a wild provocation against the German Democratic Republic and the whole socialist camp, why did they lack the courage to take any action to rebuff it? Why have they pigeonholed the proposals for a speedy German peace treaty and the settlement of the West Berlin problem, without so much as daring to mention them again?

If they had really changed Khrushchov's revisionist line, why should they brutally suppress the anti-U.S. demonstrations by students of Viet Nam and other Asian and African countries studying in the Soviet Union? Again, why did they and the U.S. imperialists install hot lines and cold lines, exchange information, hold secret talks and give each other open support? Why did they set their minds on abetting the U.S. imperialist plot of "peace negotiations," and try to subordinate the Viet Nam question to their general line of "peaceful coexistence" and "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the settlement of world problems" and to extinguish the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle?

From a host of facts we cannot but draw the conclusion that Khrushchov's successors are still carrying out Khrushchov revisionism, the only difference being that in their tactics they are more crafty than Khrushchov. Khrushchov was rather naive. In order

to curry favour with the chieftains of the U.S. gangsters, he was often too outspoken because he could not refrain from airing what was on his mind. His successors have drawn the lesson. They know that their stuff cannot stand scrutiny and can be refuted at any time by Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary people. That is why they must disguise themselves. At the same time, they know that they are in a much weaker position than Khrushchov. They think that acting stealthily may be better for them. They resort to flat denials and brazenly say: I am not what I am, a horse is not a horse, a horse-driver is not a horse-driver, and a revisionist is not a revisionist, as if there were no difference at all between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism.

Precisely because the Khrushchov revisionists are putting on more subtle camouflage and are more deceptive, it is all the more incumbent on the Marxist-Leninists to expose the essence behind their false appearance and the deeds of betrayal concealed by their fine words. Otherwise, to allow them to deceive people would bring more serious harm to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. As Lenin said about Kautsky's tricks, "We would cease to be Marxists, we would cease to be Socialists generally, if we . . . refrained from exposing their *real* political significance."<sup>9</sup>

In the past, all kinds of opportunists and revisionists invariably used dual tactics to deceive the revolutionary people, and they invariably put on some false appearance to conceal the essence of their betrayal of the revolution. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin always firmly grasped the essence of the opportunists and revisionists by penetrating the complicated appearance and clearing away the fog they spread, and thoroughly exposed the true features of these renegades to the revolutionary people. It was through such struggles that the opportunist and revisionist factions were defeated one after another, the revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism constantly developed and great victories constantly won for the cause of the proletarian revolution.

Today, the Marxist-Leninists not only have the lessons of dealing with Bakunin, with Bernstein and Kautsky, with Trotsky and with Tito, but, what is more important, they have the experience of dealing with Khrushchov. Thus we can more easily see through the various disguises of the Khrushchov revisionists, more easily grasp the essence behind the appearance. Marxism-Leninism is a mirror to show up monsters. Facts are also such mirrors. However numerous the metamorphoses of the Khrushchov revisionists, they will eventually reveal their true features as monsters.

### **On What Basis Can We Achieve Real Unity Against the Enemy?**

Recently, the Khrushchov revisionists have been particularly vociferous in calling for "unity against the

enemy" and for "united action." What do they really mean by the "unity against the enemy" and the "united action" which they are talking about? Do they really want to unite with us against the enemy?

No! Not at all!

The so-called unity the Khrushchov revisionists want is not based on Marxism-Leninism, on the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, but on the revisionist general line laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and embodied in the Programme of the C.P.S.U., the general line of "peaceful coexistence," the general line of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world." Following this line can only mean unity with the U.S. imperialists, with the reactionaries and the modern revisionists, and cannot possibly mean unity with the Marxist-Leninists or unity with the people who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population.

These people who are shouting "unity" have long since degenerated into the greatest splitters of modern times. Ever since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., they have kept on splitting away from Marxism-Leninism, from Stalin, from the Soviet people, from revolution and from all the Marxist-Leninist parties. Today, they are still pursuing Khrushchov's policy of "four alignments with and four alignments against," that is, alignment with imperialism against socialism, alignment with the United States against China and the other revolutionary countries, alignment with the reactionaries everywhere against the national-liberation movements and the people's revolutions, and alignment with the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions against all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism.

The Khrushchov revisionists are now more active than anyone else in crying for the "unity" of the international communist movement, the aim being to stop the Marxist-Leninists from making a further exposure of their revisionist essence and their dirty tricks and to attack those who oppose their revisionism and splittism. They are putting up a show of crying for "unity" while they themselves are disrupting unity and of shouting, "Down with splittism!" while they themselves are creating a split.

Without an elementary class analysis, the slogan "unity against the enemy" is meaningless. We must make clear whom they want "unity" with and which enemy they want to deal with. Since 1959, we have repeatedly advised the Khrushchov revisionists not to regard enemies as friends and vice versa. They categorically refused to listen. After the fall of Khrushchov, we advised them to discard his legacy and to put right their perverse attitude towards enemies and friends. They again refused to listen. They declared to our delegation's face that there was not a shade of difference between them and Khrushchov in their attitude towards enemies and friends. They still refuse to treat U.S. imperialism as the main enemy, but

insist on treating it as the main friend. They are still "uniting with" U.S. imperialism against the people of the world. Under these circumstances, how is it possible to speak of unity with the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people against the enemy?

Recently, the Khrushchov revisionists have also cried for the necessity of "united action" on the part of the socialist countries. Again, we must make clear what this "united action" is for. Is it "united action" to fit in with the U.S. imperialist plot of "peace negotiations," to betray the interests of the Vietnamese people and put down their revolution? Is it "united action" to surrender to U.S. imperialism and oppose the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary struggle in every country? Or is it "united action" to implement the revisionist general line of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the settlement of world problems"? Truth to tell, such "united action" can only be sought with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, with the Indian reactionaries and with the Tito clique. To seek such "united action" with Marxist-Leninists is to knock at the wrong door.

Lenin ridiculed such people as follows: "In the market-place it often happens that the vendor who shouts loudest and calls God to witness is the one with the shoddiest goods for sale."<sup>10</sup> We must expose the very shoddy goods they are peddling to the light of the sun.

Some have asked: Haven't you Marxist-Leninists established very good united front relations with many non-Marxist-Leninists and non-Communists? Why can't you enter into united action with the modern revisionists?

But this does not depend on our wishes. From the point of view of our wishes, the best thing would be for them to abandon revisionism, or at least refrain from siding with U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the world. Indeed we were actuated by this wish when we repeatedly advised and criticized them, hoping that they might turn from their erroneous ways. Unfortunately, they have turned a deaf ear to all this. What can one do if they are happy in their own degeneration? They have insisted on staying outside the united front of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and conducting an ardent flirtation with it so that they are like a pair of lovebirds that even clubbing cannot separate. In these circumstances, of course it is impossible for them to really join the Marxist-Leninists and the people of the world in any "united action."

In this sense, they really cannot be compared with the anti-imperialist and revolutionary representatives of the national bourgeoisie in Asia, Africa and Latin America, nor even with the anti-imperialist and patriotic representatives of royal families and the nobility. As Stalin said in *The Foundations of Leninism*, some so-called socialists were reactionary while certain kings and some merchants, who fought for national indepen-

dence, were objectively revolutionary. This is the fact and the truth.

In attacking the Marxist-Leninists, the Khrushchov revisionists have said that refusal to take "united action" with them constitutes "encouragement" to imperialist adventures and renders "invaluable service to the aggressors."

This label can never be pinned on us, but it well fits the Khrushchov revisionists. It is not we, but they with their revisionist and capitulationist line, who have encouraged the U.S. aggressor and served U.S. imperialism. Who voted in the U.N. Security Council for U.S. armed aggression in the Congo (Leopoldville)? Who bowed and surrendered before Kennedy's blackmail in the Caribbean crisis? Who plotted the swindle of the U.S.-British-Soviet partial nuclear test ban treaty to consolidate the position of the United States as a nuclear overlord? Who has been planning to organize a permanent U.N. armed force in collusion with U.S. imperialism in order to suppress the national-liberation movement? Is it not the fallen Khrushchov and his successors who have done all these things which encourage the U.S. aggressor and serve U.S. imperialism? Aren't these things the products of the revisionist line of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world"? Aren't such things being repeated today on the question of Viet Nam?

