

# PEKING REVIEW

15  
April 9, 1965

## Viet Nam Hits Back Hard

N. Viet Nam downed 57 U.S. planes on April 3-4;  
S. Viet Nam wiped out 35,000 enemy troops in January-  
March (p. 6).

## Premier Chou on Sino-Arab Friendship And Other International Questions

Answers to Middle East News Agency (p. 8)

## Strategy and Tactics of People's War

(p. 12).

## Fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties Condemn March Moscow Meeting

(pp. 18-23).

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報

# HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST

by

LIU SHAO-CHI

Liu Shao-chi's well-known work, *How To Be a Good Communist*, is a penetrating exposition of the universal Marxist-Leninist truth that the proletariat, while changing the objective world, must at the same time change itself. It also sums up the experience of the Chinese Communists in educating and remoulding themselves in the revolutionary struggle. This book has played an important role in helping Chinese Communists in their efforts to temper themselves.

The author has made some changes in style and some additions to the original text written in July 1939, and the revised text was published in the double issue of *Hongqi (Red Flag)*, No. 15-16, 1962. The present English translation follows the revised Chinese text.

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

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NEWS AND VIEWS

April 9, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 15

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## THE WEEK

### Among the major events of the week:

- Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi returned home after concluding visits abroad.
- Chinese air force units shot down two unmanned U.S. spy planes, one on March 31 and the other on April 3.
- On April 5 *Renmin Ribao's* editorial congratulated the Vietnamese army and people on their great victory in shooting down 57 enemy planes and damaging many others on April 3 and 4.
- *Renmin Ribao* published the Japanese paper *Akahata's* April 2 editorial, exposing the capitulationist policy of the anti-Party renegades in advocating U.S.-Soviet co-operation to "settle" the Viet Nam question.
- *Renmin Ribao* published excerpts from the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit's* April 2 article, condemning the new Soviet leadership's collaboration with U.S. imperialism to form an international gendarmerie—the so-called U.N. peace-keeping force—as another betrayal of the peoples' struggle against imperialism.
- The Chinese press published:
  - remarks by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, that the Moscow schismatic meeting in March had added fuel to the flames of the polemics.
  - a statement by the Political Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand that the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. had deepened the split by clinging to Khrushchov's line.
  - the January 31 statement of the Central Committee of the Malayan Communist Party, castigating the modern revisionists for their policy of sham unity and real split.

## Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen Return Home

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Hsieh Fu-chih returned to Peking by special plane on April 6 after concluding visits abroad. Greeting them at the airport were Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Party and state leaders, including Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Li Hsien-nien, Lu Ting-yi, Kang Sheng, Li Hsueh-feng, Kuo Mo-jo and Lin Feng. Diplomatic envoys of Rumania, Albania, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Pakistan, Burma, Afghanistan and Nepal were also at the airport.

Leading a Chinese Party and government delegation, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Hsieh attended the funeral of Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej

in Bucharest and visited Albania. Later, they visited Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Pakistan and Burma.

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, accompanied by high-ranking officials of the Foreign Ministry, visited Afghanistan, Pakistan and Nepal.

### Premier Chou's Visits to Four Countries

In Algeria. "At the dawn of its regained freedom, Algiers is proud and happy to welcome the messengers of those who took part in the Long March." Those were President Ben Bella's words when he greeted Pre-

mier Chou on his first visit to Algeria in December 1963. The city of Algiers on March 30 this year gave China's Premier a similarly gay and happy welcome on his second visit. The 20-kilometre route from the airport to the People's Palace was decked with flags. All along the way crowds cheered the Premier as he drove past in an open car with the Algerian President. A helicopter flew low over the city and dropped hundreds of thousands of colourful leaflets. That evening President Ben Bella gave a banquet in honour of Premier Chou at the People's Palace.

During the two days of his stay in Algiers, the Premier held talks with President Ben Bella. A joint communique of the two countries was later released (see p. 10). Premier Chou held a press conference and answered questions put to him by Algerian journalists. He also received Mamadou Diakite, Mali's Secretary of State for Defence and Security, and Sheik Abdullah, former Prime Minister of Kashmir, who were visiting Algeria.

**In the U.A.R.** Escorted by four jet fighters of the United Arab Republic's Air Force, Premier Chou's special plane circled over the airport in Cairo before touching down at 12:30 hours local time on April 1. When the Premier stepped down from the plane, he was greeted by Premier Ali Sabry, Vice-Premier Kamal Rifaat and other high-ranking officials.

Shortly after his arrival, Premier Chou called on President Nasser at the Presidential Palace and was entertained at a dinner by the President. Talks were held between the two leaders and views were exchanged on questions of common concern to both countries.

