

PEKING REVIEW

9

February 26, 1965

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CHINA

**A GREAT PEOPLE
A GREAT DESTINY**

by Mamadou Gologo

An outstanding African journalist gives an account of his visit to China. Mamadou Gologo is President of the All-Mali Journalists' Association and Minister of Information and Tourism of the Republic of Mali. He travelled widely in China in 1963 and visited several cities, factories and rural people's communes. He met men in charge of various undertakings as well as rank and file workers and peasants and many intellectuals.

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134 pages

18.5 × 13 cm.

paper cover

Available in English and French

Published by: **THE NEW WORLD PRESS**, Peking, China

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P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

February 26, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 9

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuong, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Cable Address: Peking 2910

Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• China and Tanzania signed a treaty of friendship on February 20 in Peking. The two countries also issued a joint communique.

After a week-long visit, President Julius Nyerere and his wife left China for home.

• At a banquet in Peking in honour of President Nyerere, Chairman Liu Shao-chi reiterated the Chinese people's firm support for the Vietnamese and Congolese (Leopoldville) peoples in their just struggles against U.S. imperialism.

• In its February 19 editorial "The Johnson Administration in a Dilemma," *Renmin Ribao* advised U.S. imperialism to leave south Viet Nam quickly, otherwise "it will be kicked out or wiped out."

• China has extended recognition to Gambia which declared its independence on February 18.

• Commenting on the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" initialled in Seoul on February 20, *Renmin Ribao* in its February 23 editorial condemned it as "another grave move by the United States to aggravate tension in the Far East."

• *Renmin Ribao* published an article by Commentator on February 19, denouncing the Japanese militarists' aggressive designs against China and Korea, as embodied in "Operation Three Arrows" drawn up by Japan's so-called Defence Agency.

• In another article on February 17, *Renmin Ribao* Commentator expressed support for the just stand of the United Arab Republic in denouncing the U.S.-West German imperialists for giving military aid to Israel and in censuring the Bonn government for interfering in the matter of the U.A.R.'s invitation to Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, to visit Cairo.

• The Chinese press published a statement by E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), declaring that the Soviet Communist Party leaders' proposal to hold a meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties on March 1 "is purely a continuation of the scheme proposed by Khrushchov."

Sino-Congolese (B) Anniversary

On the first anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Brazzaville-Congo, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message of greetings to President Alphonse Massamba-Debat and Premier Pascal Lissouba. Their message hailed the rapid growth of relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. This, it noted, "not only accords with the common interests of the people of our two countries but also serves the interests of the strengthening of Asian-African solidarity and the safeguarding of world peace."

In Peking, the Chinese Foreign Ministry gave a reception on Febru-

ary 22 in the Great Hall of the People to celebrate the occasion. Premier Chou En-lai and Joseph Kou-bouguissa, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Congolese (B) Embassy, were among those present.

Vice-Foreign Minister Chang Han-fu, speaking at the reception, indicted U.S. imperialism for the crimes of its new colonialist policy in Africa. He recalled recent U.S. subversive plots in Tanzania, Burundi and Uganda. Drawing attention to the situation in the Congo (B), he said: "U.S. imperialism is engineering a new subversive plot against the Congo (B). It has directed the Tshombe puppet clique to smuggle in arms, send special agents there and even try to assassinate the leaders of the Congo-

U.S. Aggressive Troops Must Be Forced to Quit Indo-China

SPEAKING at the Nepalese Ambassador's National Day reception on February 18, Vice-Premier Chen Yi once again declared: **The Chinese people have already made all preparations and are pledged to give staunch backing to the fraternal Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression.**

He said: **"What is imperative today is to force the U.S. imperialists to withdraw all their aggressive forces from Indo-China.** Only thus can peace in Indo-China be ensured and the peoples of Indo-China solve their own problems free from outside interference."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out: "Recently, the U.S. imperialists have made a series of frenzied attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in an attempt to extend their war of aggression from southern Viet Nam to northern Viet Nam. They have met with a resolute rebuff from the Vietnamese people. U.S. imperialism's aggressive action has gravely jeopardized the peace of Indo-China and Southeast Asia and aroused the wrathful condemnation of the people of the whole world.

"U.S. imperialism, however, has now put forward the absurd argument that in order to put an end to the present dangerous situation, the 'Viet Cong should cease attacks' and the Vietnamese people should be 'the first to cease fire.' This is rubbish. The facts are crystal clear: the fire was kindled by the U.S. imperialists who have invaded south Viet Nam in violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements, initiated 'special warfare' and slaughtered the south Vietnamese people. U.S. imperialism is the very root cause of the dangerous situation in Indo-China and the disasters inflicted on the peoples there. There will be no peace in Indo-China and no tranquillity for the Indo-Chinese peoples so long as the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism hang on there."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi stated: "We have repeatedly declared that aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people absolutely will not stand idly by. . . . We are convinced that the Vietnamese people will win and U.S. imperialism will be defeated."

lese (B) Government in a vain attempt to topple the revolutionary Government of the Congo (B). This is a fresh crime and provocation by U.S. imperialism against the African states and people. The Chinese Government and people denounce U.S. imperialism for this shameless crime."

Joseph Koubonguissa, in his speech, praised the joint struggle by the Congo (B) and China against imperialism and colonialism, old and new. Speaking of the situation in his country, he said that the Congo (B), as a vanguard of the progressive forces in the heart of Central Africa, had become the object of the implacable enmity of the Americanized countries. The Western camp, he continued, headed by U.S. imperialism, was organizing systematic cam-

paigns of vilification against his country and trying to overthrow his government. Their latest plot to undermine the independence of the Congo (B), he revealed, was to scheme to remake the two Congos and parcel them out into several republics. He declared that, in the face of these dangers, the Congolese (B) people would take resolute action to smash the chains of imperialism and of its lackeys and defend their freedom and independence.

Premier Chou Greets Afro-Asian Economic Seminar

The Afro-Asian Economic Seminar opened in Algiers on February 22. Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings, wishing it success and expressing the hope that it would

contribute to the lofty aim of achieving a completely independent and prosperous new Asia and Africa. The message reads in part:

"The people of the countries of Asia and Africa, after long years of heroic struggle, have won brilliant victories in the great cause of national independence. The people of the new emerging countries in Asia and Africa have stood up, and, with magnificent revolutionary courage, are now waging unremitting and resolute struggles to oppose thoroughly imperialism and new and old colonialism, to consolidate and safeguard national independence, develop independent national economies and cultures and help those peoples in Asia and Africa who have not yet won their independence. The Asian and African peoples who are still under colonial rule are continuing to advance wave upon wave in their struggle for national liberation.

"We people of Asia and Africa have lofty aspirations. We have won our independence by relying on our own unity and struggles. Today, having won independence, we are confident that, by continuing to rely on our own efforts and rich resources, by self-reliance and co-operation based on equality and mutual benefit, we will build up our countries and change a poor and backward Asia and Africa into a completely independent, advanced, strong and prosperous new Asia and Africa."

China Recognizes Gambia

Gambia, the last British colony in West Africa, proclaimed its independence on February 18—a new victory for the national-independence movement in Africa.

Greeting the occasion, Premier Chou En-lai and Foreign Minister Chen Yi sent congratulatory messages to David Kweisi Jawara, Prime Minister of Gambia. Foreign Minister Chen Yi informed Prime Minister Jawara that China had decided to recognize Gambia and expressed the hope that this would lead to the further development of relations between the two countries.

Nepal's Democratic Day

On the eve of Nepal's Democratic Day (February 18), Chairman Liu
(Continued on p. 27.)

China Hails President Nyerere's State Visit

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

BENEATH the snow-covered sloping roof of Tien An Men in the heart of Peking, eight huge scarlet-silk Chinese lanterns, traditional decorations for festivals, spelled out the warm, ceremonial reception for 1965's first state visit by a head of state — the arrival of President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania and his wife.

Described as an outstanding African statesman and a good friend of the Chinese people by Chairman Liu Shao-chi, who, together with Premier Chou En-lai, had invited him, the Tanzanian President reached the capital by special plane on February 17.

On hand to meet the presidential party at the bedecked Peking airport, where a welcome ceremony took place, were Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Mme. Liu, Premier Chou En-lai and Mme. Chou, N.P.C. Standing Committee Vice-Chairman Peng Chen and Mme. Peng, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, Lo Jui-ching and other leading Chinese officials.

"Long Live Sino-Tanzanian Friendship!" read one of the slogans spanning the broad avenue to greet the distinguished guests from a fighting, revolutionary and anti-imperialist Africa. Riding in an open car with Chairman Liu and Premier Chou on his way to the Government Guest House, the Tanzanian President received the cheers of hundreds of thousands who lined the streets, perched on balconies or looked down from the tall buildings on both sides along the route, and who waved Chinese and Tanzanian flags and clapped. The motorcade slowly moved on and entered Tien An Men Square in the midst of whirling snowflakes. Braving the snow, some 2,000 young men and women performed red silk and waist-drum dances to bring the welcome scene to its height. In front of the Guest House, street orderlies who had been busy all

morning clearing the way for the honoured African visitors, now joined with others in shouting "Welcome President Nyerere!" Cheers, booming drums, and the singing of the popular song *The Hearts of the People of the World Beat As One* lingered long after the motorcade disappeared into the wooded Guest House compound at the west end of the city.

Sino-Tanzanian Friendship. That evening a banquet was given by Chairman and Mme. Liu at the Great Hall of the People to honour the African guests. Chairman Liu acclaimed Tanzania's anti-imperialist record in his banquet speech. "The imperialists," he said, "have incessantly carried out interference and subversion against Tanzania, but plot after plot has been smashed by the heroic and indomitable Tanzanian people. A short time ago, the Tanzanian Government exposed the subversive activities of U.S. imperialism and recalled its Ambassador from the United States. This is a brave action, which the Chinese Government and people firmly support."

In his speech, Chairman Liu referred to the founding of a national army of Tanzania as "a matter of high significance." "The Tanzanian people," he noted, "know that without their own armed forces, a newly



At the Peking airport. A snowfall fails to dampen the welcome by thousands for the guests from Africa

Chairman Liu Reaffirms China's Firm Support for People Of Viet Nam and the Congo

SPEAKING at the banquet he gave in honour of Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere on February 17, Chairman Liu Shao-chi reaffirmed that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people in their righteous struggle to counter U.S. imperialist aggression. He also expressed the Chinese people's firm support for the people of the Congo (L) in their patriotic armed struggle against the United States.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi declared: "**Since U.S. imperialism has continued to expand its war of aggression in Viet Nam and has taken the lead in breaking up the line of demarcation between southern Viet Nam and northern Viet Nam, it has to bear the responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.**

"Of course, it is up to the United States itself to decide how far it will go along the path of expanding the war in Indo-China. However, whatever happens, it can be said for certain that the further it goes along this path, the more disastrous will be its defeat."

Speaking on the present situation in the Congo (L), Chairman Liu said: "Of late, U.S. imperialism and its followers have stepped up their attacks on the patriotic armed forces of the Congo (L), while engaging in even more frenzied threats, interference and subversion against the newly independent countries neighbouring the Congo (L). The Congo (L) is the heart of Africa.

independent country cannot be assured of independence. We sincerely wish our brothers the Tanzanian people ever more and still greater success on their path of independent development."

The Chinese head of state also praised Tanzania for pursuing a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, for that country's firm opposition to the imperialist policy of aggression, for its efforts made to strengthen the unity of the African people and the solidarity of the Asian and African people against imperialism and for Tanzania's energetic support for the national-liberation struggles of the peoples of the Congo (L), and of east, central and south Africa.

Chairman Liu affirmed that after the Tanzanian people achieved independence, something new had been added to the centuries-old Sino-Tanzanian friendship. He said: "The fact that the friendly relations between China and Tanzania have developed so fast and well is inseparable from the efforts made by His Excellency President Nyerere." Before proposing a toast to the health of his honoured guest, Chairman Liu said that he was sure that the President's visit would usher in a new phase in Sino-Tanzanian friendship and make important contributions to the Asian and African people's cause of unity against imperialism.

Attack on the Congo (L) by U.S. imperialism means attack on all the new-emerging countries of Africa and attack on the entire African people. It has now become the principal task of the people of the Congo (L) and of all Africa to defend the independence and freedom of the Congo (L) and defeat the U.S. aggressors."

He declared emphatically: "We, the Chinese people, firmly support the people of the Congo (L) in their patriotic armed struggle against U.S. imperialism. **We are ready, together with Tanzania and other African countries, to fulfil our international duty in support of the national-liberation struggle of the people of the Congo (L).** We will never change this firm stand of ours."

Continuing, Chairman Liu said: "The U.S. imperialists fancy that with a few atom bombs, and some warships and aircraft, they can stretch out their aggressive hands here, there and everywhere to engage in provocations against the peoples all over the world. This is absurd. It is the mobilized people, not weapons, not the atom bomb, that are truly powerful. The wider the area in which the United States commits aggression, the greater the number of peoples who will be aroused to form an even more powerful international united front against U.S. imperialism. **The days of U.S. imperialism are numbered.** The people of the world will certainly defeat it, so long as they strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle."

President Nyerere also spoke at the banquet. He warmly praised the new development in the friendship between the two peoples and thanked China for its aid without any political strings. "We are the more appreciative because we realize that this capital is not surplus to your own requirements, nor are your technicians otherwise unemployed," the Tanzanian President declared. "Neither our foreign policy, nor our internal policy, will be moved one inch as a result of threats to withhold, or withdraw, economic assistance." He also let it be known that "the United Republic is second to none in its determination firstly, to maintain its national integrity; and secondly, to overcome the poverty which it inherited from its erstwhile colonial masters."