In contrast to the Khrushchov revisionist line, the line pursued by the Chinese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties is a thoroughly revolutionary line, which persists in opposing imperialism, resolutely supports the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people and nations and defends world peace. Practice has proved that this is the only correct line. Only by following this line is it possible to puncture the arrogance of the U.S. imperialist aggressor, thwart its plans for aggression and war, and thereby both promote the people's revolution of all countries and win world peace.

The Chinese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties have always stood for unity against the enemy. To Marxist-Leninists unity against the enemy means unity of the workers of all lands and unity of the workers and the oppressed people and nations of the world against imperialism and reaction. At present, it means unity of the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries, and unity with all the forces that can be united, in joint action against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. What we mean by unity against the enemy is a slogan which draws a clearcut line of demarcation between enemies and friends; it is a revolutionary slogan.

The unity of the international communist movement can be achieved only on the basis of adherence to Marxism-Leninism and opposition to modern revisionism.

The unity between the international proletariat and the oppressed nations can be achieved only on the basis of firm opposition to imperialism, particularly to U.S. imperialism, and firm support for the revolution of the oppressed nations.

The unity between the international proletariat and the oppressed people can be achieved only on the basis of firm opposition to imperialism and reaction and firm support for the revolution of the people of all countries.

It is for revolution that we unite. Unity with revolutionaries is out of the question if one opposes revolution. Making revolution and opposing imperialism is the demand of the broad masses of the people who comprise more than 90 per cent of the world's population and is the irresistible trend of history. Whoever goes against this aspiration of the people and this trend will inevitably be discarded by history.

The great Soviet people is a people endowed with the glorious tradition of the October Revolution. The great Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a Party with a long history of revolutionary struggle. In their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and of the cause of the proletarian revolution, the Khrushchov revisionists are violating the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the Soviet people and the Soviet Communists. To fight against Khrushchov revisionism is the demand of the Soviet people and the broad masses of the members and cadres of the C.P.S.U. as well as of all the Communists and the revolutionary people of the world. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people are firmly convinced that the Parties and peoples of China and the Soviet Union will ultimately disperse the dark clouds spread by Khrushchov revisionism, closely unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and combine their efforts to oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and to promote the revolutionary cause.

We still place some hope in the leadership of the C.P.S.U., and will welcome the day when they admit and rectify their mistakes, discard Khrushchov revisionism and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism. But it seems that this day is still far off. We Marxist-Leninists must carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end and must not in the least slacken our efforts.

### **Be Promoters of Revolution at All Times**

At no time and in no circumstances must Marxist-Leninists forget the world historical mission of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society.

At the present stage, the historical task of the parties of the proletariat in all countries is to unite the revolutionary people of the whole world, unite all the forces that can be united, combat the imperialists and reactionaries, win world peace, national liberation,

people's democracy and socialism, and strive for the gradual achievement of complete victory in the proletarian world revolution and for a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and people of each country goes through different stages and has its own characteristics, but none can be independent of the general laws governing the development of world history. It is of great importance for a proletarian party leading the revolutionary struggle and formulating the revolutionary line and policies of its own country to adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete revolutionary practice of its own country. Only when the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is skilfully integrated with the concrete revolutionary practice of one's own country, can one make Marxism-Leninism take root, blossom and yield fruit in the country, and lead the revolution to victory.

At all times and in all circumstances Marxist-Leninists are the promoters of revolution.

Marxist-Leninist parties should adhere to the revolutionary line, support and assist each other, and perform their proletarian internationalist duty in the present international class struggle and in the great struggle of all the oppressed people and nations for liberation.

Communist Parties of the socialist countries should uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate and expand the positions of socialism, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields. Never for a moment must we forget the existence of classes and class struggle, or forget the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads. Only thus can we prevent the restoration of capitalism and create the conditions for the transition to communism.

At all times and in all circumstances Marxist-Leninists are revolutionary optimists.

Marx and Engels, who were only two individuals, declared to the whole world in a resounding voice: The doom of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are both inevitable!

In our times, Marxist-Leninists have all the greater confidence to declare to the whole world: The extinction of imperialism is inevitable, so is the victory of socialism and communism! The future of the international communist movement is bright, so is the future of the proletarian world revolution.

The emergence of Khrushchov revisionism is a mere interlude in the course of historical development. However vociferous they may be for a time, they are merely singing the elegy for the imperialists and themselves.

*On this tiny globe*

*A few flies dash themselves against the wall,*

*Humming without cease,*

*Sometimes shrilling,*

*Sometimes moaning.*

Time will reject this handful of wretches. History has witnessed so many renegades to the revolution and so many notorious opportunists and revisionists who were repudiated by the masses of the people. The fate of the modern revisionists will be no better than that of their predecessors.

Earth-shaking changes have taken place in the world in the century or more since the emergence of Marxism. These changes are greater than those of past centuries, of past thousands of years or even tens of thousands of years. This is the greatest century in human history. It can be fully anticipated that the next hundred years will witness still greater revolutionary changes in the world.

Marxism has developed rapidly in the last hundred years. In the same way, it can be fully anticipated that Marxism will develop still more rapidly in the next hundred years.

Consequently, still more arduous struggles and still greater victories lie ahead of contemporary Marxist-Leninists and all other revolutionaries.

While entrusting contemporary Marxist-Leninists and all other revolutionaries with arduous missions, history has at the same time created a wide stage of action for them. On this stage of history all real revolutionary heroes can perform many a revolutionary drama, full of sound and colour, power and grandeur, provided that they truly grasp the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism, truly rely on the broad masses of the people, and are courageous and skilful in waging struggles. Innumerable revolutionary forerunners have opened up the road, set the example and accumulated experience for us. The contemporary Marxist-Leninists and all other revolutionaries can, and should, make more contributions than their predecessors.

*To find men truly great and noble-hearted*

*We must look here in the present.*

Let us hold aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and boldly advance in the fight against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism, for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, for the gradual achievement of complete victory in the proletarian world revolution and for the building of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man!

<sup>1</sup>D.N. Aidit, *Set Afire the Banteng Spirit! Ever Forward, No Retreat!* Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup>Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East,"

*On the International Working-Class and Communist Movement*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>4</sup> Lenin, "No Falsehood! Our Strength Lies in Stating the Truth!", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. IX, p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 172-73.

<sup>6</sup> Lenin, "The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1946, Vol. I, p. 746.

<sup>7</sup> Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. 18, p. 310.

<sup>8</sup> Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. 19, pp. 349-50.

<sup>9</sup> Lenin, "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. 19, p. 410.

<sup>10</sup> Lenin, "Workers' Unity and Intellectualist Trends," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1964, Vol. 20, p. 296.

## FRIENDLY CO-OPERATION

### Mali to Produce Own Sugar

On May 17 Mali's President Modibo Keita visited a sugar-cane plantation, cut the ribbon to open a new pumping station, and saw building work started on a sugar refinery in the Dougabougou reclamation area of the Segou region. Mali is working on these three projects with Chinese help to set up its own sugar industry.

Since 1962, when Mali started growing sugar-cane, the plantation has been expanded to more than 50 hectares. When completed the refinery with its up-to-date Chinese equipment will be able to process 400 tons of sugar-cane a day. On his visit to the refinery construction site President Keita received all the Chinese technicians on the job and thanked them for their exemplary work. He wrote an inscription describing the refinery as "the fruit of militant co-operation between Mali and China."

### Bananas From Viet Nam

In the summer of last year, the peasants of Lao Cai and other provinces in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam presented over 41,000 banana plants to China's Kaiyuan County in Yunnan Province. This year these plants have borne a fine crop of bananas which are now on sale in local markets including Kunming, the provincial capital.

### Prize Bulls Flown to China

Five prize bulls of famous Pakistan breeds were flown to Kunming in southwest China from Lahore in

Pakistan on May 11. They are gifts to China from Pakistan's President Ayub Khan, and from the Governor of West Pakistan and the Ministry of Agriculture of West Pakistan.

### Indonesia Builds Paper Factory

A paper mill with a daily capacity of 40 tons is to be built in Indonesia with help from China. A document and supplementary notes concerning talks on the project were signed recently in Djakarta by Liang Chen-kung, head of the Chinese paper manufacturing experts' team which went to Indonesia to discuss details, and Margono, head of the experts' team of the Indonesian Ministry of Basic Industry and Mining.