While in Cairo, Premier Chou gave an interview to the Editor-in-Chief of the Middle East News Agency and answered his questions (see p. 8). He also received Ahmed Shukairy, President of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who visited China last month.

**In Pakistan.** Thousands upon thousands of people in Karachi, Pakistan's largest city, turned out to greet Premier Chou and his party when they arrived in the afternoon of

April 2. President Ayub Khan and Foreign Minister Bhutto, who had just returned from a visit to China in March, greeted Premier Chou at the plane-side.

Symbolic of the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples was the rousing welcome accorded Premier Chou during his drive from the airport to the Guest House in the company of President Ayub Khan. Miniature national flags of the two countries decorated the streets all along the way. Many ceremonial arches were erected across the streets, bright with flowers and colourful streamers inscribed with the words "Karachi greets you!" and "Long live Pakistan-China friendship!" As the long motorcade drove past, musicians beat hand drums, played flutes or blew trumpets in welcome.

In the evening President Ayub Khan gave a banquet for Premier Chou in the garden of the President's House.

**In Burma.** Premier Chou arrived in Rangoon on April 3 for a one-day visit on his way home. General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Burma, and other Burmese leaders welcomed him at the airport. The Premier was guest of honour at a banquet General Ne Win gave that evening. The two leaders held talks on questions of common concern in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. The next day Premier Chou left Rangoon for home.

#### "Renmin Ribao" Editorial

Referring to Premier Chou's visits to Algeria, the U.A.R., Pakistan and Burma, *Renmin Ribao* in an editorial said that their success had contributed to Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace. The editorial said: "The present international situation is most favourable. The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are surging forward as never before and are continuously winning great victories. U.S. imperialism is launching frenzied attacks and struggling desperately in Asia and Africa. In face of these serious U.S. imperialist attacks, it is necessary for the people of the socialist countries and of the Asian

and African countries to heighten their vigilance and strengthen their mutual support and assistance in order to win joint victories in their common cause."

The editorial stressed that the struggles waged by various countries against U.S. imperialism always supplemented and supported each other. "The anti-U.S. struggle of the people of Africa and the Arab countries," it said, "has supported the people of Viet Nam and the other countries in Indo-China, while the struggle of the people of Viet Nam and the rest of Indo-China has also supported the people of Africa and Arab countries." The editorial declared that it was of special significance, therefore, to give assistance to the Vietnamese people in their present struggle against U.S. imperialism.

#### Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Asian Visit

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi, after visiting Afghanistan and Pakistan, arrived in Nepal on March 30. During his four-day stay in Kathmandu, he was warmly welcomed by the Nepalese Government and people. King Mahendra received him on March 31 and had a cordial talk with him. The Vice-Premier held talks with Surya Bahadur Thapa, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Kirti Nidhi Bista, its Vice-Chairman, on the further development of friendly relations between the two countries and on other questions of common interest. He also visited places of historical interest in the Kathmandu valley, projects of economic co-operation between China and Nepal and the Kathmandu-Kodari highway, known as the "Friendship Highway," now under construction.

A joint press communique was issued at the end of his visit. Referring to the current international situation, the two parties reaffirmed their respect for the unity, integrity and sovereignty of Viet Nam and the inviolable right of the Vietnamese people to settle their own problems without foreign interference. The two parties also expressed their belief that the forthcoming tenth an-

niversary of the Bandung Conference in Indonesia and the Second Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers would make enormous contributions to the final elimination of colonialism and imperialism, to the consolidation of Asian-African solidarity and to the preservation of world peace and security.

Leaving Kathmandu on the morning of April 3, Vice-Premier Chen Yi flew back to Kunming the same afternoon.

Hailing the success of his visits, *Renmin Ribao* in its April 5 editorial noted that they "have further enhanced the mutual understanding and strengthened the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and its three neighbours in Asia."

Referring to China's signing of boundary protocols with Afghanistan and Pakistan last month and with Nepal in January 1963, the editorial said: "The emergence of these three boundaries of friendship and peace on the Asian continent is of major significance and will exert a far-reaching influence. These boundary markers will be a living testimony to the friendship between China and its neighbours in Asia."

### Chairman Liu Receives Chilean Guests

Chairman Liu Shao-chi on March 30 received Guillermo Del Pedregal,

former Vice-President of Chile and Chairman of the Committee of Friends of People's China, and his wife, and had a cordial talk with them.

Guillermo Del Pedregal arrived in Peking on March 24 for his second visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

### Two More U.S. Unmanned Planes Downed

Last week, the Chinese People's Liberation Army scored two major victories by shooting down two more unmanned U.S. planes. That brings the total of such high-altitude spy planes shot down to four since last November.