Revolutionary Tradition. The Chinese press was no less enthusiastic in welcoming President Nyerere's visit. *Renmin Ribao*, in an editorial, reviewing the fast growing friendship between the two countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, expressed conviction that further Sino-Tanzanian co-operation would be a great boon to Asian-African unity and world peace. The paper gave readers a brief history of the



At Peking's welcome rally. From left to right: Premier Chou En-lai; Chairman Liu Shao-chi; President Nyerere; Mayor Feng Chen; Mme. Nyerere; Mme. Liu; Mme. Peng

United Republic, which is a union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. It described the United Republic as a country with a glorious revolutionary tradition that could be traced back to the anti-colonialist struggle in Tanganyika in the late 19th century, and recalled that the Zanzibaris succeeded in overthrowing colonial and feudal rule in their 1964 armed uprising. The paper also listed the achievements of the new republic, spoke highly of its positive and active role in the international arena and its recent rebuff to the U.S. imperialists, who stopped at nothing in carrying out subversive activities in that country, a close neighbour and staunch supporter of the fighting Congo (L).

Meeting Chairman Mao. On February 19, the Tanzanian President and members of his party were received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung who conversed with them in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Friendly talks were also held between Chairman Liu, Premier Chou and President Nyerere.

Unity Against Imperialism. On February 20, Chairman Liu and President Nyerere signed the Sino-Tanzanian Friendship Treaty which marks a new step in the development of relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries (see p.9). More than 10,000 Peking citizens gathered at the Great Hall of the People the same day to honour the President's visit and celebrate the signing of the treaty.

Peng Chen, who is also the Mayor of Peking, and President Nyerere addressed this rally which was attended, among others, by Chairman and Mme. Liu, Premier Chou, Vice-Premier Chen Yi, N.P.C. Standing Committee Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo and Mme. Peng Chen.

Peng Chen in his welcome speech said that the struggle of the Tanzanian people and their victory had added a brilliant chapter to the African annals of anti-

imperialist revolutionary struggle. "Once we Asian and African countries become truly independent politically and militarily, and so long as we tightly control our state apparatus, rely closely on the strength of the masses and persevere in the principle of self-reliance, there is no need whatever for us to live on the handouts of imperialism," the Peking Mayor added. Praising Tanzania's support for other African countries' struggle

for national liberation, Peng Chen declared: "In the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Chinese people are for ever the reliable comrades-in-arms of the peoples of Tanzania and all Africa."

Addressing the rally, President Nyerere stressed that the African struggle against colonialism would not cease until colonialism was swept from that continent. He said that his country was happy about its new friendship with China. "We now have a friend, a great, new friend; and a friend from whom we were barred in the days of colonialism."

The entire hall rose and clapped in rhythm as Mayor Peng Chen presented the President with a red satin banner inscribed in golden thread: Against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and for promoting Afro-Asian solidarity and safeguarding world peace, the Chinese and Tanzanian people will support each other and resolutely march forward shoulder to shoulder. This theme keynoted the other speeches of Chinese and Tanzanian leaders.

After a four-day stay in the capital, President Nyerere and his party left to visit other parts of China and see more places and meet more people from all walks of life. President and Mme. Nyerere were accompanied by Chairman and Mme. Liu and Vice-Premier Chen Yi on their tour. Everywhere they went, in Shanghai where they had stopped on their way to Peking and again on their homebound journey, and in Nanking, the African visitors were accorded a rousing welcome by local government officials and residents.

A joint communique on the visit was issued (see p.8).

President Nyerere and his party, carrying with them the Chinese people's friendship for the Tanzanian people, concluded their visit on February 23.

Sino-Tanzanian Joint Communiqué

Following is the text of the joint communiqué of the People's Republic of China and the United Republic of Tanzania issued in Peking. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

AT the invitation of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, His Excellency Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and Madame Nyerere paid a state visit to the People's Republic of China from February 16 to 23, 1965. Accompanying them on the visit were: The Hon. O.S. Kambona, Minister for External Affairs; The Hon. A.M. Babu, Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives; The Hon. I.M. Bhoke Munanka, Minister of State, President's Office; The Hon. M.A. Jumbe, Minister of State, First Vice-President's Office; Mr. S.K.M. Luangisa, Member of TANU National Executive; Mr. Saidi Washoto, Member of Zanzibar Revolutionary Council; Mr. Millinga, Leader of Litowa Settlement; Mrs. Halima Rashidi, District Chairman U.W.T., Arusha; Mr. W.J. Mbwambo, Chief of Protocol, Ministry for External Affairs; Mr. Mbutta Milando, Private Secretary to the President; Mr. J.M. Malokia, Principal Immigration Officer; Mr. O.M. Katikaza, Senior Assistant Secretary, Ministry for External Affairs; Mr. K.S. Mwambenja, Press Secretary to the President; Mr. Julius Sepeku, Assistant Secretary, President's Office; Mr. J.J. Nambutta, Assistant General Secretary and Director of Publicity, NUTA; Mr. Ruben Mwakalundwa, Manager of Rungwe African Co-operative Union.

During their sojourn in China, President Julius K. Nyerere and the other distinguished guests from Tanzania toured Peking, Nanking and Shanghai, where they visited factories, a people's commune and cultural and educational institutions. They made extensive friendly contacts with the Chinese people and were accorded warm welcome and kind hospitality by the Chinese Government and Chinese people. This fully manifested the profound friendship existing between the peoples of China and Tanzania.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with President Nyerere and the other distinguished guests from Tanzania.

Talks were held between Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, and Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Also taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were: Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council; Fang Yi, Chairman of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries; General Chang Ai-ping, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Lu Hsu-chang, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Chen Chung-ching, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; Ho Ying, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Tanzania; Ko Hua, Director of the Department of African Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Also taking part in the talks on the Tanzanian side were: The Hon. O.S. Kambona, Minister for External Affairs; The Hon. A.M. Babu, Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives; The Hon. I.M. Bhoke Munanka, Minister of State, President's Office; The Hon. M.A. Jumbe, Minister of State, First Vice-President's Office; H.E. Alhaj Tewa Said Tewa, Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania to China; Mr. S.K.M. Luangisa, Member of TANU National Executive; Mr. Saidi Washoto, Member of Zanzibar Revolutionary Council; Mr. O.M. Katikaza, Senior Assistant Secretary, Ministry for External Affairs.

The talks were held in a sincere, frank, cordial and friendly atmosphere. **During the talks, the two parties had a full exchange of views on international questions of common concern and on the further development of the relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries, and an identity of views was reached on the questions discussed.**

The two parties held that the present international situation is most favourable to the peoples of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and colonialism.

The two parties warmly hailed the victories won by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the winning and safeguarding of national independence. **The two parties were of the firm conviction that so long as the peoples of the world strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle, they will surely win final victory in completely eradicating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.**

The two parties were pleased to note that the national-liberation movements in Africa are gaining momentum. The African states which have attained independence are scoring one victory after another in safeguarding their national independence, developing

Sino-Tanzanian Treaty of Friendship

Following is the text of the Treaty of Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and the United Republic of Tanzania signed in Peking on February 20. — Ed.

THE Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the President of the United Republic of Tanzania,

Desiring to consolidate and further develop the profound friendship between the People's Republic of China and the United Republic of Tanzania, and

Being convinced that the strengthening of friendly cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the United Republic of Tanzania conforms to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries, helps promote the solidarity between them as well as among Asian and African peoples and the common struggle against imperialism, and conduces to peace in Asia, Africa and the world,

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty, the articles of which are as follows:

Article I

The Contracting Parties will maintain and develop the relations of peace and friendship between the People's Republic of China and the United Republic of Tanzania.

Article II

The Contracting Parties pledge to take the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence as the prin-

ciples guiding the relations between the two countries.

Article III

The Contracting Parties agree to develop economic and cultural relations between the two countries in the spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly cooperation.

Article IV

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

Article V

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

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

Done in duplicate in Peking on February 20, 1965, in the Chinese, Swahili and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic.

Chairman of
the People's Republic
of China

LIU SHAO-CHI
(Signed)

President of the
United
Republic of Tanzania

JULIUS K. NYERERE
(Signed)

their national economies and culture, building up their national armies, etc. The African peoples who still remain under the colonial rule of imperialism are waging heroic struggles for national independence. The two parties expressed the firm belief that a new Africa, politically independent and economically prosperous and strong, will certainly emerge as a result of the unremitting efforts and struggle of the African peoples.

The two parties stressed that imperialism and colonialism would never be reconciled to their defeat and step down from the stage of history of their own accord.

They would always try hard to maintain their colonial rule by such means as political, economic and military aggression. The facts have constantly taught the peoples that in order to win and safeguard national independence, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism must be carried through to the end.

The two parties pledged their support to the people of the Congo (L) in their just and patriotic anti-imperialist struggle, and strongly condemned outside intervention in the Congo (L). They stressed therefore that the foreign mercenaries and imperialist forces must with-

draw from the Congo (L) and that the problems of the Congo (L) should be settled by the people of the Congo (L) themselves.

The two parties expressed warm congratulations to the people of Gambia who have just achieved independence. The two parties pledged firm support to the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Southwest Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, French Somaliland and other African countries still under colonial rule in their struggle for national independence.

The two parties condemned the policies of racial discrimination and apartheid which are practised by the South African and Southern Rhodesian colonial authorities and in some other parts of the world; they expressed firm support to the peoples of South Africa and Zimbabwe in their struggle against racial discrimination and for national liberation.

Both parties agreed that all nations, large and small, have the inalienable right to independent existence and full sovereignty. They therefore called upon all nations to exercise mutual respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of each other. **The two parties were opposed to imperialist aggression and intervention against Viet Nam, Korea and Cuba, and expressed their support to the just struggles of the people of these countries.**

Both parties stood for the convening of a summit conference of all countries of the world to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

The two parties held that the success of the **Second African-Asian Conference will be of great significance to the Asian and African peoples' cause of unity against imperialism.** The two parties expressed the deep conviction that the forthcoming conference will contribute tremendously to the strengthening of the Asian and African countries' cause of unity against imperialism, to the promotion of economic co-operation between these countries and to the defence of world peace. **Both parties expressed their determination to make concerted efforts with the other Asian and African countries for the success of the Second African-Asian Conference.**

The two parties agreed that in order to consolidate their political independence and shake off poverty and backwardness, it is necessary for the new-emerging countries in Asia and Africa to make energetic efforts to develop their national economy on the principle of mainly relying on their own strength. The two parties pointed out that the Asian and African countries, with their industrious and talented people and rich natural resources, are fully capable of developing their respective countries by their own strength. The Asian and African countries should support and assist one another on the basis of equality and mutual benefit so as to

bring about common prosperity for their economies. **All countries should base themselves on the principles of equality and mutual benefit in their trade relations and economic co-operation with the Asian and African countries; no privileges or strings should be attached to any aid; and all attempts at interference in other's internal affairs by means of aid should be resolutely opposed.**

The two parties noted with great satisfaction that in recent years rapid development has taken place in the friendly co-operation between the two countries in the political, economic, trade and cultural fields. **Both parties were determined to make joint efforts for the further consolidation and development of the friendship between the two countries.**

The Chinese side pledged firm support to the just struggle waged by the United Republic of Tanzania under the leadership of President Nyerere to strengthen unity, safeguard national independence and state sovereignty, and oppose imperialist subversive schemes; it expressed appreciation of and admiration for the remarkable achievements scored by the Tanzanian Government and people in their efforts to eliminate colonialist influence and develop their country; and it highly appraised the just stand taken by the Tanzanian Government and people in opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, supporting the national-liberation movements in Africa, safeguarding Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace.

The Tanzanian side reaffirmed its support for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the **People's Republic of China in the United Nations, its opposition to the imperialist plots for creating "two Chinas," and its support for the Chinese Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and territorial integrity.** The Chinese side expressed thanks for this.

During President **Julius K. Nyerere's** visit in China, the two parties signed a Treaty of Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and the United Republic of Tanzania. This marks a new phase in the development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. The visit by President Nyerere to China was an important contribution to the promotion of friendship and mutual understanding between the two peoples, the strengthening of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace.

The President of the United Republic of Tanzania extended an invitation to the Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China to visit the United Republic of Tanzania at a time convenient to them. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai gladly accepted the invitation.

February 23, 1965

Johnson Administration in a Dilemma

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" February 19 editorial. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

THE war of aggression by the United States in south Viet Nam has become a noose around its neck. To get out of it, U.S. imperialism is trying to expand the war in Indo-China. But contrary to its expectations, it finds the noose getting tighter and tighter.

U.S. imperialism has repeatedly attacked the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, adopting a swash-buckling posture as if it would not hesitate to risk a bigger war. In point of fact, it is outwardly strong but inwardly brittle; it is weak and jittery despite its fearful appearance.

The *New York Times* reported that an atmosphere of uneasiness and anxiety prevailed in Washington in the last few days. It pointed out that "escalation of the war in Viet Nam, such as took place last week, has led the United States to the entrance of a one-way street," that is, "a major war" in Southeast Asia. Walter Lippmann, a Wall Street ideaman, hastily warned Johnson against repeating the error of Truman. Everybody now knows what a miserable end the Truman Administration came to in the Korean war. **The impending total defeat of its war of aggression in south Viet Nam and the prospect of receiving another lesson similar to that in Korea have thrown Washington into a dilemma and unending anxiety.**

Because it cannot go on as it has in south Viet Nam any longer, the Johnson Administration is anxious to try escalating the war in Indo-China. For years, the United States has been fighting a "special war" in south Viet Nam. Far from winning, it is now at a loss as to how to go on with it. Even General Maxwell Taylor, author of "special warfare," had to admit that he knew of "no ground rules" governing this type of war.