### Chinese Medical Team in Zanzibar

Over 6,500 patients have been treated by the Chinese medical team working in the rural areas of Zanzibar Island since the end of last year. The team, made up of physicians, surgeons, a gynaecologist, a laboratory technician, a pharmacist and nurses, goes every week to the villages of Donge and Mpapa to give medical treatment to poor peasants in these areas.

### U.A.R. Film Festival

Nine films from the United Arab Republic were shown during the May 28-June 3 U.A.R. film festival in Peking. At the opening ceremony on the afternoon of May 28 the members of the cinema delegation from the U.A.R., who had arrived for the festival, were introduced to the audience which then saw *Saladin*, a feature film depicting the Arab people's heroic fight against the Crusaders in the 12th century.

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

Workers' Party at different times on May 22. On June 3, Paul Niculescu-Mizil, head of the Rumanian Workers' Party delegation and Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, called on Peng Chen and had a cordial talk with him.

President Sukarno received the two Chinese delegations on separate occasions.

On June 4, before departing for home, Peng Chen, head of the N.P.C. delegation and Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, gave a farewell banquet in Djakarta. In his speech, Peng Chen thanked the Indonesian Government and people for their hospitality. He told his guests that the delegation was deeply impressed by the Indonesian people's revolutionary enthusiasm and firm determination to combat imperialism, old and new colonialism and to smash "Malaysia," and their great friendship for the Chinese people. He also said the delegation had observed that in Indonesia political co-operation within the framework of NASAKOM and national unity were being increasingly consolidated.

Speaking on behalf of the Indonesian Government and people, First Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio refuted rumours being spread by imperialism to sow discord between Indonesia and China. He said that the friendly co-operation and fraternal relationship between the people of Indonesia and China were of great significance to the revolutionary cause not only of the two countries but of the whole world.

# On the War Situation in South Viet Nam

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" June 5 editorial. Subheads and boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

**I**N May, in co-ordination with local units and militia-men, the South Viet Nam Liberation Army launched widespread offensives. News of victories came from everywhere — from the 17th Parallel to Cape Ca Mau, from Saigon, heart of the enemy-occupied area, to the ports defended by U.S. marines, and from all communication lines.

During the battle at Hai Yen, the Liberation Army knocked the enemy troops under the command of Nguyen Lac Hoa out of action and destroyed the reactionary political and military centre in this special district on the Ca Mau Peninsula.

The Liberation Army won a big victory at Ba Ra. Concentrating superior forces, it captured Ba Ra, capital of Phuoc Long Province, at one swoop. During the engagements that followed, close to 1,400 enemy troops were put out of action and the network of "strategic hamlets" which stretched to 40 kilometres, and which the enemy had gone to great pains to keep going, was overrun.

In the areas surrounding Saigon, the Liberation Army ambushed the enemy in quick succession and at lightning speed; it laid mines on a large scale and repeatedly destroyed the convoys of U.S.-puppet troops. Every battle was settled in about 15 or 20 minutes. When the enemy's planes rushed reinforcements to the spot, the Liberation Army had already cleared the battleground and had triumphantly moved elsewhere.

The enemy strongpoints on the Mekong Delta and in Quang Nam, Quang Tri, Binh Dinh and Phu Yen Provinces in the central part of Viet Nam were subjected to surprise attacks and encirclement on an extensive scale. The liberation armed forces and people of south Viet Nam who were active against enemy communication lines blasted bridges and destroyed roads, thus cutting off enemy troop contact section by section.

During the attack on Thanh Son, the Liberation Army broke through strong U.S. marine fortifications, forced its way into enemy positions and dealt these U.S. pirates heavy blows. In bayonet charges lasting 20 minutes, 45 marines were killed. This trouncing of the American marines signalled the opening of an outstanding record by the Liberation Army.

In Quang Ngai Province, the Liberation Army fought a magnificent battle in encircling a city and defeating enemy reinforcements. In addition to its powerful attack on Ba Gia, it wiped out three battalions of enemy reinforcements. Before this battle ended the

Liberation Army had mounted a new offensive near Pleiku, and won all four battles from the enemy.

## Significance of May Offensive

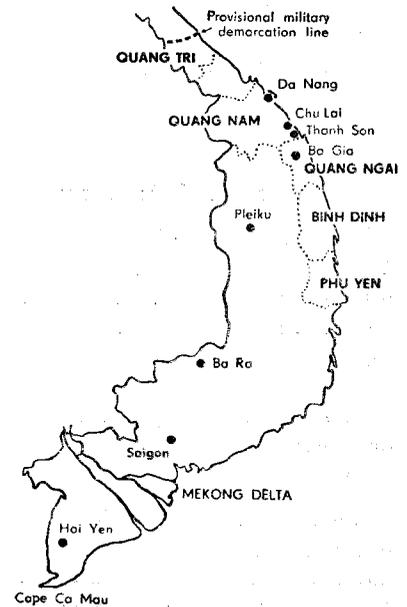
**The May offensive by the South Viet Nam Liberation Army began a glorious page in the history of the liberation war in south Viet Nam, a glorious page in people's war.**

**This offensive shows that the Liberation Army has**

**strengthened its fighting power as never before and is capable of concentrating superior forces to destroy large numbers of enemy effectives.** The United States has fondly hoped that with American troops taking over the defence of the strongpoints along the coast the puppet troops could be used to attack the liberated areas. The presence of the latter is welcomed since this provides the opportunity for thrashing them. Serious punishment was inflicted on the 1st and 2nd divisions of the puppet troops during the Quang Ngai campaign.

This offensive demonstrates the high skill of the Liberation Army in tactical command. It integrates and makes flexible use of the various forms of battle — ambush, surprise attack, storming enemy positions, laying siege to cities and hitting at enemy reinforcements. Regular troops, local units and militia-men were co-ordinated with each other in the fighting. Brave and with great determination and dazzling mobility, they hit the enemy hard in quick action and they did it very accurately and methodically. The enemy was so mauled that scarcely had he managed to get back his wind on one front than he was battered down on another.

This offensive makes it clear that the initiative is in the hands of the South Viet Nam Liberation Army and the enemy is entirely in a passive position. Recently, in addition to air attacks on north Viet Nam, the



Sketch map by Su Li

U.S. aggressors have thrown in still greater stakes in south Viet Nam in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. "Saturation bombing," a sea blockade, and the sending of more and more ground forces to south Viet Nam have all been resorted to. Following these desperate efforts, a U.S. military spokesman early in May declared in the "most optimistic" terms that the "pendulum" in the U.S. war in south Viet Nam "has swung towards victory." But the U.S. aggressors rejoiced much too soon. Scarcely had their "optimistic" words died down than they were given repeated slaps in the face. The approaching monsoon season all the more throws the U.S. aggressors into panic; the anticipated and still bigger defeat is in store for them.

### U.S. Weakness and "Ink Blot" Strategy

The imperialists always over-estimate their own strength and under-estimate the people's strength. On the battlefield in south Viet Nam, the U.S. aggressors have been in a passive position and are being beaten; they are truly on the horns of a dilemma. The process of Washington's step-by-step extension of the war in south Viet Nam is the very process in which it has been reduced to a passive strategic position and one in which the aggressors sink deeper and deeper into the bog. Since the Saigon quislings and puppet troops cannot be relied on to stamp out the guerrilla warfare waged by the south Vietnamese people, the United States fought "special warfare" and increased the number of American "advisors" from a few hundred in 1960 to 23,000 at the end of 1964. Since aggression in south Viet Nam alone was of no avail, Washington spread the flames of war to north Viet Nam and carried out cold-blooded air raids against it. Because several months of bombing were still of no avail it sent more and more troops to south Viet Nam. Three thousand today, five thousand tomorrow, and the number has increased to more than 50,000. This is still not enough, and Taylor is going back to Washington again to beg for reinforcements.

This is the Johnson-McNamara strategy of "escalation." Although this strategy has its adventurist aspect in that the war is getting bigger and bigger, it nevertheless has its weak side in that the executor of this strategy has to feel his way forward step by step, afraid of the dire consequences of his moves; jittery and improvising, he finds it difficult either to advance or to retreat. This reveals the fatal weakness of U.S. imperialism which appears to be strong but is actually weak.