On March 31, an air force unit of the Chinese Navy brought one down as it flew over south China; three days later another air force unit of the P.L.A. shot down the other plane over central-south China. These are punishing blows to the U.S. air pirates who have been intruding repeatedly into China's air space and who on March 29 even strafed a Chinese fishing boat on the high seas off the coast of Hainan Island.

Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, issued orders commending the air force units on their successes. Meetings were held by the respective units to celebrate their victories.

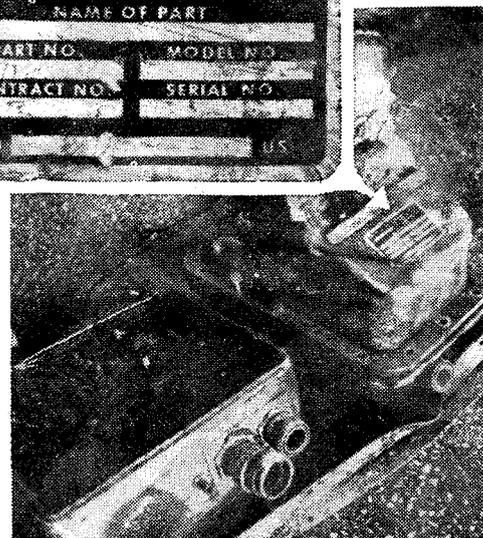
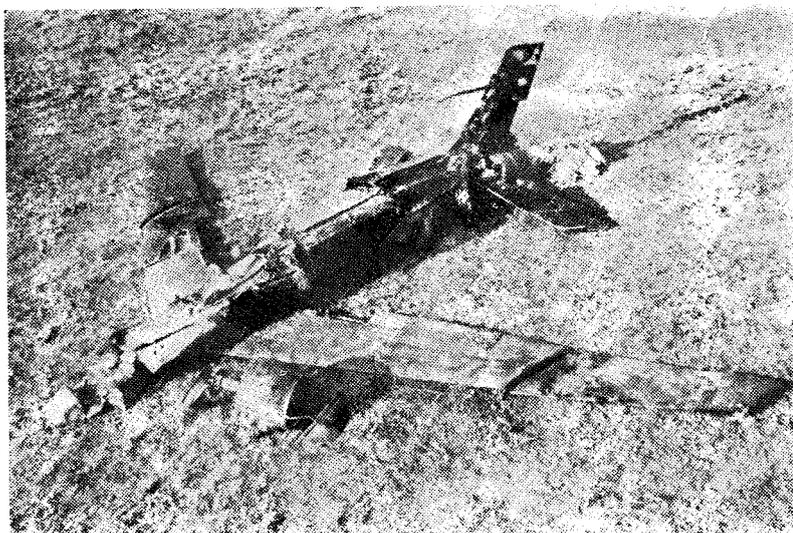
The U.S. unmanned plane shot down on January 2 this year is being put on public display at the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Museum in Peking. Bearing the trade mark of the Ryan Aeronautical Co., San Diego, California, the wreckage of the plane is irrefutable evidence of the crimes committed by the U.S. marauders who have tried by every means to deny or evade their responsibility for aggression against China.

### Sino-Indonesian Friendship Treaty Anniversary

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to President Sukarno on the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Indonesian Friendship Treaty. Hailing the militant friendship between the 750 million people of China and Indonesia, the message said: "This friendship has become an increasingly important factor in the common struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to strengthen Asian-African solidarity and to defend world peace."

The anniversary was celebrated in Peking at a reception given by Indonesian Ambassador Djawoto on April 2. Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Stand-

*(Continued on p. 11.)*



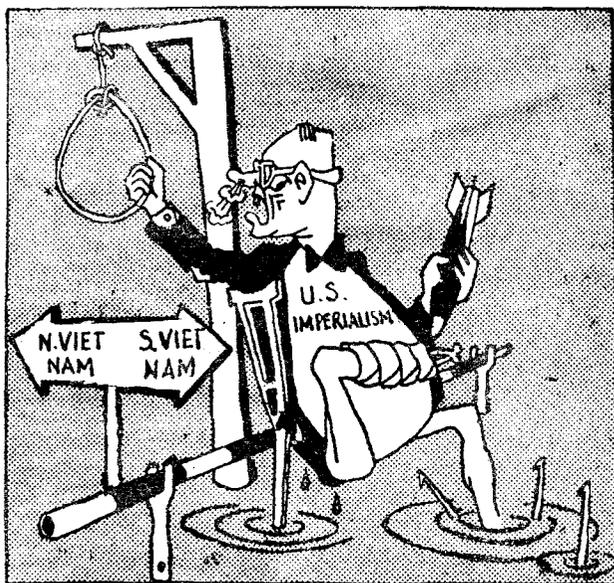
Above: Wreckage of U.S. unmanned spy plane shot down over central-south China on January 2 this year  
Right: The trade mark "Ryan Aeronautical Co., San Diego, California" on a battery case of the plane