What are rules? Rules are a reflection of the process of development of objective things independent of the will of human beings. People gain initiative only when they grasp the rules of things. When U.S. imperialism unleashed "special warfare" in south Viet Nam it evidently thought that half of Viet Nam was no match for the number one imperialist power. It never expected that as soon as it intruded into south Viet Nam it would be encircled by the people as though falling into a vast sea and in danger of being

drowned. It is not the rules of "special warfare" but those of the people's war that operate there. The people of south Viet Nam have fully exploited the unlimited potentialities of a people's war and beaten the U.S. aggressors black and blue. The "Staley-Taylor Plan," the "heliborne tactics," the "strategic hamlets," "limited retaliation" and what not have all gone with the wind. Even the personal command of the war by Maxwell Taylor, whom Washington considers its ablest man, is of no avail. Brave, alert and quick, the south Viet Nam liberation forces have, within the short space of three and a half months, inflicted six bitter defeats on the U.S. aggressors.

That U.S. imperialism will lose the war is now a foregone conclusion. Each extra day it stays in south Viet Nam means another day's trouncing. Its ultimate failure is inevitable.

U.S. imperialism places its hope of retrieving its defeat in south Viet Nam on the venture of escalating the war in Indo-China. Again its move is the wrong one. **The United States and its south Vietnamese quislings have committed war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and taken the lead in breaking the demarcation line between south and north Viet Nam, thus giving the D.R.V. the right and the initiative to hit back in self-defence, and giving China and all other countries which uphold the Geneva agreements the right to aid the D.R.V. in resisting U.S. aggression.** In other words, U.S. imperialism has placed the ends of the noose around its neck in the hands of the south Vietnamese people, the D.R.V., China and all other countries which uphold the Geneva agreements.

It is now asserted in Washington that China's intentions are still not clear. Does Johnson want to find out China's true intentions? As a matter of fact they are very clear. So long as you are willing to hand us one end of the noose, we are sure to seize it tightly. How far you go is your own affair. But if you think that the war can be made to develop as you wish, that is a matter you cannot decide.

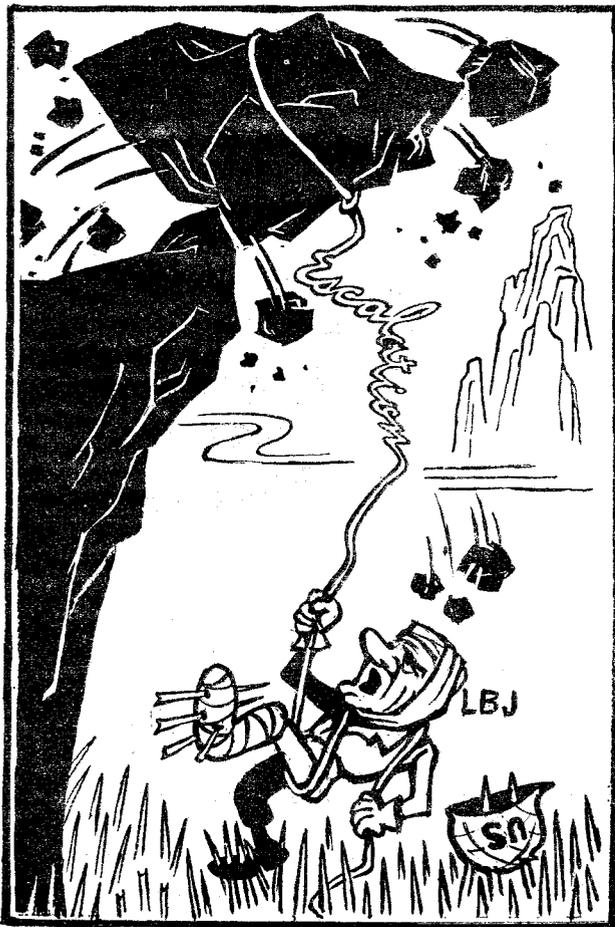
U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to intimidate us, saying that it has naval and air superiority and aren't you afraid of this?

But what is that naval and air superiority? It is only a few hundred warships and several thousand aircraft. If U.S. nuclear blackmail has failed to cow people, how can its naval and air superiority ever suc-

ceed in doing so? To be frank, no matter how many warships and aircraft the United States may possess, they will not enable it to dominate the world. Far from being afraid of them, the revolutionary people in every land are able to make them rush about from one part of the world to another. The more the United States over-reaches itself, the more vulnerable it will become. It will find itself beaten everywhere, and its being driven from pillar to post all over the world will be more clearly seen.

In so far as the south Vietnamese battlefield is concerned, the United States indeed has naval and air superiority. But what has become of it? The U.S. air force bases in south Viet Nam are now in constant danger of being attacked. In a single raid on the Bien Hoa airfield the south Viet Nam liberation forces destroyed or damaged 59 U.S. planes. The B-57 long-range bombers which remained had to take refuge in the Philippines.

In view of the insecurity of the air force bases, three more aircraft carriers have been brought in. But even if all 12 U.S. aircraft carriers in the Pacific are deployed in this area it would only mean 12 more airfields on the sea. What can a few more aircraft carriers do since the outcome of the war in south Viet Nam has to be decided on land?



In South Viet Nam: Way Out? Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

U.S. naval and air superiority hasn't been able to do much even in south Viet Nam. How then can it be relied on to expand the war? The United States is indeed over-reaching itself in trying to do such a thing.

Though the Johnson Administration wants to expand the war in Indo-China, it has great difficulty because it lacks the necessary means. Its war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have once again served to arouse the opposition of the people of the world to U.S. imperialism.

At home, the political awareness of the American people has greatly increased. Demonstrations against the Johnson Administration's expansion of the war have taken place one after another and assumed unprecedented proportions. Inside U.S. ruling circles and even within the Democratic Party there are persons who are worried that such a move by Johnson would invite big trouble.

Some days ago a few of the allies and satellites of the United States were beating the drums for it but they are now as quiet as cicadas in late autumn. **Throughout this wide world, the Johnson Administration cannot find a single true follower except its own shadow.**

The Johnson Administration is neither willing to accept defeat nor bold enough to face the consequences of an extended war, and so it is in a tight spot. This is the real background to the constant talk in Washington about so-called negotiations from positions of strength.

The aim of the Johnson Administration is quite clear — to get at the conference table what it could not get on the battlefield. It wants to bind the south Viet Nam liberation forces hand and foot, and strengthen the positions of the U.S. forces and the puppet regime so as to get a breathing spell. **Isn't it too much wishful thinking on Johnson's part to hope to grab back at the conference table what it has lost on the battlefield? Can anything ever be so easy for the United States? Peace in Viet Nam can be readily achieved, but it can only be after the U.S. aggressors have withdrawn from south Viet Nam and certainly not before.** The United States must stop its aggression and intervention in Indo-China and let the Indo-Chinese peoples settle their own problems.

The days of U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam are numbered. Sooner or later it will be kicked out or wiped out. We have long ago advised the U.S. imperialists: It's better for you to quit early. We shall bid you farewell if you go; if you choose to stay, you are welcome too. For, in the latter case, the people of south Viet Nam will continue to engage you in battle and obtain an endless supply of weapons free of charge; you teachers by negative example will continue to serve a useful purpose by educating and mobilizing the people of various countries. What's bad about that? To stay or get out is for you to decide.

Withdrawal of International Commission's Fixed Teams From D.R.V. Imperative

by COMMENTATOR

"There Is No Reason for the Fixed Teams of the International Commission in Viet Nam Not to Withdraw" is the title of a February 17 "Renmin Ribao" commentary. Following is a translation of the commentary; boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE High Command of the Viet Nam People's Army on February 13 requested the International Commission in Viet Nam to withdraw immediately all its fixed teams stationed in various parts of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and first of all, those in Dong Hoi and Vinh. This is necessitated by the fact that, **as a result of repeated air raids by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys on many places in the D.R.V., it becomes difficult to ensure the safety of the members of the fixed teams stationed on D.R.V. territory,** according to the message sent by the V.P.A. High Command to the commission.

As stipulated by the Geneva agreements, the commanding officers of the armed forces of both sides take the responsibility for protecting the fixed teams. U.S. imperialism now has not only made repeated sea and air attacks on the D.R.V. but has openly talked about continuing these wanton acts of aggression. In view of the fact that U.S. imperialism has seriously threatened the security of the D.R.V., it is no longer possible to ensure the safety of the International Commission's fixed teams on D.R.V. territory. **In these circumstances, the demand of the V.P.A. High Command for their immediate withdrawal is fully justified. We are completely in favour of this D.R.V. demand.**

According to a Reuter report, International Commission sources in Saigon opposed such a withdrawal and charged the D.R.V. with "breaking the agreements." It was reported that "Indian and Canadian commission sources said they did not feel their men were in danger."

If the Reuter report is true, then these people on the International Commission are, to say the least, assuming a ridiculous attitude. It is not for the Indians or Canadians on the commission but for the D.R.V., a victim of U.S. imperialist aggression, to make an authoritative judgment on whether the fixed teams are in danger. The fact is that American bombs have been

dropped on Dong Hoi, one of the places where the fixed teams are located. In asking for withdrawal of the teams, the V.P.A. High Command is actually carrying out its duty to protect them as imposed on it by the Geneva agreements. How can it be said that this is a violation of the agreements?

It must be pointed out that, up to now, ten days have passed since U.S. imperialism and its henchmen in south Viet Nam started their encroachment on the D.R.V. on February 7. Despite the strong protests to the International Commission the V.P.A. High Command has repeatedly made against this encroachment, the former has thus far done nothing to make U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Saigon immediately stop this unlawful act in violation of the Geneva agreements. **The International Commission has thus undergone another test in which it once again showed most clearly that it had failed to discharge its responsibility for supervising the implementation of the Geneva agreements. The basic reason for this failure is that the Indian and Canadian delegates on the commission, instead of upholding the Geneva agreements and checking U.S. imperialist aggression against south Viet Nam as they should, have themselves openly violated the Geneva agreements by abetting such acts of aggression.**

The Geneva agreements deem it obligatory for the commission *to make unanimous decisions* when "dealing with questions concerning violations, or threats of violations, which might lead to a resumption of hostilities." The Indian and Canadian delegates, nevertheless, have repeatedly violated this provision and, in the face of the opposition of the Polish delegate, adopted "by majority vote" resolutions and reports that vilified the D.R.V. and served U.S. imperialist aggression in south Viet Nam. They have thus hamstrung the commission.

Now U.S. imperialism and its stooges, the puppet clique in south Viet Nam, have openly wrecked the Geneva agreements by launching large-scale air attacks on the D.R.V. to the extent of threatening the safety of the commission's fixed teams on D.R.V. territory. In such circumstances, what reason is there for their continued stay in the D.R.V. since they have failed in their mission to preserve the Geneva agreements and curb U.S. aggression?

Washington's New Move to Aggravate Far East Tension

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" February 23 editorial entitled "Another Grave Move by the United States to Aggravate Tension in the Far East." Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

ON February 20, instigated by U.S. imperialism, the Sato government of Japan and the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea initialled the illegal "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" in Seoul. The treaty and the "Japan-South Korea Joint Statement" declared that the two sides would "co-operate closely" in the name of "peace and security" so as to "accord with the interests of the whole camp of freedom." In ordinary language, this means that they will step up their collusion and exert their utmost efforts to serve U.S. aggressive interests in Asia. The treaty also blatantly regards the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea as "the sole legitimate government of Korea." **This is an open provocation and insult to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and all the Korean people. It is obvious that the initialling of the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" is another grave step taken by U.S. imperialism in aggravating tension in the Far East.**

U.S. imperialism has for a long time been drawing Japanese ruling circles and the south Korean puppets together for "Japan-south Korea talks." The talks started as early as 1951 when the United States was intensifying its war of aggression in Korea. Since the Sato government took over power, the Johnson Administration has been prodding it and trying by more ways than one to expedite the talks. Shortly after Nobusuke Kishi's visit to Taiwan, Sato journeyed in person to the United States where U.S. President Johnson specially briefed him on this matter. On February 17, Japanese Foreign Minister Etsusaburo Shiina hastened to Seoul and, without much ado, initialled the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" so as to make it a fait accompli. **It is perfectly clear that speeding up the "Japan-south Korea talks" is entirely the result of behind-the-scene prodding by U.S. imperialism.**

Why is U.S. imperialism in such a hurry?

U.S. imperialism is now in desperate straits in Asia. The defeat of its war of aggression in south Viet Nam is a forgone conclusion. The people of Laos and Cambodia staunchly oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention and are safeguarding their national independence. The Japanese people's struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries is developing vigorously. In south Korea, the rule of the puppet clique fostered by U.S. imperialism is unstable and there is the possibility that it may collapse at any time. In contrast to this, the Korean Democratic People's Republic is daily becoming more consolidated and stronger, and stands firm in the northeastern part of Asia. The U.S. imperialist policy of "containing China" also is heading

for bankruptcy. It is in such circumstances that U.S. imperialism is bending its efforts to make secure its foothold in Asia and attempting to rig up a Northeast Asian military bloc alongside the SEATO bloc which is fast falling apart. The "Japan-south Korea talks" were held precisely for the sake of paving the way for a "Northeast Asia military alliance."