The Johnson Administration, trying another new move, has now invented the "ink blot" strategy. This strategy holds that with their backs to the sea, and holding a few bases for aggression along the coast in such places as Da Nang and Chu Lai, U.S. troops can thereby be left a route for escape when they cannot hold on in face of the powerful offensives of the South Viet Nam Liberation Army; and since they are able to escape by sea they may be saved from a second Dien Bien Phu. This strategy also holds that the United States will be able to gradually spread out in the same

process as that of "ink on blotting paper," build a perimeter defence and then relieve the main force of the puppet troops defending the ports and strongholds for attacking the liberated areas. It is on five such "ink blots" that the ground forces which the United States has sent to south Viet Nam are deployed. Washington claims that by this strategy the south Viet Nam liberation forces can be defeated.

In reality, the "ink blot" strategy remains one in which the United States is in a passive position and exposes itself to assault. The tens of thousands of U.S. troops, who are not an impressive number in any case, have to be spread thin in a number of places and set up defences ring by ring. The chicken-hearted American soldiers who take refuge in the "ink blots" are so nervous and fearful that a slight movement in the grass or a gust of wind is enough to make them jittery. American soldiers being killed by American troops themselves is no rare occurrence. During the battle for Thanh Son, the South Viet Nam Liberation Army thrust its way into the defensive circle of an "ink blot." A company of U.S. marines who defended the place were either killed or wounded and the rest took to their heels to save themselves. During the Quang Ngai campaign, the Liberation Army laid siege to a city and trounced the enemy reinforcements. The main force of the puppet troops which had been relieved from their defensive duties at Da Nang and Chu Lai was wiped out, and the nearby U.S. marines did not come to their rescue. Trembling with fear daily and hourly, the U.S. aggressors are being attacked in south Viet Nam whether they dig in or come out into the open.

In his well-known article "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Any army which, losing the initiative, is forced into a passive position and ceases to be free, faces the danger of defeat or extermination." The aggressive U.S. army on the battlefield of south Viet Nam is just such an army which has lost the initiative and is in a passive position and exposes itself to attack.

### Basic Characteristic of War Situation

The liberation armed forces and people of south Viet Nam are the victors while U.S. imperialism is the defeated. The former are strong and hold the initiative whereas the latter is weak and reduced to a passive position. This is the basic characteristic of the present war situation in south Viet Nam.

No matter how ferocious the U.S. aggressors are, and no matter how desperately they struggle, they cannot be saved from ultimate defeat in south Viet Nam. Referring to the 50,000 aggressive U.S. troops in south Viet Nam, a high-ranking U.S. military man sadly remarked that they were but "a finger in the dike" against the rising number of "Viet Cong." One may ask: how many such "fingers" can the United States afford to send to south Viet Nam? No matter how many, they cannot stem the rising tide of the south Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle.

The U.S. aggressors are certain to drown in the vast ocean of the south Vietnamese people's war.

# Viet Nam Question: The Whys and Wherefores

Following is the concluding part of a factual survey of the Viet Nam question. The previous instalments appeared in Nos. 20, 21 and 22 of "Peking Review." — Ed.

## Man Behind the Gun Counts

For all its new-fangled special war tactics and modern weapons, the U.S. has not been able to turn the tide of war in south Viet Nam. Led by their National Front for Liberation, the south Vietnamese army and people have gained resounding victories (see chart on p. 17, No. 22, *Peking Review*).

### People's Forces — From Weakness to Strength

In retrospect, these have been a process of the ill-equipped people's forces growing from weakness to strength and the armed-to-the-teeth enemy sinking from a mighty to a shaky position.

**Ap Bac Battle.** The battle of Ap Bac (December 30, 1962-January 2, 1963) clearly was a turning point. Into and around this small village about 50 kilometres southwest of Saigon, the enemy threw in 2,000 crack troops, commanded by American General R.H. York, against 200 men of the liberation forces and 600 Ap Bac villagers. The results of the fierce battle were: 450 enemy troops annihilated; six enemy planes shot down and 11 damaged; three enemy M-113 amphibious vehicles burnt; and one enemy naval craft sunk.

General York escaped the artillery shells fired by panicky puppet troops by a whisker. General Paul

D. Harkins, then commander of the U.S. forces in south Viet Nam, rushed to the scene in time to see two American helicopter-repairing technicians killed by far-off-the-mark puppet artillery fire. Frantically, Harkins ordered four Diemist artillery and radio units commanders shot on the spot. But this served only to destroy puppet morale.

After the battle, U.S. Pacific Commander Harry Felt was sent to Saigon by the Pentagon to study the reasons for the fiasco and Kennedy demanded a detailed report from McNamara. The N.F.L., on its part, started a "movement to emulate Ap Bac to kill the enemy and perform feats of arms." Ap Bac heralded more and greater victories.

A year later, at the beginning of 1964, a N.F.L. Military Commission representative reported to the N.F.L. Second Congress:

If two years ago, in the fight against a mopping-up operation, our army and people could wipe out only 30 to 40 enemy troops, and shoot down one or two planes, today we can smash large-scale mopping-up operations ten times and even 20 times stronger, put out of action 400 or 500 enemy troops, down or damage 10 or 15 planes, and crush seven or eight M-113 amphibious carriers. If formerly we could only attack suddenly and withdraw immediately, today we can fight for a whole day under enemy artillery fire and air force attacks of hundreds of tons of bombs; and if formerly we could destroy only posts defended by 10 or 20 enemy troops, today our army can raze to the ground series of posts and strongholds manned by hundreds of enemy troops.

**Binh Gia Battle.** Of more recent battles, Binh Gia at the close of 1964 was noteworthy. In a week-long duel at a place as close to Saigon as Ap Bac, two battalions of the ten which the enemy committed in rapid succession were put out of action, one ranger company was knocked out, and 35 enemy planes were downed or damaged. The victory pinpointed the fact that the people's forces were now strong enough to "eat up" the enemy by the battalion. Washington was shocked, and the *New York Times* wondered if the people's forces "are moving into a third or 'mobile' phase of their guerrilla warfare."

### Cities and Towns — The Second Front

A decisive reason for the success of the people's forces is that the population stands four-square behind them. The



The valiant Liberation Army of south Viet Nam

people, while exerting all efforts to help their army, have swung into mass actions such as demonstrations and strikes against the U.S. and its stooges. The total count of participants in demonstrations added up to tens of millions from 1961 to 1964.

Even in the cities and towns under tight enemy control, ever-smouldering popular wrath has often erupted into mass political struggles embracing workers, students, intellectuals, Buddhists and wide sections of the population. These have taken place in Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and practically all the other urban areas. They are so broad, fierce and persistent that the cities and towns — once the enemy's strongholds — have been turned into a second front against him.

It is with this mass support that the people's forces and other determined patriots have been able to trounce the U.S. aggressors in their lairs — the cities and military bases. Here is a partial listing of such blows dealt since 1964. All of them have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and made world headlines.

|          |                   |                                                           |
|----------|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Saigon   | May 2, 1964       | 15,000-ton U.S. aircraft transport <i>Card</i> blasted    |
| Bien Hoa | October 31, 1964  | surprise attack on huge U.S. airbase                      |
| Saigon   | December 24, 1964 | explosion at U.S. officers' quarters                      |
| Saigon   | January 29, 1965  | explosion at the "U.S. Military Aid Command" headquarters |
| Pleiku   | February 7, 1965  | surprise attack on big U.S. airbase                       |
| Qui Nhon | February 10, 1965 | U.S. officers' dormitory building blown up                |
| Saigon   | March 30, 1965    | U.S. "embassy" blown up                                   |

These fitting punishments have sent shivers up the spine of the U.S. invaders. In a "Letter from Viet Nam," UPI correspondent Betsy Halstead wrote in May:

The only thing to do in order to stay alive, we decided, was to keep away from all these prospective holes-in-the-ground [American installations the jittery aggressors believe to be on the "bombing list" of the people's forces]. . . . We would adopt a rule of speaking quietly and, when we spoke, we would not use English. Even French would be better.

### Puppet Troops in Disarray

The American interlopers are panicky. But what about the puppets? What has become of the 600,000 puppet troops on whom Washington had placed high hopes in the initial stage of the "special war." The *New York Times* provided part of the answer on April 21, 1964:

Inertia and low motivation in the South Vietnamese Army has emerged from a survey as a basic obstruction to the pursuit of the war against the communist Vietcong. Without a will to win or even a will to fight,

no amount of increased American aid or social and economic planning can inspire an army to do its job against highly purposeful insurgents. This is the judgment of dozens of American advisers to Vietnamese field units interviewed in the past few weeks throughout the country. . . .

Success feeds upon itself and with each Vietcong victory government [puppet] troops' morale drops further. . . .

And, that morale has been dropping — drastically. In the first quarter of this year, 12,412 puppet troops crossed over to the people's side (South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency, April 19).

### "The Chief Supply Sergeant"

The puppet troops are efficient, however, as "the chief supply sergeant" of American-made arms for the people's forces. As the N.F.L. said in its March 22, 1965 statement:

The chief and biggest arms supplier for the south Vietnamese people's armed forces is nobody other than the U.S. imperialists themselves who have sustained heavy and repeated setbacks over the past years.

The fact that the south Vietnamese people's forces have been capturing American weapons to arm themselves has been universally accepted. Here are a few samples which Johnson & Co. can hardly dismiss as "communist propaganda."

The Vietcong regular forces . . . and their regional troops . . . are recruited almost entirely from the villages of south Viet Nam. . . . The 'regionals' carry weapons dating from the French war in Indo-China, while the regulars are equipped with captured American arms. In short, the war in south Viet Nam is home-grown (*New York Herald Tribune*, April 9, 1963).

The massive quantities of American weapons and other military equipment pumped into this country have proportionately benefited the communist guerrillas more than they have the government [puppet] forces. Largely through the capture of these weapons, the Communists have now built themselves a formidable, hardcore fighting force (UPI, March 8, 1964).

## Coup-Coup Land

Dismayed by defeats, Washington since November 1963 has been "changing horses" — reshuffling puppets — in Saigon in the vain hope of riding to safety across the turbulent stream of the people's struggle.

Ngo Dinh Diem, because of the evil he committed at American bidding, had earned himself the implacable hatred of the Vietnamese people and world notoriety. This plus his poor showing on the battlefield caused him to outlive his usefulness to his Washington bosses.

On November 11, 1960, Saigon witnessed the first coup, though an abortive one, against Diem. On

February 27, 1962, two puppet air force fighter aircraft strafed and bombed his "presidential palace."

Things finally came to a head on November 1, 1963. A group of officers led by Duong Van Minh staged a successful coup. Diem and his brother Nhu, those American-styled "great champions of democracy and freedom," were murdered in cold-blood. The whole world knew that this was American handiwork. The *New York Herald Tribune* wrote: "Despite the State Department's denial that the U.S. Government is involved in the uprising, this revolt is our revolt." (November 2, 1963)

After the putsch, a spokesman of the U.S. Command in Saigon hopefully declared: "Under the new provisional government there will be more vigorous prosecution of the war against the Communists." But continued war reverses soon led Washington to the conclusion that Duong Van Minh was not an efficient tool. Hence, on January 30, 1964, American-trained general Nguyen Khanh ousted Minh. Johnson immediately told the press that he and Khanh "see eye to eye on the necessity of stepping up the pace of military operations."

Nguyen Khanh, under the personal supervision of General Maxwell Taylor who was named U.S. "ambassador" to Saigon on June 23, 1964, failed to bring about either military victory or political stability. Friction developed between "president" Khanh and "super-president" Taylor. As a result, Saigon in the ensuing months saw nearly ten coups and counter-coups—so frequent that the American press began to refer to south Viet Nam as "coup-coup land." On February 20, Nguyen Khanh was finally toppled and exiled as a "roving ambassador." Even students of international affairs now find it difficult to say off-hand who is the "strongman" in Saigon today and which of the "Young Turks" may pop up tomorrow.

But the result of the desperate U.S. search for new puppets has been and can only be sharper in-fighting among the quislings, further sapping of their morale, and a more glaring exposure before the world of the American dilemma in south Viet Nam.

## Johnson "Escalates"

In December 1962, when the "pacify-south-Viet-Nam-in-18-months" Staley-Taylor plan deadline was up, Kennedy dejectedly told a Washington press conference: "We are making in Viet Nam a major effort . . . we have suffered certain losses . . . we see no end to the tunnel."

In 1963-64, the tunnel became darker for the American invaders. Faced with impending defeat in south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration decided on "escalation." Hence,

— the "Tonkin Gulf incident" which was fabricated on August 5, 1964 and used as a pretext for piratical air and sea attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam;

— another "Tonkin Gulf incident" was concocted on September 18, 1964 to keep up the tense atmosphere;

— the bombing of the D.R.V. on February 7, 8 and 11, 1965 under the pretext of "retaliation" for the punishing blows dealt the U.S. in south Viet Nam;

— the continuous and widening air raids on the D.R.V. since March 2 without even an excuse;

— the landing of 3,500 marines—the first contingent of more ground forces to follow—at Da Nang on March 8-9;

— the dispatching of 2,000 south Korean puppet troops to south Viet Nam in February-March to internationalize the war;

— the sending of jet planes to invade China's airspace over Hainan Island on April 9;

— the designation on April 24 of the whole of Viet Nam, a large expanse of the high seas and even some of China's territorial waters as a U.S. "combat zone," a step towards a general blockade of the Vietnamese coast;



In 10 months — from August 5, 1964 (when the U.S. fabricated the "Tonkin Gulf Incident" as a pretext for raiding the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam) up to June 5, 1965 — the armed forces and people of north Viet Nam have downed 315 invading U.S. aircraft. Photo shows a captured American pilot and the wreckage of his plane

—the continuous build-up of American ground forces in south Viet Nam (total strength by May 8 exceeded 50,000 men including 5,000 officers). U.S. troops at Da Nang and Chu Lai have launched many attacks on the liberated areas and even mounted “scorched-earth offensives.” Meanwhile, the U.S. Seventh Fleet has also taken a direct part in these offensives and bombarded liberated areas along the coast;

—the bringing in of one battalion of Australian reinforcements to south Viet Nam and the announcement that New Zealand will send an artillery battery. Meanwhile, Thailand and south Korea are preparing to provide more cannon-fodder and the Philippine authorities say that they, too, will send ground forces to south Viet Nam;

—the gradual broadening of the range of air raids as American planes intrude more and more frequently over areas north of the 20th Parallel and, on several occasions, even over Hanoi’s suburbs.

All these war moves were aimed at frightening the Vietnamese people into abandoning their anti-U.S. struggle and accepting the status quo of American occupation of south Viet Nam. U.S. “escalation,” however, has made the people of both north and south Viet Nam more determined than ever to carry their anti-U.S. struggle through to the end. United and militant, they have firmly rebuffed the U.S. war provocateurs. **Up to June 5, 315 U.S. aircraft had been shot down in north Viet Nam. In the south, 45,259 enemy troops, including 1,127 American invaders, were knocked out of action in the first quarter of the year.** The three-month total is greater than that for the first half of 1964 (42,000 enemy troops knocked out during that period).

### “Peace” Hoaxes

Thus the Johnson Administration has landed itself in a quandary. War blackmail has failed to cow the opponent. The spectre of total defeat on the south Vietnamese battlefield is looming larger and larger. Clear out? Washington cannot reconcile itself to this idea.

Caught on the horns of a dilemma, the U.S. aggressors badly need a breathing spell. They vainly hope to achieve through negotiations their aggressive aims which have not been achieved on the battlefield. Hence Johnson and Washington’s collaborators and political brokers have tried many “peace” ruses.

During the past months facts have proved that each time Johnson chants from his “peace” script, he throws more into the war. While talking about “unconditional discussions” on the Viet Nam question, Johnson laid down the condition that the U.S. “will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement” from south Viet Nam (April 7 Baltimore address). Thus the logic of Washington’s “unconditional discussions” fraud can be compared to that of a robber who, having broken into a house and committed arson and murder, now says with a shrug:

“All right, let’s talk now. But I am here to stay anyway.”

The people of Viet Nam and the world have seen through Johnson’s ploys. The stand of the Vietnamese people is firm and clear.

President Ho Chi Minh has said:

To settle the south Viet Nam question, the United States must, first of all, withdraw from south Viet Nam, let the south Vietnamese people decide for themselves their own affairs, and stop its provocative attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (Reply to *Akahata* correspondent in early April).

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, in its March 22 statement, said:

All negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment are utterly useless if they still refuse to withdraw from south Viet Nam all their troops and all kinds of war materials and means and those of their satellite countries, if they still refuse to dismantle all their military bases in south Viet Nam, if the traitors still surrender the south Vietnamese people’s sacred rights to independence and democracy to the U.S. imperialists and if the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation — the only genuine representative of the 14 million south Vietnamese people — does not have its decisive voice.