Urged on by U.S. imperialism, the Japanese ruling groups also have their ulterior motives in increasing their efforts to reach agreement in their "talks" with south Korea. The Japanese militarist forces and monopoly capital were driven out of Korea at the end of World War II, but they have never given up the desire to lay their hands again on south Korea. In or out of power, for more than a decade Japan's militarists have repeatedly raved that south Korea is Japan's "life line." Japanese monopoly capital has also extended its tentacles into south Korea in every possible way. Not long ago, Shinichi Takasugi, Japanese chief delegate to the "Japan-south Korea talks," openly shouted that "Japan had better control Korea again for 20 years." If this is viewed in connection with the recently disclosed "Operation Three Arrows," the secret war plan drawn up by the Japanese military authorities, things become all the more obvious. **All this shows that the Japanese militarist forces and monopoly capital are trying to use the "Japan-south Korea talks" as a springboard to achieve their twofold purpose—penetrate south Korea again and act as the leader of a "Northeast Asia military alliance" under the wings of U.S. imperialism to renew their old imperialist dream of invading Korea and the rest of Asia.**

U.S. imperialism thinks that by bringing about agreement in the "Japan-south Korea talks" it can redouble its efforts to push its war and aggression policies, secure its position in Asia and boost the morale of its collection of panic-stricken puppets. In reality, however, this is wishful thinking. The more actively U.S. imperialism instigates the "Japan-south Korea talks," the stronger resistance it will arouse among the people of Korea, Japan and the rest of Asia, who will tighten the nooses around its neck. The situation will develop in a direction contrary to the desires of U.S. imperialism.

The initialling of the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" runs completely counter to the interests of the Korean people. The bargain struck in the "Japan-south Korea talks" is a cheap political auction by the Pak Jung Hi clique. Having long ago sold the national interests of Korea to U.S. imperialism, it is also trying to draw its old masters, the Japanese monopoly capitalists, further into south Korea. The agreement reached in the "Japan-south Korea talks" and Washington's plots to hasten the rigging up of a "Northeast Asia military

alliance" also mean that U.S. imperialism will try its utmost to use the south Korean people as cannon-fodder for aggression in Asia at a time when it is in dire straits all over the world. The fact that, recently, the Pak Jung Hi clique, on the orders of U.S. imperialism, brazenly sent troops to south Viet Nam is an evil portent. What merits special attention is that the agreement reached in the "Japan-south Korea talks" will create a new obstacle to the peaceful reunification of Korea. All these constitute great damage to the national interests of Korea and are bound to meet with strong opposition from the Korean people. It can be said with certainty that, after reaching agreement in the "Japan-south Korea talks," the Pak Jung Hi clique, instead of faring better, will find it more difficult to carry on. The colonial rule of U.S. imperialism in south Korea will become more shaky rather than stable.

The initialling of the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" is also a provocation against the Japanese people who experienced untold suffering at the hands of Japan's militarist rulers. In the past, each time Japanese militarism engaged in aggression and expansion abroad, it unfailingly brought tremendous disasters to the Japanese people. Now, the Japanese militarist forces, which are being speedily revived with the blessings of U.S. imperialism, are dreaming again of embarking on their old path of expansion. It goes without saying that, in colluding with U.S. imperialism to knock together a "Northeast Asia military alliance" and to accelerate political infiltration and economic expansion in south Korea, the Japanese ruling groups will inevitably tighten their reactionary rule and increase their plundering at home. The damage it will bring to the Japanese people and their national interests is clear. By blindly following the U.S. policies of aggression and war, the Sato government will certainly arouse resolute opposition among the Japanese people.

At present a new anti-U.S. wave has surged up in Korea and Japan. Having been subjected to several decades of Japanese colonial rule, the people of south Korea, together with the rest of the Korean people,

are seething with anger and are strongly condemning the initialling of the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty." The south Korean people's struggle to oppose the "Japan-south Korea talks" is spreading like a prairie fire. Following the solemn call by the Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front of Korea and the Korean Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland, the people of Pyongyang held a mass rally to oppose the "Japan-south Korea talks" and to vigorously support the just, patriotic struggle of the south Korean people in opposing the U.S.-Pak Jung Hi clique. At the same time, the people of Japan have also swung into action. On February 20, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and 34 mass organizations in Japan issued a joint statement to protest against the initialling of the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty"; they declared that they would carry on a resolute struggle together with the people of Korea to smash the "Japan-south Korea talks." **The Chinese people sternly condemn U.S. imperialism's aggressive plot to hasten the rigging up of a "Northeast Asia military alliance" through the "Japan-south Korea talks." We resolutely support all the Korean people and the Japanese people in their just struggle to smash the "Japan-south Korea talks." We are convinced that no matter how U.S. imperialism tries to disguise its aggression, final victory will go to the Korean and Japanese people who dare to struggle.**

We must warn U.S. imperialism that the situation in Asia will definitely not develop in the way it wishes. Is not the present situation in the Far East and the rest of Asia most forceful evidence of this? Wherever U.S. imperialism commits aggression, the flames of struggle against it will blaze up fiercely; U.S. imperialism is being beaten and driven to its grave everywhere. Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has thrown together many military blocs. Today, these blocs, riddled with contradictions, are becoming paralysed and are disintegrating. Even if the United States rigs up a so-called "Northeast Asia military alliance," this cannot save it from utter defeat.

Japanese Militarists Have Not Abandoned Their Ambitions

by COMMENTATOR

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" February 19 article "Japanese Militarist Forces Have Not Given Up Their Ambitions." Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

OPERATION Three Arrows," a secret war plan drawn up by the Japanese "Defence Agency," in which China and Korea are the imagined adversaries, was brought to light by Socialist Diet Member Haruo Okada in Japan's House of Representatives on February 10.

Masayoshi Oka, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, pointed out in a statement that it was a plot hatched by the Japanese reactionaries to help U.S. imperialism push its dangerous policy of aggression in the Far East. The Japanese Socialist Party also issued a statement condemning the plan. Since it was impossible to deny a well confirmed fact, the director of the "Defence Agency" of the Sato government had to admit that the plan had actually been mapped out. This is a great exposure of

the Japanese militarist forces' vain attempt to make a come-back and revive their old imperialist dreams.

In the first few years after the end of World War II, the defeated Japanese militarist forces withdrew from the scene and bided their time. But before long, vigorously fostered by U.S. imperialism, they came out again into the open. For more than a decade in the past, they have been gradually revived and they have grown in strength; now they have military power and exercise a certain amount of influence on the Japanese political scene. The fact that "Operation Three Arrows" was prepared in 1963 shows that the Japanese militarist forces have moved a step further towards regaining their position.

Since Eisaku Sato took office, the Japanese militarists have become more active. Japan's military budget has increased year after year, and the "self-defence corps" of the Japanese Army, Navy and Air Force have been further expanded. The secretariat of the Japanese National Defence Council is drawing up a plan for mobilization of materials in direct support of the military fascist system, a plan for the operation of ports and highways, a legal system, a plan for directing the national ideology, and so on. The Japanese militarists also are energetically advocating the revision of the Japanese Constitution so that they can advance their arms drive and preparations for war and carry out their plot to send troops abroad. All this fully shows that the Japanese militarist forces have occupied a certain place among those in power and are not outside the government. No wonder that after the secret war plan of the Japanese "Defence Agency" was made known, Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato and Junya Koizumi, director of the "Defence Agency," openly declared that "research" such as "Operation Three Arrows" was "a matter of course." Koizumi even brazenly shouted that "the research will continue in the future."

In this way, the present-day Japanese militarist forces have completely unmasked themselves in broad daylight.

Although the Japanese militarist forces are still not full-fledged, they are quite ambitious and greedy. The secret document of the Japanese "Defence Agency" reveals that they intend not only to seize the Chinese territory of Taiwan but also to unite with the U.S. imperialists in attacks on China and Korea. They think that they will become the overlord of Asia and re-establish the "greater east Asia co-prosperity sphere" if they can defeat China and Korea. Everything has its cause. It must be recognized that Sato's undisguised hostility to China in word and deed after coming to power is inseparable from this Japanese militarists' blueprint for aggression.

The Chinese people are extremely indignant at the Japanese militarists' scheme of taking China as an imaginary adversary. They have not forgotten that, in the 50 years from the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 to the close of the Japanese war of aggression against China in 1945, the Japanese militarists committed monstrous crimes against the Chinese people and owed them enormous debts in blood. Since the victory of the Chinese revolution, however, the Chinese people have not harboured hatred but have taken a forward-looking stand. They always cherish a deep friendship for the Japanese people who are not responsible for the Japanese militarists' crimes of aggression against China. As for those Japanese militarists who took part in the war of aggression against China, the Chinese people's attitude is one of letting bygones be bygones so long as these militarists repent and are prepared to turn over a new leaf. The Chinese people always desire to live in peace and develop good-neighbourly relations with Japan on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Now, for a handful of Japanese militarists to try to depend on U.S. imperialism for renewing their aggression against China and Korea is indeed the height of impudence.

Marx said that certain historical facts and persons could appear twice, "the first time as a tragedy and the second as a farce." The Japanese militarists are conceited and short-sighted. During World War II, they got on their high horse and strutted about like a conquering hero for a time. In reality, however, they knew neither their own strength nor that of their adversaries. Suffering one defeat after another, they ended up in a complete fiasco and tragedy. Now, the present generation of the Japanese militarists is attempting to step into the shoes of its predecessors and go on the stage to perform. But the time now is different and the most they can do will be to act out a farce.



Have They Forgotten?

Cartoon by Wu Yun

Taking the U.S. imperialists as their mainstay, the Japanese militarists are dreaming of uniting with it to attack Korea and China. But what is so formidable about U.S. imperialism? The people of Korea and China had a real test of strength with it and badly battered it in the Korean war. The U.S. imperialists are again being trounced and badly beaten up in south Viet Nam. The flames of wrath against U.S. imperialism are burning everywhere in the world and it is besieged ring upon ring by the people of all countries. "Like an idol of clay crossing the river," U.S. imperialism can hardly preserve itself. **By seeking to collaborate with U.S. imperialism in launching aggressive wars, the Japanese militarists will serve only as a funeral sacrifice for the U.S. imperialists.**

Disregarding reality and without a proper estimation of their own strength, the wildly ambitious Japanese militarists today have gone so far as to work out "Operation Three Arrows" and other aggressive plans. This cannot be lost on the Japanese people and the people of Asia as a very good lesson by negative example. Imperialism and all reactionaries have never been willing to learn from history; the Japanese militarists are no exception. Concerning this, the Chinese people, the Korean people and the people of the other Asian countries must be highly vigilant.

The heroic Japanese Communist Party and the broad masses of Japanese workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals resolutely oppose Japanese militarism and demand that Japan take the road of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. The Japanese Socialist Party is also opposed to the revival of militarism. Even patriotic Japanese industrial capitalists and patriotic far-sighted members of the Liberal Democratic Party are not willing to see Japan repeat the mistake of going militarist. This is the will of the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people. But there is a handful of people in Japan who willingly attach themselves to the U.S. war machine and try to force the Japanese people to serve as cannon-fodder in U.S. aggressive wars. While these people are worried about the dilemma in which U.S. imperialism finds itself in south Viet Nam and in all Southeast Asia, they are panicky about the upsurge of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. Throwing in their lot with U.S. imperialism, they are hostile to the revolutionary people of China, Korea and other Asian, African and Latin American countries. Thus, they have made themselves the enemies of the Japanese people.

At present, the Japanese people are waging an increasingly fierce struggle against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. The Japanese people have become awakened and the Japanese patriotic democratic forces have grown stronger than ever. The attempt of the Japanese militarists to take the old path of invading China, Korea and other parts of Asia will not be countenanced by the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people. The Chinese people firmly oppose the revival of Japanese militarism and staunchly support the Japanese people

taking the road of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. They are resolved to fight together with the Japanese people for the defence of peace in Asia. **It is our belief that the great, awakened Japanese people will one day cast into the sea like refuse both the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese militarists who willingly tie their own fate to the U.S. war machine.**

Facts on File

"Operation Three Arrows" — Japanese Militarists' Secret War Plan

AN aggressive war plan, under the code name "Operation Three Arrows," was exposed on February 10 by Japanese Socialist Diet Member Haruo Okada. When he bared these secrets before a Lower House Budget Committee meeting, Okada distributed reproductions of some parts of the plan, which is reported to contain five volumes and to total more than 1,400 pages.

"Operation Three Arrows" was put into final form in June 1963 after an eight-day meeting called by the Japanese "Defence Agency." The meeting was attended by 84 officers of the rank of major and above.

The plan is based on an imaginary "second Korean war" in which the armed forces of the United States, Japan and south Korea fight jointly against China and Korea. In plain language, according to this plan, Japan's militarist forces make China and Korea the enemy and, together with the U.S. imperialists and south Korean puppet forces, launch an aggressive war against the two countries with Japan's land, naval and air forces under the "command of U.S. forces in Japan" in war operations. At the same time the plan lists steps and measures to be taken at home for general mobilization and setting up a fascist military rule to suppress the patriotic democratic forces.

The secret documents stipulate that Japan must implement its military alliance treaty with the United States (Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty") and that Japanese troops must "make immediate and adequate preparations" and be "reinforced." According to the documents "the police and other security agencies must also be strengthened"; a "defence system" is to be set up which will include "government officials and civilians" but to the "exclusion of the revolutionary forces at home," and "psychological warfare" will be stepped up.

The documents on "Operation Three Arrows" envisage a series of steps to be taken. These include: (1) setting up a "Central National Defence Organ" to direct the war and control communications, as well as sea, land and air transport, telecommunications, broadcasting and news reports, and economic affairs; (2) enforcing "economic control and mobilization," to carry out a policy of "giving priority to military supplies" while "ensuring minimum necessities of life for the people," and control prices and finances; (3) making wartime laws to be approved by the Diet, including laws for army action and general mobilization. These laws are to be approved by the Diet at "emergency meetings," or in case of emergency will be enforced without debate.