More recently, the April 8-10 session of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam approved a four-point proposition put forward by the D.R.V. Government for settling the Viet Nam question (see *Peking Review*, No. 17, p. 9).

**From the foregoing factual survey the root cause of the Viet Nam question is clear. It is the U.S. which has ripped the 1954 Geneva agreements to shreds, launched an aggressive war against south Viet Nam and extended it to north Viet Nam.**

**Hence the only way to solve the Viet Nam question is for the U.S. to stop all its aggressive activities in Viet Nam and withdraw all its armed forces from south Viet Nam; the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation must be recognized as the sole legitimate representative of south Viet Nam; and Vietnamese problems must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves. Only thus can a way be paved for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question in strict accordance with the Geneva agreements.**

Today, a movement in support of the Vietnamese people is surging in all parts of the globe. An unprecedented mass drive to force the U.S. aggressors out is gaining greater momentum with each passing day.

Lyndon Johnson, like his predecessor, may still be wondering where the tunnel ends. But the people of the world clearly see where the crucial struggle in Viet Nam leads:

The U.S. aggressors will be thrown out if they refuse to get out.

**VIET NAM WILL WIN! THE U.S. WILL FAIL!**

— WEN CHAO

## Biggest Dinosaur Fossil Ever Found in China

A gigantic fossil dinosaur unearthed in Szechuan Province, southwest China, has been identified by Chinese palaeontologists as belonging to a new family and species. The biggest and best preserved fossil dinosaur ever found in this country, it measures 22 metres long and stands 3.5 metres high. Few complete fossil dinosaurs of such proportions have been found in the world. Scientists estimate that it weighed between 30-40 tons when it lived on plants and molluscs in the late Jurassic period about 140 million years ago. It is believed that it was amphibious, spending much of its life in swamps and lakes where, buoyed up by the water, problems of support, locomotion and safety were greatly simplified. It came on land only to rest or lay eggs.

Judging from the unusual length of its neck, all of 10 metres, the shortness of the trunk and tail, the shape of the neural spine on the dorsal vertebrae and other features, this egg-laying quadrupedal reptile belongs to a family and species never found before. It has been given the name of *Mamenchisaurus hochuanensis*, sp. nov. Hochuan County is the name of the place where geological surveyors discovered it in 1957 about 100 metres below the surface of a hill slope.

This discovery is of big significance to the science of palaeontology. It provides data for ascertaining the

geological age of this stratum of the early stage of the late Jurassic period and will contribute to the comparative study of continental facies (beds of fossil-bearing rock or soil on land) in China. Signs of disease on the neck, caudal vertebrae, femur and tibia of the dinosaur, not found in other such fossils, are providing new material for scientists studying the pathology of dinosaurs and other reptiles of that distant age.

A team from the Szechuan Provincial Museum excavated the fossil and sent it in the spring of 1964 to the Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeoanthropology in Peking for study.

The reconstructed dinosaur is being sent back to Szechuan to the Chengtu Institute of Geology. A smaller 11-metre dinosaur of the same family and genus discovered in 1952 in another county in the province is at present on display at the Peking Museum of Natural Sciences.

### **New Findings on Lantian Man**

The Lantian skull discovered in 1964 at Kungwangling, Lantian County, Shensi Province, belonged to a female of one of the earliest types of apeman so far discovered in the world. This was announced by leading Chinese palaeoanthropologists at a scientific forum in Peking on May 31.

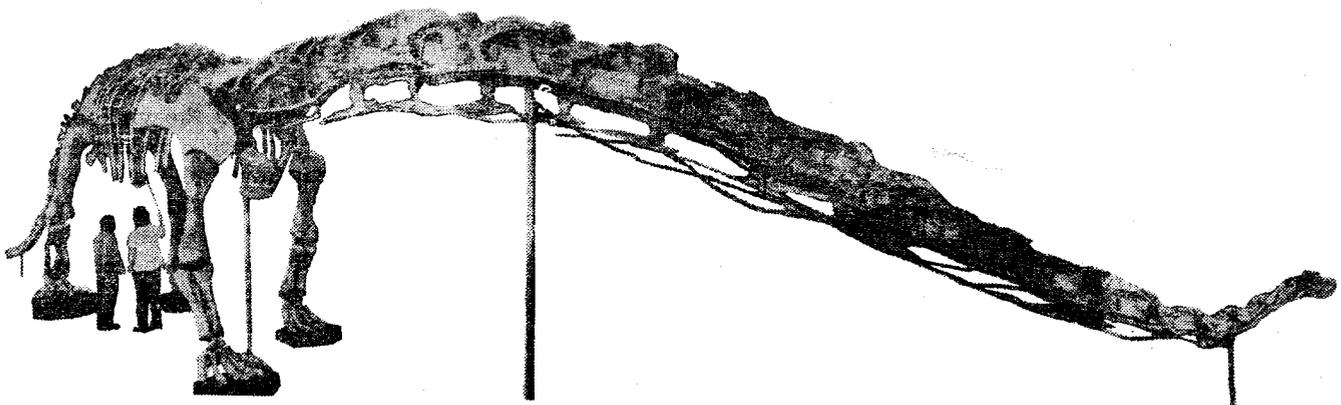
Special features of the skull place it as belonging to a woman between

30-40 years old. It shows many striking differences from the skull of an ape. It is broader than that of any ape skull. Its frontal crest and anterior nasal spine, the clear demarcation between the anterior surface of the upper jaw (*maxilla*) and the floor of the nasal cavity, are all peculiar to human beings. Its upper alveolus arch and molar teeth are different from the ape's in form, and it also has a much bigger cranial capacity.

Compared with the apeman skulls found in Choukoutien (*Sinanthropus pekinensis*) in China, and in Java, Indonesia, (*Pithecanthropus erectus*), the Lantian skull has a thicker cranial wall, with an especially massive supraorbital ridge, and a lower skull vault. Its cranial capacity is around 780 c.c., which is smaller than that of Peking Man and approximately equal to that of the most primitive type of Java Man.

Most of the 25 kinds of mammalian fossils discovered together with the apeman skull were of woodland creatures. Grassland animals came next. Some of the fossils were of mammals still in existence today in some tropical and sub-tropical areas. It is thus concluded that the Lantian Man (*Sinanthropus lantianensis*) existed when Lantian was a place of woodlands and grasslands, and had a warmer temperature and a higher humidity than today.

The preliminary conclusion was reached that the Lantian Man belonged to the early stage of the Middle Pleistocene Period, and lived around 500,000-600,000 years ago.



The fossil dinosaur *Mamenchisaurus hochuanensis*

# ACROSS THE LAND

## Kwangsi Grows Green Manure

ALL south China is learning from the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region how to introduce green manure winter crops like milk and cow vetch which, ploughed under in spring, help to boost rice yields.

In the past, it was believed that the sub-tropical winters in central and southern Kwangsi were too warm for vetch. That is why the rice-fields there were left fallow over the winter. But today Kwangsi grows vetch and other winter legumes on a quarter of its paddies and rice output has soared. How this change came about can be illustrated by Yunghsien, one of a dozen counties in the region that has had success with vetch due to bold, yet painstaking, step by step advance.

Yunghsien's paddies grow two crops of rice a year. This takes a lot out of the soil. To replenish and improve the fertility of the paddy cheaply and quickly, the county Party committee boldly decided in 1960 to start growing vetch that winter. But only 1.2 per cent of the crop did well. Some cried: "Failure!" Revolutionaries saw this as the beginning of the long, hard road to success. Cadres, experts and farmers patiently investigated why that 1.2 per cent did well and the rest badly. It was found that the soil lacked phosphates and a nitrogen-fixing bacteria. The experimenters added nitrifying bacteria and phosphates to the soil and throughout the winter of 1961 worked together on experimental plots in various parts of the county, summing up their work at each stage.

The 1962 result was much better,

but still inconclusive. So they kept on experimenting and took measures to combat the dry Kwangsi winter and insect pests.

The spring of 1963 saw 83 per cent of the vetch plots flourishing despite 56 consecutive days of drought and several severe frosts that winter. One vetch-growing people's commune raised an average of 1,093 *jin* of rice per *mu* compared to 1962's yield of 871 *jin* per *mu*. Other communes got equally good results. This year Yunghsien County had more than half its paddies under vetch.