The Just Stand of the U.A.R. Government

by COMMENTATOR

Following is a translation of a "Renmin Ribao" article published on February 17. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

RECENTLY West Germany secretly shipped large numbers of tanks and other weapons purchased from the United States to Tel Aviv, thus stepping up the arming of Israel at U.S. instigation. This is a grave act of open hostility and a threat to the Arab countries by the Bonn government, which is aiding and abetting U.S. imperialism in fostering Israel. The U.A.R. and all the other Arab countries have been deeply angered by this activity. They have denounced and strongly protested against it.

West German militarism, gradually revived with U.S. support, has in the past few years steadily penetrated the Near and Middle East and Africa, vainly attempting to stage a come-back and resurrect its old colonialist dreams. Taking advantage of the fact that West Germany has no overseas colony, the Bonn government acts as if it had a "clear conscience" and disguises itself as a "friend" of the Arab people. It struts around, looking for opportunities to expand. Everybody knows that Israel is a tool of aggression created by U.S. imperialism and is the sworn enemy of the Arab people. Birds of a feather flock together. In readily collaborating with U.S. imperialism to arm this tool of aggression, the Bonn government has fully exposed its own ugly features.

It has long ceased to be a secret that the Bonn government, under U.S. instructions, has been giving aid and support to Israel. In the past few years, because of its help to Israel in aggression and expansion in the Near and Middle East, U.S. imperialism has been discredited and opposed by the Arab people. To avoid Arab condemnation, the United States is doing its utmost to get the Bonn government to aid Israel. It has signed a secret agreement with West Germany and Israel for the arming of the latter. According to the West German paper *Die Welt*, West Germany has, in the past few years, granted Israel more than 200 million marks in military and other aid. As much as 60 million U.S. dollars' worth of arms have been shipped to Israel in accordance with the secret tripartite agreement. The West German military authorities have also helped train Israeli military personnel. These goings-on have been on the sly, but "fire can't be wrapped in

paper." President Nasser of the U.A.R. spoke precisely the truth when he said, "It was the United States which made West Germany give weapons to Israel as aid." **In using West German militarism to help foster Israel, U.S. imperialism has committed a grave new crime against the Arab people.** This can never be tolerated by the Arab people who are fighting to win or safeguard their national independence.

The Bonn government has not only taken energetic measures to prop up Israel on U.S. instructions, but has arrogantly made unwarranted remarks on the internal affairs of the Arab countries. Of late, Bonn went so far as to repeatedly apply wanton pressure on the U.A.R. because the latter invited Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, to visit Cairo. It said that this would cause the "gravest change" in relations between West Germany and the U.A.R., and it blustered about "retaliation." It even threatened to stop "aid" to the U.A.R. This was gross intervention in the internal affairs of the U.A.R. and an insult and provocation against the U.A.R. and all the Arab people.

The U.S. Government is accustomed to interfering in the internal affairs of other countries by stopping its "aid." Not long ago, it resorted to this threat in an attempt to force the U.A.R. to cease supporting the just patriotic struggle of the Congolese (Leopoldville) people. U.S. imperialism and West Germany think that with a little of their dirty money they can have the U.A.R. at their beck and call. Such calculations are most despicable and fully expose the true nature of U.S. and Bonn "aid." President Nasser recently made it clear that if West Germany insisted on interfering in the internal affairs of the U.A.R., his country would reconsider its "whole attitude" towards Bonn. In taking this just stand President Nasser showed how a sovereign state should act.

The Chinese people sternly condemn the aggressive schemes of the United States and West Germany in jointly fostering Israel and resolutely support the people of the U.A.R. and the Arab countries in their just struggle to oppose imperialism, old and new colonialism and in striving for and defending their national independence. We are fully confident that so long as the Arab people maintain constant vigilance and unite to face the enemy, all the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism and its partners can be defeated.

E.F. Hill's Statement

The proposal of the C.P.S.U. leaders to hold on March 1, 1965, a meeting of the so-called drafting committee for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties is purely a continuation of Khrushchov's scheme.

E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), published a statement entitled "International Communist Unity Imperative" in the January 18 issue of "Vanguard." Full text of the statement follows. — Ed.

THE leaders of the Soviet Communist Party propose to hold on March 1, 1965, a meeting of the so-called drafting committee for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

This is purely a continuation of the scheme proposed by Khrushchov whose meeting was scheduled for December, 1964.

Khrushchov's proposed meeting was to attempt to impose revisionism, that is, desertion of Marxism-Leninism, on the world movement.

It was to attempt to give international backing to Khrushchov's system of revisionism including his revision of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 eighty-one Parties' Statement and to attempt to exclude from the international movement all Marxist-Leninist parties and all Marxist-Leninists.

Khrushchov's proposal met with widespread opposition and an obvious lack of enthusiasm for the whole project.

The opposition to Khrushchov's proposal was undoubtedly one of the factors that led to his ignominious defeat.

The successors to this project are scarcely likely to have any greater success than Khrushchov.

The fact that they persist in it demonstrates that revisionism is indeed the main danger in the working-class movement.

At the very moment when the threats of U.S. imperialism are being stepped up, the unity of the socialist camp, of the international communist movement and of all the oppressed people, is of paramount importance.

The crisis of U.S. imperialism is desperately acute. Its threats and actions reflect that crisis and its weakness yet desperation. Now is the very moment to unite as never before against it.

Yet, at this very moment, the modern revisionists propose to persist in a move aimed at further dividing the forces against U.S. imperialism. No greater service to U.S. imperialism could be imagined.

Far from persisting with this meeting, the Soviet Party leaders should be initiating discussions between themselves and the Marxist-Leninist parties against whom Khrushchov's blows were directed precisely because those Parties directed their blows at the main

enemy, U.S. imperialism, as they were required to do by the international documents.

The Soviet Party leaders should be initiating discussions with the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour, to repair the damage done by Khrushchov. Only adequate preparation and the adhering to Marxism-Leninism by the Soviet Party leaders can lay a proper foundation for an international conference.

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), both on its own and in its joint statement with the Communist Party of Indonesia, has made it clear that only a conference in which all the Marxist-Leninist parties from the socialist countries participate can lay a proper foundation for a worldwide conference of all Communist Parties to eliminate the foulness of revisionism.

Khrushchov was defeated because of his revisionism. Khrushchov did untold harm, but his advent had its positive side.

It revealed clearly the rottenness that existed latent in many Communist Parties.

It brought that rottenness to the top and revealed it to all in good time.

The toiling people of the world can now see very clearly the ugly features of revisionism.

Khrushchov's defeat was a defeat for all revisionists. The revisionists do not know what to do in the present circumstances.

They rush hither and thither and they disagree amongst themselves. They can never have unity for revisionism approaches problems not from any principle but from case to case.

Khrushchov's defeat occurred at the moment of mounting crisis for U.S. imperialism. The crisis of U.S. imperialism and the crisis of revisionism go hand in hand.

The present situation imperatively demands the unity of the socialist camp, and the enhancement of Marxism-Leninism.

If the modern revisionists do not desist from their present plans of dealing further blows against Marxism-Leninism, there is no doubt they will share the fate of Khrushchov.

Nothing can hold back the advance of Marxism-Leninism. Nothing can hold back the consolidation of the forces of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) will do all it can to consolidate the forces of Marxism-Leninism.

Industrial Management in China

— How China's Socialist State-Owned Industrial Enterprises Are Managed

by MA WEN-KUEI

SOcialist state-owned industrial enterprises require a system of management which meets the demands of large-scale modern production and at the same time helps foster the revolutionary initiative and creativeness of the working class.

Democratic centralism is fundamental in the administration both of our state and of our socialist state-owned industrial enterprises. Comrade Liu Shao-chi has pointed out: "The system adopted in managing our enterprises is a system which combines a high degree of centralization with a high degree of democracy. All enterprises must abide by the unified leadership and planning of the [Communist] Party and the state, and, by observing strict labour discipline, ensure unity of will and action among the masses. At the same time, they should bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the workers, develop the supervisory role of the masses, and get them to take part in the management of their enterprises."¹

All management in our enterprises must conform to the spirit of democratic centralism. This fully suits the socialist nature of our industrial enterprises and the objective demands of modern industrial production. Both the nature of ownership by the whole people of the enterprises and the highly socialized nature of modern industrial production call for a highly centralized and unified leadership. Failing this, socialized production cannot be carried out in a normal way, nor can the principles, policies and plans of the Communist Party and the state be implemented thoroughly. But the centralized leadership of socialist industrial enterprises, in which staff and workers are also masters and enjoy the right to participate in management, is fundamentally different from the arbitrary dictatorship existing in capitalist enterprises. It should and can be combined with extensive democracy. Our system of democratic centralism is centralism based on democracy, and democracy under centralized guidance.

¹Message of greetings delivered by Comrade Liu Shao-chi on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at the Eighth All-China Congress of Trade Unions (Dec. 2, 1957).

In leading socialist construction in China, our Party has developed a whole system of management which integrates a high degree of centralization with a high degree of democracy. Practice has proved that its correct implementation helps bring about in our industrial enterprises a vigorous and lively political atmosphere in which there is both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of will and personal ease of mind. As a result, problems arising in the enterprises can be solved more correctly and production developed with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The following are among the major features of this system of management: the director assumes full responsibility under the collective leadership of the Communist Party committee; a conference of staff and workers' representatives; cadres participate in labour and workers participate in management; and close co-operation among leading cadres, technical personnel and workers.

Director Assumes Full Responsibility Under Collective Leadership of Party Committee

The director assuming full responsibility under the collective leadership of the Party committee is a fundamental feature of the system of management in our state-owned industrial enterprises. The essence of this is the proper integration of collective leadership and personal responsibility with the leadership of the Party as the core.

Collective leadership is the basic principle and consistent tradition of our Party in giving leadership. In his article "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave a comprehensive summary of the successful experience gained by our Party in carrying out collective leadership. He pointed out that "all important problems (of course, not the unimportant, trivial problems, or problems whose solutions have already been decided after discussion at meetings and need only be carried out) must be submitted to the committee for discussion, and the committee members present should express their

views fully and reach definite decisions which should then be carried out by the members concerned."²

Why must we adhere to the collective leadership of the Party and persist in having all important problems decided by the collective concerned instead of by individuals? This is because different opinions of the masses and various aspects of objective things in the course of their development can be more comprehensively reflected through collective discussions with the airing of different views. In this way the masses' experience and opinions can be brought together and summed up more correctly and decisions more consistent with reality reached. This has been fully borne out by the experience of our Party in leading revolution and construction over a long period.

In our state-owned industrial enterprises, the technical equipment for production is modern, the division of labour is extensive, links among various departments are close and production is highly technical, scientific and socialized. At the same time, the struggle between bourgeois and proletarian ideology and between the roads of socialism and capitalism runs in various forms through every aspect of the enterprises. The problem of management is, therefore, very complicated. In order to pool and sum up the masses' opinions and experience in a fairly correct manner and successfully carry on the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiments, the leadership of the enterprises must closely adhere to the Party's principle of collective leadership.

Experience has proved that excellent results are achieved in those enterprises which persist in correctly integrating collective leadership and personal responsibility with the Party as the core, because (1) more correct decisions are reached through collective discussion in the Party committee and by relying on the experience and wisdom of the collective, and (2) the method of leadership characterized by division of responsibility and the mass line is employed to ensure the realization of various important measures. Precisely because of this, the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in 1956 clearly stipulated that the principle of the director assuming full responsibility under the collective leadership of the Party committee must be put into practice in all industrial enterprises.

It goes without saying that by collective leadership of the Party committee, we do not mean the abandonment of personal responsibility. On the contrary, collective leadership and personal responsibility supplement and complement each other, neither can be ignored. Collective leadership can be brought about only through the division of responsibility among individuals, while the role of individuals can be brought

into full play only by combining their experience and wisdom with those of the collective through collective leadership.

The highly centralized production of state-owned industrial enterprises calls for highly unified control and requires that the director assume responsibility for routine productive and administrative work under the leadership of the Party committee. Without the director strictly assuming full responsibility under the collective leadership of the Party committee, a state of confusion would arise in which duties are not clearly defined and no one bears responsibility. As Lenin said: "At any rate, and under all circumstances without exception, committee methods must be accompanied by the precise definition of the personal responsibility of every individual for a precisely-defined job. Irresponsibility on the plea of committee methods is the most dangerous evil."³ Our own experience has furnished proof of this.

Staff and Workers' Representatives Conference

The staff and workers' representatives conference is an important means of broadening democracy and getting the masses of staff and workers to take part in management and to supervise the work of the administration. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping has said: "The staff and workers' representatives conference under the leadership of the Communist Party committee is a good means of broadening democracy in the enterprises, of recruiting workers and staff to take part in the management and of overcoming bureaucracy. It is an effective method of correctly handling contradictions among the people." The conference helps integrate centralized leadership with the bringing into play of the initiative of the masses of staff and workers, thus simultaneously strengthening the centralized leadership from top to bottom and providing supervision by the masses from below. This results in continuously improving administrative work and ensuring the overall fulfilment of state plans.

In state-owned industrial enterprises, the staff and workers' representatives conference is an important form through which the staff and workers all participate in management. The conference may hear and discuss the director's report on the work of the enterprise, examine and discuss production, financial, technological and wage plans as well as major measures to realize them, check regularly on the implementation of these plans and put forward proposals. It may examine and discuss the use of the enterprise's bonus, welfare, medical, labour protection and trade union funds as well as other funds allotted for the livelihood and welfare of the staff and workers. On condition that the directives and orders issued by higher authori-

² "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.267.

³ Lenin, "All Out for the Fight Against Denikin!" *Selected Works* in two volumes, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.242.

ties are not violated, the conference may adopt resolutions on the expenditure of the above funds and charge the administrative or other departments concerned to carry them out. It may criticize any of the leaders of the enterprise and, when necessary, make proposals to the higher administrative authorities for punishing or dismissing those leaders who seriously neglect their duties and behave badly. Should there be disagreement with the decisions of the higher administrative authorities, the conference may put forward its own proposals, but if the higher authorities insist on the original decisions after due study, it must carry them through accordingly.

This is why the staff and workers' representatives conference is an important means of developing democracy and getting the masses of staff and workers to participate in management throughout the factory. Through this conference, the Party's principles and policies can be better implemented among the masses, the relations between the interests of the state and those of the staff and workers of the enterprise in question can be correctly handled, those between the administration on the one hand and the trade union organization and the masses of the staff and workers on the other can be correctly adjusted; and at the same time the socialist consciousness of the staff and workers and their sense of responsibility as masters in their own house can be raised, the masses' supervision over administrative work strengthened, and the improvement of management promoted.

The staff and workers' representatives conference is convened regularly and presided over by the trade union. When the conference is not in session, its routine work is done by the trade union under the leadership of the enterprise's Party committee and with the active support and co-ordination of the enterprise's administration.

Cadres Participate in Physical Labour and Workers in Management

Another important means of correctly implementing the mass line in the management of industrial enterprises is that of cadres participating in physical labour and workers participating in management. This is also a means of key importance in correctly handling contradictions among the people and contradictions between those engaged in production and management.

As regards the significance of cadres' participation in labour, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has pointed out: "When leading cadres take part in productive labour and become one with the masses, this helps in the timely discovery and practical solution of problems, helps improve the style of leadership and consequently makes it easier to avoid and overcome many errors of bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism, and helps to change the attitude of despising physical labour which exists in society. . . . The Central Committee holds that provided they are fit for physical work, not only cadres working at county, district and *hsiang* levels, but also the main

leading personnel of Party committees at various levels above the county and the leading Party cadres who are working in government organs and people's organizations, including the members of the Party's Central Committee, must devote some time every year to doing some physical labour."⁴ The Central Committee also pointed out that "our Party's tradition of keeping in close touch with the masses and of hard work and plain living must be carried forward. Participation in physical labour by leading cadres at all levels helps gradually integrate mental and physical labour and constitutes a system whereby this splendid tradition can be carried forward."

Experience has shown that by regularly participating in physical labour and production in order to give on-the-spot leadership, cadres can acquaint the masses with the Party's policies more directly and more promptly and their relations with the masses will become closer. In this way, the masses' initiative and the workers' sense of responsibility as masters in their own house can be greatly stimulated.

Through taking part in labour, cadres can improve their style of work and method of leadership. By regularly going to the production front, taking part in labour and acquainting themselves with conditions on the spot, cadres in leading posts are able to combine general directives with concrete guidance and to discover and solve problems promptly, thus giving better leadership in production.

Adhering to the practice of cadres participating in labour and the style of work which embodies the Party's mass line is, therefore, of great significance in improving the management of industrial enterprises and promoting industrial production. Moreover, by taking part in labour and maintaining close contacts with the masses, cadres can raise their level of ideological and political consciousness and thus promote their own revolutionization. Meanwhile, they can learn production techniques and gradually make themselves cadres who are both politically advanced and professionally proficient.

In a word, by having cadres participate in labour we can avoid bureaucracy and prevent revisionism and dogmatism. For the socialist system, it is a matter of fundamental significance.

There are many ways in which cadres take part in labour in the industrial enterprises. Here are some of them: working with a shift of workers to make investigations and studies; working with a shift to find solutions to actual problems; living and working together with a shift which lags behind in order to help it catch up with the more advanced; working with a shift when conditions are hardest and most difficult; working with a shift which is doing the most critical

⁴Directive of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning Participation in Physical Labour by Leading Functionaries at All Levels (May 10, 1957).

and important job or faces complicated conditions. Some enterprises have developed cadres' participation in labour into a regular system by demanding that they do physical labour on a fixed day (or days) in the week, at a fixed job and with specific responsibilities and that, when they become skilful enough, they fulfil an ordinary worker's quota. This is good experience. But whatever form is chosen, when cadres participate in labour, they must at the same time help organize production and do ideological and political work.

The participation of workers in management embodies the Party's principles of running enterprises well by relying on the working class. This takes various forms. In addition to the above-mentioned staff and workers' representatives conference, workers take part in the management of the routine work of the production groups. As a result of workers participating in management, the centralized leadership of enterprises can be put on a more extensive mass basis, management by administrative personnel and by the masses can be closely integrated and management can better meet the need for the development of production, thus giving it a constant forward impetus.

At the same time, through participation in management, workers can be further tempered; they are enabled to master production skills and continuously raise their level of class consciousness as well as enhance their organization ability and learn the work of management. In this way, the workers' role as masters in their own house can be brought into fuller play in socialist construction and in the life of the state as well as in the management of industrial enterprises.

Close Co-operation Among Leading Cadres, Technical Personnel and Workers

The close co-operation among leading cadres, technical personnel and workers of industrial enterprises to study and solve problems of production technique and management is a practical application of the Party's mass line in the period of socialist construction. Putting into operation technical policies, technical measures, methods of management, and so on, to develop production, involves a series of complex problems. To arrive at the correct decisions and implement them in every respect requires a high level of political and class consciousness and a good knowledge of economic affairs, natural science and techniques. Consequently, it is necessary to rely on the initiative and creativeness of the workers, technical and administrative personnel, and to pool their knowledge and experience in the course of practice. Close co-operation among leading cadres, technical personnel and workers is a good way to do so.

This method not only stimulates the initiative of the broad masses but also brings into play the initiative of the technical staff—those who are technically better qualified as well as those who are not so highly qualified. It also furthers the integration of politics with techniques, politics with professional work, the

leading personnel with the masses, theory with practice, and popularization with the raising of standards, thus swiftly lifting the workers' technical and theoretical levels and furthering the ideological remoulding of intellectuals. In this way, it will be possible gradually to lessen the difference between mental and physical labour, and to develop science and technology more swiftly.

By means of staff and workers' representatives conferences, of cadres taking part in physical labour and workers taking part in management, and of co-operation among leading cadres, technical personnel and workers, industrial enterprises are enabled to develop, under centralized and unified leadership, political democracy and democracy pertaining to matters relating to production and technique and economic affairs.

To foster political democracy is to ensure that the masses of staff and workers have the right to struggle against all that is contrary to Party or state policies, or which violates law and order, and that every staff member and worker has the right to criticize cadres at certain meetings. This helps to raise the class consciousness of staff and workers, adjust internal relations and strengthen internal unity.

To promote democracy in matters pertaining to production and techniques is to draw in the broad masses to take part in the management of production and technical matters, to co-ordinate management by the masses with that by administrative personnel, to mobilize staff and workers to discuss production plans and important problems of production and technique and to go in for technical innovations in a big way.

To develop economic democracy is to have workers participate in management and business accounting work. Fully fostering political democracy and democracy in matters pertaining to production and technique, and economic democracy will stimulate the initiative of staff and workers and achieve the aim of strengthening unity, consolidating discipline, improving management and developing production.

Changing Rules and Procedures

Another important problem in managing industrial enterprises is the necessity to change in a revolutionary spirit those rules and set procedures of industrial enterprises which have got out of step with reality, or have become irrational, and to adopt new rational rules and procedures and perfect them.

No modern industrial enterprise can do for a moment without rules and set procedures. All those which accurately reflect the objective laws governing the production processes of an enterprise serve to bring into play the initiative and creativeness of the masses and help promote the development of the productive forces. Those which do not accurately reflect the relations of man to man in productive labour and which violate objective laws of productive operations, shackle and hinder the development of the productive forces. The

Party's Central Committee has pointed out: "Standing rules and procedures not conducive to the growth of productive forces will be constantly upset by new creations of the masses during the movement [to oppose waste and extravagance and conservatism]. We must study modestly the creations of the masses, and revise original rules and procedures according to the needs of development and the tests in practice by the masses. Those which really restrain the growth of the productive forces and can be readily revised, must be immediately amended."⁵

Socialist industrial enterprises must change irrational rules and set procedures and at the same time conscientiously abide by those which are rational; only thus can production and management be carried on in a normal way in industrial enterprises and the growth of production be continuously promoted.

The adoption or discarding of any rule or procedure should be governed by the principle of "from the masses, and back to the masses," and therefore based on the practical experience of the masses. Only those

creations of the masses which have been repeatedly tested, appraised, proved in practice and confirmed as successful should be included in the rules and set procedures. Rules and procedures should be continuously improved and perfected in the course of practice. However, for a given period there should be a certain degree of stability. The adoption or discarding of important rules and procedures must have the approval of the higher leadership of the departments concerned.

In this way, production and management of industrial enterprises can be carried out in a more orderly manner, more smoothly and, through the actual practice of production and management, we can continuously recognize and master new laws of production and management, continuously overcome old forces of habit, and really become the masters of rules and procedures.

⁵ Directive of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Movement of Opposing Waste and Extravagance and Conservatism (March 3, 1958).

Facts on File

Why U.S. Opposes a Return To the Gold Standard

FRENCH President Charles de Gaulle's recent call for an end to U.S. dollar dominance in the international monetary market and a return to the gold standard has met with an immediate spate of abuse from Washington. The alarmed U.S. rulers are apprehensive of losing their financial hegemony over the capitalist world.

It is well known that under the gold standard system gold is considered the only world currency in international payments. The French President's proposal means that from now on gold should be used as the final medium in international payments and clearance. This would deprive the dollar of its privileged position as an "international currency," and more than ever many countries would need gold rather than dollars and would rush to cash in dollars for gold from the United States. Consequently, there would be a still greater American gold outflow.

In the capitalist world, the U.S. dollar has occupied for 31 years a privileged position of equality to gold. Many capitalist countries kept the dollar as a reserve to support their domestic currency. Particularly in international payments and transactions, the dollar has enjoyed special prerogatives. Thus, the United States has actually become a central bank for the capitalist world, issuing paper currency and using it as an equivalent to gold. Such an abnormal state of affairs has given the U.S. Government innumerable advantages.

As a rule, a country cannot pay off its debt to another except by exporting goods or in gold. Payment in the currency of a debtor nation would not be accepted by a creditor nation. However, the United States takes

advantage of the dollar's supremacy and compels other countries to accept payment in dollars as a means of making up its own deficits.

All that the U.S. financial authorities need do to carry out expansionist and aggressive policies abroad is to print more dollars which are then used to grab huge amounts of foreign resources, buy over puppet governments and lease military bases. When their domestic economy and finances are in crisis, they can also shift or export the crisis to other countries. Nothing could be more beneficial to the United States. As Johnson admitted in his latest economic report, the position of the American dollar "is central to all U.S. objectives abroad." Under such conditions, why should the United States be willing to give up the dollar's position as an international currency?

The U.S. ruling class has been able to dominate the Western monetary world with the dollar only because it once held a great amount of gold.

As a result of the unstable political situation in Europe before World War II and the completely ravaged West European economy after that war, gold flowed into the United States. Hence, gold holdings in U.S. hands had amounted to 70 per cent of the capitalist world total for a long time, and the dollar, therefore, became the only currency which can be converted into gold at a fixed rate. Although the actual purchasing power of the dollar has dropped by more than 50 per cent over the past decades, the U.S. Treasury Department has continued purchasing gold from foreign countries at the official rate of 35 dollars an ounce. Since other countries do not have enough gold to back their own currencies, they had to take the dollar as a substitute for gold in international trade and payments. Even though they were dissatisfied with this, they had no other choice except to bow to U.S. manipulation.

Since 1950, however, the strength of the other capitalist countries has gradually been revived and their gold reserves

Continued Weakening of U.S. Economic Position in the Capitalist World

Major economic statistics of European countries and the United States

have increased rapidly. U.S. gold reserves, on the other hand, have been dwindling, and confidence in the dollar becomes more and more shaky. Under these circumstances, it is natural that the dollar as an international currency should have been opposed by the other countries.

As a matter of fact, the U.S. financial authorities have long called for support from the monetary authorities of the West European countries who possess large amounts of dollars, asking them not to convert their dollar holdings into gold.

While the reality of the dollar slump can no longer be concealed, the U.S. Government still holds fast to the dominating position of the dollar. The U.S. Secretary of the Treasury and other officials of the Johnson Administration have emphasized recently that the dollar will not be devaluated and the United States is determined to maintain the official rate of 35 dollars to one ounce of gold, an admission that Washington will not easily give up its financial hegemony unless it comes to the end of its rope.

Both the government and press in the United States in the past few weeks have made various attacks on the gold standard system, in an effort to find a way out of the difficult American situation caused by de Gaulle's speech. They asserted that the gold standard system is out of date; that the total amount of gold in the world is far from enough, and if the dollar is not used to supplement gold, international trade and economy will be harmed by a "deflation," and so forth. One would think international trade and economy could not go on even for a day without the dollar.

In fact, it is largely due to the instability of the dollar that capitalist world finance—which is based on the dollar—has become so shaky today. Since 1958, because the United States has issued paper currency abroad on a more lavish scale, the dollar has suffered a tremendous loss of confidence, and the price of gold rose suddenly several times in the international financial market. Countries with huge dollar holdings and those keeping the dollar as their domestic monetary reserve were thrown into a state of panic, fearful that a sudden dollar devaluation would bring them unexpected disaster. The rise in the price of gold in London to 40 dollars an ounce in November 1960 flung the whole capitalist world into confusion, clear evidence of the prevailing panic.