## New Cutting Tools Demonstrated

THE 25-day tool demonstration-conference held this spring in Shenyang was the biggest of its kind ever organized in China's industrial northeast. Some 300 improved cutters were displayed, chosen from thousands developed by workers and technicians in the three northeastern engineering centres of Shenyang, Harbin and Changchun.

Many cutters were designed to make the new machines needed by the country in its rapid industrial advance. There were high-speed cutters, ingenious planing and milling cutters, multi-cutters and reamers, precision cutters to improve

the finish of workpieces, and special tools to work the hardest alloys. One cutter, invented by lathe turner Chang Kuo-liang, for cutting long shafts as fine as knitting needles, raises productivity 31 times and gives a better surface finish. There was cutting-tool specialist Chin Fu-chang's improved bowl-shaped planing tool that gives a greater polished surface and has a much wider feed.

In two factories set aside for demonstrations, almost 60,000 machinists, technicians and cadres of the three provinces saw ace machine-tool operators demonstrating advanced machine-tool techniques and new cutters. Many of the demonstrators, specialists in their fields, were invited to factories and machine shops in other parts of the country to pass on their skills and for consultations. In these ways the new tools and techniques quickly became widely known and mastered.

## Traders Help Production

HOW should retail trade help the upsurge in industrial and agricultural production? Trade organizations and workers have discussed this question and come up with many practical ideas.

In Chungking, they opened 70 new shops to serve the city's factory and mining districts. Workers at the Chungking Iron and Steel Works now have a wide variety of shops within easy reach: A large state-owned department store offering 8,000 kinds of goods and other smaller shops and food markets. Convenient shopping frees workers' energies for production.

The same is true too for the farmers. In addition to new shops which stock more supplies of consumer goods to cater to the villages, state-owned commercial departments in Tsengcheng County, Kwangtung Province, have organized a group of new-style "peddler" salesmen. They have made 9,000 trips to the countryside in four months carrying a popular assortment of cloth, towels, knitwear, rubber footwear and 100 other goods for the peasants.

Villages deep in the mountains of Fukien Province, east China, enjoy



Chin Fu-chang (third from left), a worker-technician, showing colleagues his improved cutter

special evening markets. The state trading departments carefully investigate the requirements of the peasants and send salesmen to the villages with the items in biggest demand, articles of daily use, manufactured goods and farm implements. They also buy the peasants' side-line products. Barbers' shops and snack bars in the towns add extra services by sending people along to open booths and stalls.

A small retail shop in mountainous Fangshan County, west of Peking, has been acclaimed for the outstanding service it provides in making regular deliveries of goods to scattered peasant homes in places which are inaccessible even to pack mules.

### **Yinchuan Past and Present**

**W**HEN the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region was established in 1958, the Moslem Hui people of China's northwest and their Han neighbours rejoiced. The region contains about one-seventh (some 300,000) of all China's Hui people living with about double that number of Hans. Yinchuan, once called Ningsia, was made the capital.

Yinchuan lies to the west of the Yellow River as it flows north to make its big U-bend. It was an important border town in ancient times but under the Kuomintang it was a dirty, dusty, decrepit place, the mouldering capital of a Hui warlord.

In those days Yinchuan's industry amounted to a small carpet factory, tannery and a workshop to repair guns. The town power plant was an 80-kilowatt generator of pre-World War I vintage. It had no rail or air connections with the rest of the country. There were no public transport, tap water, sewage system or hard-topped roads. It was notorious for the bitter, brackish water from its wells, and annual epidemics which came regularly as the seasons, summer and autumn.

Ningsia, in a word, was a typical provincial warlord stronghold. Several armed risings of the Hui people against their oppressors were

It serves a people's commune whose population is comparatively small, 1,700, but who live scattered over an area of 140 square kilometres.

### **Scientific Instruments**

- A new pulse transistorized ultrasonic meter just put into serial production in Shanghai can probe from one side of a piece of metal and accurately determine its thickness.

About the size of a book and weighing only 1.6 kilogrammes, this high-precision instrument checks the thickness of metal plating, and the metal walls of conduits, boilers, high-pressure vessels and other equipment so as to ascertain the degree of corrosion.

cruelly suppressed. Their miseries were compounded by strife between them and the Hans fomented by the Hui and Han rulers for their own ends.

In late 1935, the Chinese Red Army reached the area on its Long March, and established the people's political power in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. In the border area the Hui people were treated as equals; their national customs and religion were respected. Thus began a new relationship of equality, friendship, mutual assistance and solidarity between the nationalities that has grown firmer with the years.

Today Yinchuan is the centre of a flourishing region, served by the Lanchow-Paotow railway and scheduled air flights. It is a growing city. The built-up factory area covers 150,000 square metres. New housing accounts for 500,000 square metres.

Industrial undertakings include a big power station, a machine-building plant and factories turning out rubber products, chemicals, tractor and lorry parts, ball-bearings, building materials, woollen fabrics and other textiles, leather, footwear and other light industrial goods. Industry here is turning out in 19 days as much as in all 1949.

A fleet of buses serves the municipality and nearby towns. A modern

- A precision mass spectrometer leak detector has been designed and built by Peking's Tsinghua University. This apparatus is important in vacuum technology. It can detect a leak so small that it allows only 3cc. of gas to pass through in 1,000 years.

- A high-precision variable frequency power generator for measuring the performance of electrical machines and meters has been successfully made for the first time in China.

Since it can change frequencies to meet various measurement needs, one such apparatus can replace the many generating sets of different frequencies which were formerly needed to measure varied types of electrical machines and meters.



water works provides pure, sweet tap water for the city, and an efficient sewer system has been laid.

Old Ningsia had one hospital with 13 beds. New Yinchuan has modern hospitals and clinics with nearly a thousand beds. This is enough for the city now with its good medical services and ending of epidemics.

Over 96 per cent of the population of Ningsia was illiterate. Today Yinchuan alone has 78 primary and 13 middle schools and a university with 1,000 students.

An open-air stadium, and two theatres with central heating, have been built. Mosques and other ancient buildings have been restored.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Hanoi International Conference

### Trade Union Solidarity With Fighting Viet Nam

After a week-long session the Second Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity With the Workers and People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression ended its work in Hanoi on June 7. The trade unionists met against a background of escalated war moves coupled with sham peace manoeuvres on the part of U.S. imperialism and victory after resounding victory won by the people of Viet Nam in the northern as well as the southern part of their country. Through their participation in the meeting, 50 trade union delegations from Asia, Africa, Oceania, Europe and from the Western Hemisphere and representatives of international organizations gave a strong demonstration of what Premier Chou En-lai of China called for in his message of greetings: "Further enhancement of the solidarity of the international working class with the Vietnamese people in their anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation."

Speaker after speaker voiced their sympathy and support for the Vietnamese people in the struggle to throw the aggressor out of their country. The leaders of the delegations from north and south Viet Nam, Hoang Quoc Viet and Tran Van Thanh, laid emphasis on the fact that the Vietnamese people are fighting not only for the survival of their own nation but for the peace and security of the world's people. To deafening applause they told the conference that the Vietnamese people would take all hardships and difficulties in their stride and would carry on the war till final defeat was inflicted on U.S. imperialism.

Anna Louise Strong, the noted American writer who headed the U.S. delegation, went into the nature of U.S. imperialism and the reasons for its inevitable destruction. "U.S.

imperialism," she said, "is the strongest imperialism in history and also the weakest, for it rots from within as is shown by the stupidities it commits in Viet Nam." She added that when U.S. imperialism went down to defeat in Viet Nam, it would then go far more swiftly to its doom. She called for revolutionary fire to be "rekindled around the world today on behalf of Viet Nam. For Viet Nam is today's forefront of our common cause."

Many delegates exposed the machinations which the Johnson Administration has used to push its aggression in Viet Nam. Can peace be restored by accepting Lyndon Johnson's "unconditional discussions"? The fraudulent nature of this proposal was assailed by the conference. "There is only one kind of negotiation that the imperialists can understand," said Sanmugathasan, General Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ceylon. "That is negotiation through the right end of a gun. It was Dien Bien Phu that made the French agree to negotiate. The U.S. is waiting for its Dien Bien Phu." Speaking in a similar vein, Paul Banthoud, head of the Congo (B) delegation, declared: "In the revolutionary struggle against the imperialists, there can be no compromise. In the present situation in Viet Nam, to advocate 'unconditional discussions' and peaceful coexistence means betrayal of our Vietnamese brothers and ourselves."