The dollar is no equivalent to gold, to begin with. And now it has become a root cause of the Western world's unstable monetary and financial situation. Therefore, the demand to reform the present Western international monetary system, which has the dollar as its foundation, is actually an irreversible trend. Although de Gaulle's speech has provoked loud U.S. official outrage, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and other countries have expressed sympathy. This attests to the fact that on this question it is the United States and not France which has been isolated.

More and more the countries of Western Europe, which hold a great quantity of dollars and gold, have been controlling the destiny of the dollar. Thus, however hard the U.S. rulers may struggle, their days of hegemony in the international financial market are numbered.

—SHIH YUAN

SINCE the late 1950s, the balance of economic strength among the European imperialist countries and the United States has steadily changed in favour of France and West Germany to the detriment of Britain and particularly of the United States. This finds its clearest expression in the weakening of the U.S. international financial position, as shown in the following tables:

I. Changes in the industrial production, export trade and gold and foreign exchange reserves of European countries and the United States expressed in percentages of capitalist world totals.

	Industrial Production ¹			Export Trade ²		Gold and Foreign Exchange Reserve ³			
	1957	1963	1964 (1st quarter)	1957	1963	1964 (1st six months)	1957 (December)	1963	1964 (end of June)
U.S.	47.30	43.58	43.30	20.6	17.2	17.3	40.6	24.2	24.0
Britain	8.90	7.77	7.88	9.6	8.7	8.5	4.2	4.1	4.1
Common Mkt. Six	19.45	21.05	21.47	22.5	27.8	28.1	13.6*	28.0*	27.9*
France	5.22	5.64	5.75	5.1	5.9	6.1	1.1	6.8	7.2
W. Germany	8.33	8.73	8.95	8.5	10.8	10.7	9.1	10.9	10.9
Italy	3.10	4.04	4.00	2.5	3.7	3.8	2.4	4.9	4.5

Sources: 1. Calculated according to the *Economic Review* of the British National Institute of Economic and Social Research; 2. Calculated according to the journal *Foreign Trade* of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development; 3. All except asterisks are calculated from the *International Financial Statistics* of the International Monetary Fund; * Figures for the gold reserves of the Common Market Six taken from the *General Statistics* of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

II. Changes in international payments and gold and foreign exchange reserves of European countries and the United States. (Unit: 100 million U.S. dollars.)

	International Payments		Gold and Foreign Exchange Reserve [*]	
	Surplus (+) 1958-63	Deficits (-) 1964	Increase (+) 1958-63	Decrease (-) 1964 (1st three quarters)
U.S.	-183.70* ¹	-25.00* ⁶	-70.49	+0.62
W. Europe	+124.03* ²		+154.13* ²	+7.26
Britain	-10.75* ³	-22.40* ⁷	+3.84	-1.17
France	+52.20* ⁴	+2.55* ⁶	+40.86	+5.83* ⁸
W. Germany	+17.69* ⁵	-5.84* ⁷	+29.98	-0.42

Sources: *1. *Survey of Current Business* of the U.S. Department of Commerce; *2. *Report on Western Europe* of the Chase Manhattan Bank; *3. *British Monthly Digest of Statistics*; *4. From British journals, the *Times*, the *Banker*, the *Economist*; *5. West German *Monatsberichte der Deutschen Bundesbank*; *6. Estimated by the London *Financial Times*; *7. Estimated by the British Government; *8. The French *Bulletin Mensuel de Statistique*, and *Le Figaro*; * All figures not marked with footnotes are based upon the *General Statistics* of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. Outrages in Uganda

Africa Protests

Demonstrations were held in various parts of Uganda to protest against the wanton bombing of Ugandan villages by U.S. aircraft on February 13. In Kampala, the capital, thousands massed outside the U.S. Embassy to denounce this flagrant attack. They included government ministers. Members of Parliament and representatives of all political parties. The angry demonstrators, shouting slogans calling on the Yankees to get out of the country, stoned the Embassy's windows and pulled down and tore to pieces the stars and stripes flying from the building.

A delegation headed by Attorney General Binasisa and other high government officials delivered a letter of protest to the American Embassy. Washington was told in the letter that the people of Uganda would not bow before the American show of force. Far from being intimidated, the Ugandan people would defend their land to the last drop of their blood. Repudiating Washington's stock-in-trade pretext of "ridding Africa of communism," the letter pointed to the real purpose of American machinations in Africa—to bring the continent under dollar rule.

In Parliament many members demanded breaking off diplomatic re-

lations with the United States and the expulsion of the U.S. "peace corps." Ex-servicemen, responding to the Government's call, reported in their thousands for service to repel the aggressor. Conscription is in full swing, and the people of Mbale in eastern Uganda have asked the Prime Minister to arm all volunteers. Leaving nothing to chance, the Government has also closed the Entebbe airport to the Belgian airline and Air Congo.

The Ugandan people are taking strong measures to meet U.S.-directed aggression from the Congo (L). After the February 13th air strike, Tshombe's puppet troops sneaked across the Ishasha River and invaded the Kigezi District. The marauders were sent reeling back, and the Army Commander has tightened defence measures along the northern and western borders.

The open violation of Uganda's airspace and borders by the United States, coinciding with its thinly concealed subversive activities in Burundi and against Brazzaville-Congo and Tanzania, has stirred public opinion in every corner of the newly independent continent. Aggression against Uganda is looked upon as aggression against other African states. The East African Home Ministers of Zambia, Kenya and Tanzania have jointly pledged support for any measures adopted by Prime Minister Obote to safeguard Uganda's territorial integrity and to cope with imperialist aggression. The Sudanese Prime Minister has declared that the Sudanese Government and people will not remain idle in face of this aggression but will help Uganda to defend its territory and sovereignty.

African countries have drawn a parallel between the U.S. build-up of Leopoldville-Congo as a centre of aggression against neighbouring countries and its use of south Viet Nam to extend war to the other parts of Indo-China. The two cases are indeed analogous. When U.S. imperialism has utterly failed in Indo-

China, it is hard to see how the same tactics can succeed in Africa. African solidarity will encompass its defeat.

Indonesia

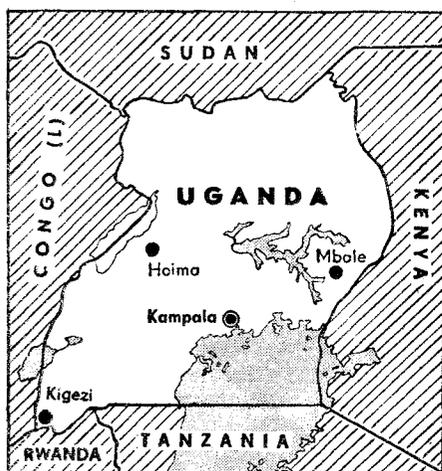
Ready to Bear Arms

In rallies and demonstrations protesting against U.S. aggression in Indo-China and U.S. collusion with the British imperialists against their own country, people in Indonesia have particularly urged two courses of action. One is expropriation of American capital in Indonesia, and the other is arming the workers and peasants to meet aggression. The workers in North Sumatra have taken over eight U.S.-owned rubber plantations and are managing them as Indonesian property to the rejoicing of all and with the approval of the Government.

As to the arming of the militant sections of the population, President Sukarno has announced that he would arm all workers and peasants of Indonesia to defend its independence should that become necessary. The proposal to do so to confront the bumptious British imperialist forces across the Strait of Malacca was first put forward by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party. It at once caught the imagination of the Indonesian public and received the support of political parties and people's organizations.

In a rousing speech to a Djakarta rally of 15,000 cheering workers, President Sukarno earlier this month drew attention to the fact that the British Government has concentrated its fleets, aircraft and troops in Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan in an attempt to frighten the Indonesian people. But Indonesia, he said, is not afraid. The crowd roared back in one voice: "We are not afraid! We are ready to take up arms!" Sukarno reiterated the peaceful intentions underlining Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations. But, he said, in the event of an attack on Indonesia, the nation will fight back and smash the aggressors!

He again warned imperialism and old and new colonialism: "The Indonesian armed forces are the strongest in Southeast Asia. Apart from the regular troops, we have 21



Sketch map by Su Li

million men and women volunteers." Then the momentous words came booming through the Bung Karno Stadium: "If necessary, I will arm all our workers and peasants to defend the independence of the Indonesian Republic." The audience shouted: "We are ready!"

Indonesia's detractors did not relish the idea of the militant sections of the people armed to defend their country's independence and to meet aggression. Sukarno referred in his speech to some foreign correspondents and diplomats who "whispered just a moment ago that the people gathered at the rally are all communists because they shouted 'Independence!'" He said: "This is not true. Gathered here are workers believing in Islam, nationalism and communism. However, all the Indonesian workers are revolutionaries." It was a good ticking-off by the President of those persons who even challenge the right of people to defend their independence.

U.N. Assembly

Do-Nothing Session

After talking for more than two months the 19th session of the crisis-ridden U.N. General Assembly adjourned on February 18 without agreeing on anything except that it reconvene on September 1, twenty

days before the next session is due to open. It was, to say the least, a curious session which distinguished itself by failing to elect a Steering Committee and by operating without a formal agenda. In the words of the *London Times* (January 23), this meeting on New York's East River went on "evading decisions, searching for ingenious formulas, saving face by putting on masks." As one delegate put it, the U.N. fell into "a spell under which the Assembly slept" because its normal functions were crippled by U.S. manoeuvres.

On the eve of the present session the United States made a bargain with the Soviet Union behind the scenes. The two decided to avoid discussing questions calling for a vote until the "crisis" arising from the arrears of assessments was solved. The "crisis" lasted throughout the so-called session and business, when it was not eliminated altogether, was drastically curtailed to the resentment of most delegations. Things came to a head two days before the "adjournment."

On February 16 Halim Budo, the Albanian delegate, demanded that the General Assembly return at once to its normal work, warning that the days of the United Nations were numbered if U.S. machinations were not ended at once and if regular proceedings were not resumed. He con-

demned the United States for threatening to deprive certain countries, Albania included, of the right to vote and for using pressure and blackmail as a means to make secure its grip on the organization.

Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. delegate, at first tried to prevent voting on the Albanian motion. Then, seeing that many delegations were disgusted with the situation which had been developing over the last two months, he beat a retreat and waived the "right" of raising the question of Article 19 of the U.N. Charter concerning non-payment of dues, and treated the Albanian motion as a "procedural" one. The United States had time and again threatened to invoke Article 19 to deprive of their voting rights those countries which refuse to pay for the aggressive operations of "U.N. forces" in Leopoldville-Congo and the Middle East.

On the insistence of the Albanian delegate the Assembly finally took a vote. Mauritania joined Albania in voting for the motion. Thirteen countries abstained, and Cambodia and Saudi Arabia did not participate. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and many others voted with the United States against. After the voting Halim Budo spoke again to denounce the big powers for their despicable operation of the voting machine.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4)

Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message of greetings to King Mahendra, wishing prosperity to his country and happiness to his people.

Nepalese Ambassador to China Kaisher Bahadur gave an anniversary reception in Peking. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien were among those who attended.

Ambassador Bahadur, in his speech, gave a detailed account of Nepal's achievements in its national economy, culture and other fields. He spoke of Sino-Nepalese friendship, and expressed his thanks to the Chinese

Government and people for the technical and economic aid given to his country.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi also spoke at the reception. He paid tribute to the Kingdom of Nepal which, under the leadership of King Mahendra, had advanced along the road of independence and played an active role in international affairs. "We are sure," he said, "that the industrious and courageous Nepalese people, relying on their own labour and making full use of their national resources, will succeed in building their country into a still more prosperous land than it is today."

China-G.D.R. Trade

China and the German Democratic Republic signed a 1965 goods ex-

change and payments agreement in Peking on February 19. This was the result of fruitful talks between the two sides. Before the signing ceremony, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien received the G.D.R. trade delegation.

Under the agreement, the volume of trade between the two countries in 1965 will exceed that of 1964. China will supply the G.D.R. with soya beans, rice, frozen pork, tea, minerals, animal products, goods wagons, textiles and other light industrial products, and other goods. The G.D.R. will export to China machine tools, diesel generators, scientific and measuring instruments, machine parts, cine-films, chemicals and other goods.

ACROSS THE LAND

Off to a Good Start

SPRING ploughing and sowing are off to a good start in tropical Hainan Island in the south and preparations for this year's farm work are under way throughout the rest of China's immense countryside.

Welcome rain and snow over wide areas of China in February has alleviated the menace of drought brought on by this winter's unusual dry spell. According to the Central Meteorological Bureau, considerable rainfall was registered in the first half of the month across large sections of central-south and east China. Snow fell in northern China, Shensi Province, and part of the northeast. The Peking area had its first snowfall after months of dry weather. Commune members, however, are not counting on weather for this year's good harvest, and many preparations are being made to deal with any eventuality.

Over the winter, factors in last year's gratifying harvests were summed up, carefully analysed and assessed in order to be improved upon and used this year.

The past winter saw one of the biggest efforts in recent years to ensure substantial increases in agricultural production, with 14 million more people than in the previous winter taking part in building water conservancy projects in 22 provinces.

Many provinces along the Yangtse River have grown 10-20 per cent more green manure. Most communes reported that more manure has been made available than in previous years; they were greatly aided by a larger number of pigs and other livestock. The rich grain and cotton region around Soochow in Kiangsu Province, which had three good harvests in a row, will plant most its planned 600,000 *mu* of cotton with an improved strain. Much has also been done to expand and consolidate the region's high and stable yielding farmland.

More than any time in the past, industry is contributing to this year's

agricultural production upsurge, providing more mechanical muscle, and sending more insecticides, chemical fertilizers and other industrial goods.

The commune farmers have made adequate preparations for this spring, knowing that timeliness is a pre-condition for good harvests.

Medical Teams in Countryside

MODERN medical facilities in the countryside are being bolstered by medical teams from Peking whose task is to help in rural health work.

At present 12 rural mobile teams from the capital are in the countryside. Nine are on the city's outskirts and the others in Hunan Province. Personnel consists of more than 100 experts, professors, veteran doctors and others from the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences, the Research Institute of Chinese Traditional Medicine, Peking Medical College and various hospitals. Among them are China's foremost medical men such as thoracic surgeons Huang Chia-szu and Wu Ying-kai, and experts in internal medicine Chang Hsiao-chien and Chung Hui-lan.

The teams are working to improve rural health by prevention and treatment of disease and to raise the standards of medical and health workers in the countryside.

Peking's personnel are following in the footsteps of others from Shanghai, and Hopei, Kwangtung and Kirin Provinces. Big hospitals in Peking and other major cities will be sending more people to serve the peasants in the near future.

In a speech at the farewell party for Peking's 12 teams, Minister of Public Health Chien Hsin-chung declared that going to the countryside is an effective means of advancing the revolutionization of medical personnel. All senior doctors in the cities who can, will be going to the countryside by rotation. The departing doctors indicated that they will take part in farm work, come in close contact with poor and lower-

middle status peasants, and remould their own ideology.

Since liberation medical establishments have been set up in districts, counties, communes and production teams in Peking's environs. Larger county hospitals have 200 beds each. In addition, there are maternity and child care centres and anti-epidemic centres.

New Waterway for Lumber Transport

THE possibility of large-scale exploitation of hitherto untapped forests in the northwest has come closer to reality as the result of a recent survey of the upper reaches of China's sprawling, serpentine Yellow River.

Navigating 1,000 kilometres by raft through the river's dangerous shoals and treacherous currents from Chimai to Chukou in Chinghai Province in northwest China, a group of local surveyors has charted a course for drifting lumber. Hydrographical survey of the river was simultaneously carried out. After three months' hard work, the group completed its survey and tested the feasibility of lumber floating transport.

A demolition party, following in the wake of the surveyors and taking



Sketch map by Su Li

advantage of winter's low water level and the icy season, is working intensively at removing river shoals and clearing a line to float the lumber downstream.

The upper reaches of the Yellow River, which stretch through five Tibetan autonomous *chou* in Chinghai, are flanked by lofty mountains covered with a thick growth of shrubs and trees. The completion of

the river survey is a first step in opening up this area's forest resources.

Concern for the People

ANYONE remotely familiar with old China knows of the callousness of the Kuomintang army and police towards the public: brutality and looting were rampant. That an ordinary citizen could consider a "guardian of law and order" a comrade and friend, let alone be called upon directly to criticize the behaviour of a person in uniform, would have been dismissed with a cynical shrug.

An intrinsic part of New China's social system is concern for the people by the People's Liberation Army and the police. Duty on behalf of the populace and working with and helping people in their daily life goes back to the early days of the Chinese revolution when the Red Army helped the peasants in the field and refused as much as a thread from them without payment.

Every year extra efforts are forthcoming to make existing ties with the citizenry still firmer. Since Spring Festival on February 2, policemen have been demonstrating their concern for the people via the customary annual month-long nationwide campaign. This is being done by meetings and house-to-house calls asking for criticism and suggestions from people themselves.

All the members of a police station in Changchun turned out on a Sunday to repair a bridge. Since January, 11 Shanghai stations have earned public plaudits for thousands of acts by policemen. One of the more ordinary examples was men from one station showing up at the home of the elderly father of a son in the army to help his house-cleaning.

Last year, the P.L.A. put in 5.4 million days of voluntary work for people's communes alone. Thousands of officers and men from the Shanghai garrison helped out as workers in railway stations: sweeping, escorting the young and old, and otherwise assisting staff members and passengers. Farming, house and road re-

pairs, checks on fire and other safety hazards, and keeping the streets clean are only a few of the ways in which help is given.

Concern for the people is manifested in countless instances. Yet should complacency crop up people do not hesitate to talk out. Criticism and suggestions are made about improper attitudes and the need for more contact with the people. At all levels, the public knows that army and police personnel are in the service of the people.

Helping Themselves

THE socialist education movement now sweeping the nation has meant, among other things, that the people of Luwangchuang People's Commune near the Great Wall have been able to grow rice—something unheard of in local history. An average of 500 *jin* per *mu* on 1,300 *mu* of new paddy was the result in this first attempt. Just to prove this was not beginners' luck, the commune is going on to bring in more rice this year.

Part of the story of how this east Hopei Province commune's initial rice crop came about is told by a commune member.

"It was a real struggle to grow this first crop," said Liu Yu-sen, a former poor peasant. "It was a revolution."

"Rice is a heavy yielder, but we just didn't have what was needed. Not enough water for one thing. After we started the socialist education movement in the winter of 1963 we former poor and lower-middle peasants decided to grow rice to raise yields. We decided to create the necessary conditions with our own hands. If the people of Tachai could transform their poor barren land mainly on their own, we also can turn dry land into higher-yielding paddy.

"Irrigation work began after the people's commune was set up and had already raised maize, wheat and other crop yields. But there wasn't enough water nor the knowledge to grow rice. . . . We began work in the winter of 1963, levelling out 100 *mu* of low-lying, inferior land, and

Briefs

A number of formerly imported new products have been trial produced in China, including high-strength pipes for deep petroleum drilling, heavy alloy rounds with a diameter of over 150 mm., high-strength low-alloy copper-bearing plates, and angleless flat steel.

Ten thousand workers entered Tientsin's 25 spare-time colleges in the new school year, boosting the total enrolment to 25,000.

built an irrigation channel to lead water from a nearby river and installed an electric pumping station to pump water to the paddies. We sent men out to learn how to grow rice."

Asked to comment on last year's rice-growing experiment, Liu said:

"The yield was not great. But we succeeded, and we'll do better this year. One thing I learnt was the need for constant ideological work among the brigade members. We former poor and lower-middle peasants led the way. We knew all the fears and hesitations of those who thought the idea risky. We talked away their doubts, pointing out that we could learn what we did not know and make what wasn't there."

The steps taken by the members of this north China commune are another example of the self-reliant efforts that have taken hold all over China, steps that have been sparked and galvanized by the socialist education movement.



CINEMA

Serving the Peasants

Before the liberation, just 15 years ago, the great majority of China's rural population lived a lifetime without ever seeing a film. Today Chinese peasants are becoming film fans *en masse*. In 1964, peasant cinema audiences totalled 2,000 million. That is, each day of the year, near 6 million peasants saw a film. What was more, they saw it in or near their own villages.

This phenomenal increase in rural film attendances has been made possible because of the rapid post-liberation increase of cinemas in the towns and cities, and more especially, because of the proliferation of mobile cinema teams which serve the rural communities. Thousands of such teams bring film shows right "to the doorsteps" of the villagers, and this number is steadily increasing.

Taking Shantung Province as an example, it now has 467 mobile cinema teams touring its countryside. Each has a fixed round with certain villages picked as regular cinema-showing centres. There are 34,000



Introducing the Story Before the Film Starts
Woodcut by Wu Ching-hsun and Yu Chin-ku

such centres in the province, an average of one to every three villages. Each centre is conveniently located so that people in surrounding areas need only walk a half to one kilometre, or at most two kilometres, to get to it. Where communications are difficult, in mountain areas, for example, the centres are dotted about more liberally.

Fishermen, out at sea along China's long southern, eastern and north-eastern coasts, are served by cinema teams in a unique way. Around the Choushan Islands off the Chekiang coast, "film nights" are held on the waters on calm, starlit nights. The screen is hoisted up a mast on the lead vessel of the fleet, the smaller boats arrange themselves around, and the show is on. The fishermen warmly appreciate this service. One veteran, one of the few who can count a show or two among his pre-liberation experiences, said: "In the old days, when you went to the town theatre once in a blue moon, you practically had to beg the snobbish ticket-office girl to let you buy a ticket. Now, the cinema comes out to sea for you!"

Special attention is given to serving the remote mountain or border areas and the wide pastoral lands where live many of China's national minorities. Last year in Kwangtung's mountain regions, 3,000 new cinema centres were opened up. One new centre lies on the flanks of Omeichang Peak, the highest in the Nanyang mountain district. It takes the three members of the local team nine hours of difficult climbing to get there, but they feel more than repaid by the welcome they get from audiences. In Sinkiang, where the Uighurs, Kazakhs and other national minorities live, every peasant or herdsman saw films last year. On the high Pamir Plateau, a camel and yak caravan of Tadjik youths brings film shows to the region's Tashkurgan Tadjik Autonomous County. For these enthusiasts,

sudden changes of mountain weather or climbing ice-clad slopes at 4,000 metres above sea level are all in the day's work.

This cinema network which is shaping up over China's vast countryside comes in answer to the increasing demands of the peasants and other working people for more and more films portraying their socialist era.

On the Road

The mobile cinema teams are out on the road the year round. Three or four people make a team, with a small generator, projector and portable screen. They travel by truck or cart, or foot slog it where vehicles can't go. It is mostly young people who serve in these teams. These are animated with a feeling of revolutionary dedication that makes their job not just any avocation but an important task to bring socialist culture to the peasants—the great majority of the Chinese population. This consciousness sustains them against the hardships of the road and sharpens their lookout for ways to do their work better.

One of many teams active in the Changpai Ranges of northeast China is the No. 1 Team of Holung County, Kirin Province. The team of four young men is a 22-times winner of honours for outstanding work at county level or above. When it celebrated its 10th anniversary last year, it had brought 4,500 shows to peasant audiences totalling a million and travelled 21,000 kilometres.

Many of those kilometres lie around "Tiger Gully Ridge," "Small Solitary Ridge" and other heights whose names alone hint at their tough character. The team serves two people's communes with 39 hamlets perched among those heights. It takes the team a month to make one round of the cinema-showing centres there. On the way they cross three mountains, 3,000 metres above sea-level, many smaller hills, and 18 rivers and streams. The most out-of-the-way centre—the team makes a point of visiting it every month—is up a stiff 80-degree gradient, on the top of which is a bridge of two



Early Birds

Woodcut in colour by Tana Chih-chung

pine logs, thrown across a precipice with a sheer drop of 100 metres to the river below. The team has conquered these difficulties cheerily, learning to be as nimble on the march as any local inhabitant.

The films they show are carefully picked to be of practical interest to the different localities they visit. To places where water conservancy works are being built, they bring such films as *The Yellow River Flows Up* and *Song of the Reservoir*. Where the socialist education movement is in full swing, they show *The Seal* and *Locust Tree Village*. Just before the shows start, they usually take a few minutes to show lantern-slides describing the outstanding people and events in the locality, explaining the Communist Party's policies and doing other agit-prop work. Wherever they go, they help to liven up the blackboard newspapers, put up posters and slogans, teach revolutionary songs and tell revolutionary stories.

As ready with their hands as the local peasants, they pitch in with the farm work whenever they find the time. Once they arrived at a production team at dusk only to hear that a blizzard was approaching and all hands were needed in the fields.

They immediately brought their generator up to provide power for lighting, and joined in the all-night fight to beat the coming frost. They gave their show a day late that time, but everybody was well satisfied.

Helpful Aids

At a recent national conference in Peking of representatives in the field of film distribution and exhibition, nine mobile cinema teams were specially invited to demonstrate how they help peasant audiences to a better understanding of the films shown. The problem arises because many Chinese peasants, more used to operas and other forms of traditional entertainment, still find films a rather novel experience and sometimes hard to follow.

To overcome this difficulty cinema teams in Hopei Province, before a film starts, often show lantern-slide stills from it giving a synopsis of its story. This helps a great deal. At the conference, the "Three Sisters Team" of Laishui County demonstrated a new invention: a four-lens lantern-slide projector which can show slides in an animated sequence. As the slides are changed in quick succession, horses gallop, flags wave in the wind, or a sunflower bud appears to open out into full flower. It can also be adapted to use some of the techniques of film photography such as fading in and out. The results have delighted the peasants. The three young women of the team made endless experiments with home-made cardboard projectors before they perfected this new technique. Drawings, woodcuts, cartoons and other art works can also be projected by this means.

Another interesting demonstration was given by Chang Tzu-cheng of Hopei's Changli County. He kept up

a "running commentary" as the film was shown. At opportune moments during the opening sequences, he introduced the story shortly, its main characters, setting and background. As the film went along, he slipped in a few words of explanation whenever he felt it might be hard for some peasant audiences to grasp. All this was done effectively, fitting in smoothly with the progress of the story.

Film shows in national minority areas are up against a special problem: that of language. Since liberation, the state each year dubs a number of films—originally done in the Han language—into some of the major national minority languages. But in a country which has over 50 different peoples, dubbing into all their languages is still beyond our means. Cinema teams of Koreans in the Yenpien Korean Autonomous Chou have introduced a major innovation by giving a "running interpreting" of the films as they are shown.

Chin Tung-tsan demonstrated at the conference how it is done. When the characters on the screen spoke, he started interpreting into a microphone, giving each man, woman or child a different voice as close as possible to the original. The performance was so excellent that audiences watching the demonstration, without seeing it with their own eyes, would never have believed it was a "one-man show."

Chin, incidentally, was one of the initiators of this method. When he started in 1952, he could barely keep up with the dialogue, not to speak of giving different "voices" to each character. By dint of assiduous study of the characters and practice in dramatic elocution, translating and memorizing the scripts beforehand, he achieved virtuoso proficiency in this art.

Today mobile cinema teams all over the Yenpien Autonomous Chou have adopted his method. It has also been introduced already into two-thirds of the provinces and autonomous regions in the country. It is being successfully used with 20 different languages.

SPRING 1965

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