This appeasement of U.S. imperialism is just what the revisionists and their friends have been peddling in their various ways. Delegates sharply repudiated the Yugoslav proposal for a political settlement "without prerequisites" which the Tito clique had put forward in order to get its American boss out of the Viet Nam bog. Reflecting the sentiments of many,

S. Hadisiswojo, leader of the Indonesian delegation, denounced the proposal, floated by another of Washington's rare friends, India, for an "Afro-Asian force" to guard the provisional military demarcation line between north and south Viet Nam. He pointed out that the proposal is aimed at perpetuating the division of Viet Nam, while the Vietnamese people are struggling with might and main for reunification.

One and all, the various delegations to the conference demanded that the United States quit Viet Nam. They expressed the opinion that the only way to settle the Viet Nam question is to accept the five points contained in the March 22 statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the four points given in the D.R.V. National Assembly's appeal in April. The resolution adopted at the closing session of the conference calls on workers in all lands to launch a widespread and effective campaign in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle. The conference also approved a message to be sent to the workers and people of south Viet Nam, an appeal to workers and trade unions of the world and a letter to the American workers and people. The Hanoi conference has displayed a strong sense of international solidarity with a valiant nation fighting the No. 1 enemy of the world's people.

### Tightening U.S. Press Control

#### Now It Cannot Be Told

U.S. newsmen covering the war in south Viet Nam have a bone to pick with their government. It has become more and more difficult for them to obtain news from official U.S. quarters and sometimes even to send out their stories. The reason is simple. The United States is bogged down in the war in south Viet Nam, a war which many Americans have come to regard as "a dirty war," "a frustrating war," "a losing war" and "a hideously immoral war." The Johnson Administration does not want the truth to be told. If the critics at home cannot be con-

veniently silenced, it can at least try to stop, if not suppress, the stories coming from the correspondents. Hence a tightening of U.S. press control.

As Associated Press' chief correspondent in Saigon, Malcolm Browne is supposed to have a ringside seat for the U.S. war in south Viet Nam. But he has much to complain about. Speaking on May 25 to the International Press Institute in London, Browne told of the restrictions he encounters. A Western reporter, he said, "may find that his cabled dispatches are getting mysteriously mislaid by a government tele-communications centre. . . . He may find that soldiers and officers wherever he turns may have been told not to talk to him on pain of court martial. He may discover that every telephone call he makes is being monitored by someone, and that whenever a man or woman leaves his office, that person is being followed. In extreme cases, he may face beating or arrest by police agents or expulsion. . . ."

Gallagher, AP's general manager, said in New York recently that "barring correspondents from free access to air bases and other military installations and providing an 'escort' for every correspondent is clearly aimed not at security matters but at controlling what American fighting men might say. Such controls exceed anything done in the darkest days of World War II." George Beebe, President of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, said the result of Administration tampering with the news is that the American people are not getting "the full story nor the true story" of the war in Viet Nam.

For U.S. newsmen in south Viet Nam things do not look very bright. The press control will get tighter and tighter as defeats for the U.S. troops grow bigger and bigger.

#### Another Blow From Paris

### SEATO Without French Officers

France has driven another nail into the SEATO coffin. It has decided to recall all its officers from

the staff of this military bloc, which the United States knocked together 11 years ago to further its schemes of aggression in Asia. To keep up appearances, a solitary adviser will remain in Bangkok, SEATO's headquarters.

Since SEATO's ministerial council meeting in Manila last year the French Government has followed a policy of withdrawing gradually from this U.S.-dominated bloc. The decision to take French officers out of SEATO is a heavy blow to the U.S. war policy in Indo-China. It has been acclaimed by French opinion. *La Nation* said, "this is quite logical for everybody knows that at the last two ministerial meetings Paris disassociated itself from the conclusions of SEATO on Viet Nam." *L'Intransigeant* commented that the French action was a "new warning" to the United States. *La Croix* maintained that "France's attitude has, to a certain extent, paralysed SEATO." AFP summed it up as "a logical sequel to France's cool attitude towards SEATO over the last two years."

To make things more difficult for the Johnson Administration, the French Government has announced further that it will not take part in NATO's "Fallex" exercise next year. This bombshell, coming after French attacks on the U.S. intervention in both Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic, has caused a sharpening of Franco-American contradictions. No wonder AP commented that relations between France and the United States are now at "a new low."

#### Meeting at Abidjan

### Not in Africa's Interests

When all Africa expects solidarity to be strengthened to meet the growing challenge of imperialism and neo-colonialism with Dollar Imperialism at their head, any manoeuvre on the continent that gives aid and comfort to the enemy will draw sharp criticism. This has been the case with the Afro-Malagasy Common Organization (OCAM) whose latest activities are looked upon in Africa as serving the interests not

of the African people but of imperialism.

On May 26 nine OCAM members met in Abidjan, capital of Ivory Coast, at the instance of Felix Louphouet-Boigny, that country's President. Hurried decisions were made to bring Moise Tshombe, Washington's stooge in Leopoldville Congo, to the meeting, admit his regime into membership of OCAM, and give it "active and concrete assistance." The meeting also decided to boycott the summit conference of the O.A.U. scheduled for Accra, Ghana, in September, and maligned Ghana and President Nkrumah into the bargain.

That the Abidjan get-together was directed at splitting Africa in the service of U.S. imperialism can be seen in the way it was brought about. President Maurice Yameogo of Upper Volta visited the United States in April as the representative of OCAM's Consultative Committee. The day following his return he met in Abidjan the Presidents of Niger and Togo and the Foreign Minister of Senegal as well as Louphouet-Boigny. The second Abidjan meeting was a direct result of the report which Yameogo then made on his visit to Washington. These moves to make the African traitor Tshombe "respectable" and to undermine the O.A.U. forthcoming summit conference have been condemned by other African countries.

President Massamba-Debat of Brazzaville Congo said his country had every reason to fear that OCAM would become a "club of conspirators" in the service of imperialism. President Ben Bella of Algeria declared that OCAM was opening the door for neo-colonialism by admitting the evil Tshombe. Guinean President Sekou Toure denounced the enemies who were trying to disrupt the third African summit conference. President Modibo Keita of Mali called for vigilance against attempts to weaken the O.A.U. President Nkrumah nailed the whole thing as a campaign of disruption. He said, "It is conceived by imperialism and serves the interests of imperialism."



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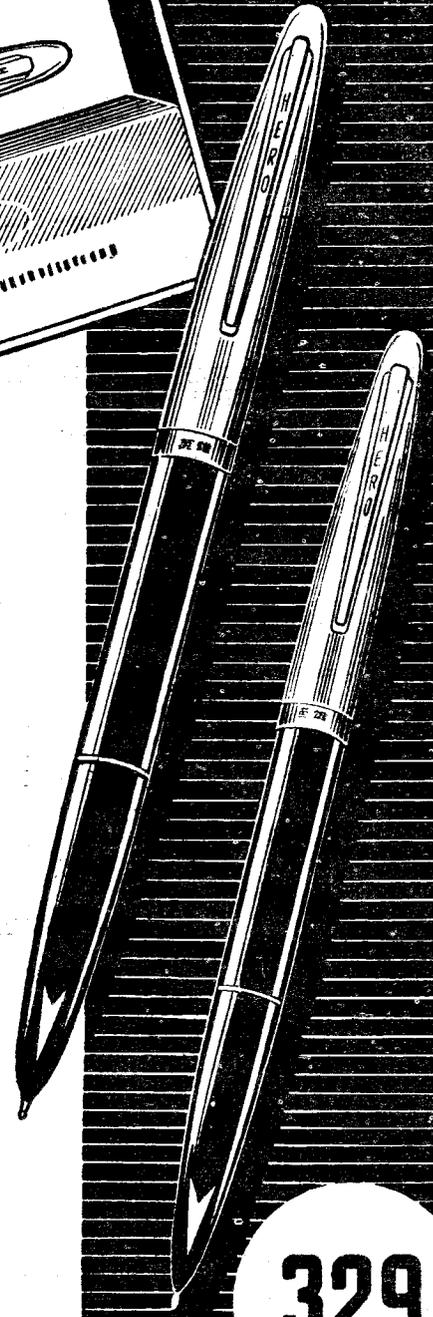
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