# A Great Victory and the Determination to Win

Following is a translation of the April 5 "Renmin Ribao" editorial. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

**I**N two days on April 3 and 4, the heroic people and armed forces of Viet Nam brought down 57 enemy planes and damaged many others. These successive feats of arms have inflicted an even heavier blow on U.S. imperialism which is enlarging its aggression against north Viet Nam. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the heroic people and armed forces of Viet Nam on their great victory. We send our high respects and sincere regards to all who took part in the fighting — to the anti-aircraft units, to the air force, the navy, the army, to the people's security forces, to the self-defence militia corps and the local inhabitants. You have put up a good fight, you have shown wonderful marksmanship, and you have hit the enemy hard.

On April 4 the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on the U.S. imperialist move to expand further its aggression against that country. The statement says that these new U.S. acts of aggression which began on April 3 have been committed deeper inside D.R.V. territory



U.S. Aggressor: "Maybe I can free my leg if I put my head into that."  
Cartoon by Minh Tuan of Viet Nam

## Fitting Punishment for U.S. Air Pirates in N. Viet Nam

(From Aug. 5, 1964 to Apr. 5, 1965)

| Date               | Number of Planes Shot Down |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| Aug. 5 — Dec. 1964 | 12                         |
| February 1965      | 22                         |
| March              | 69                         |
| April 3*           | 20                         |
| April 4            | 37                         |
| April 5            | 4                          |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>164</b>                 |

\* On that day fighter aircraft of the Vietnamese Air Force had their first encounter with enemy planes and returned unscathed to base after downing some of them.

than previous ones; they are premeditated and most dangerous. The D.R.V. Foreign Ministry sternly warned the U.S. Government and demanded that the United States must stop all acts of aggression and war against north Viet Nam, immediately withdraw the 7th Fleet from the South China Sea, stop the war of aggression, pull out from south Viet Nam all troops and arms both of itself and of its satellites, respect and carry out strictly the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam. The Chinese Government and people fully support this statement and once again strongly denounce and protest against this dangerous and deliberate move of U.S. imperialism to escalate the war and spread its flames to north Viet Nam.

The Johnson Administration recently called Taylor back from Saigon. Johnson, ringleader of the American gangsters, has held a series of tense meetings with senior U.S. officials and officers and also called a meeting of the National Security Council. **Faced with defeat in south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration**

has planned further steps to intensify its escalation ventures. On April 3 the U.S. air pirates began penetrating deeper into D.R.V. territory by raiding Thanh Hoa Province — this is a new step taken by the Johnson Administration to expand its war of aggression.

This move by the Johnson Administration to enlarge the war is a grave challenge to the 30 million Vietnamese people, to the socialist countries, and to all peace-loving peoples and countries the world over. U.S. imperialism has fully exposed its recklessness — the greater is its failure, the more desperate is its last-ditch struggle. It is wagering still heavier stakes — its stepped up war of aggression in south Viet Nam and its wanton air raids on a still larger scale against north Viet Nam — in the vain hope of turning the tide. But for U.S. imperialism this is only a daydream. All its frenzied war moves, instead of saving it from defeat, inevitably court still heavier blows and hasten its total collapse.

Things are clear enough: when the U.S. air pirates extended the range of their raids to Thanh Hoa Province, 47 of the 57 U.S. planes shot down in these two days were brought down there. The heroic people and armed forces of Viet Nam, displaying a dauntless will to fight and to win and in response to the call of President Ho Chi Minh, are now launching an emulation drive “to defeat the U.S. aggressive robbers with determination.” Inspired and prompted by his powerful call, Viet Nam’s anti-aircraft units, its three services, its people’s security forces, its self-defence militia corps, its people all over the country, have displayed revolutionary heroism. They are fighting with increasing

valour, daring to struggle and make sacrifices, daring to win. They are inflicting severe punishment on the U.S. air pirates and are fighting determinedly in order to fulfil their glorious historic task of resolutely defending the socialist north, energetically supporting the liberation revolution in the south, and, finally, of bringing about the reunification of their motherland. **The Vietnamese people are sure to go on fighting, to fight more fiercely, for still greater victories.**

**While venturing on the expansion of its war of aggression against Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is intensifying its military provocations against China. Any such provocations against us, however, cannot get away without due punishment.** On April 3 the Chinese People’s Liberation Army Air Force shot down another unmanned high altitude reconnaissance plane of U.S. imperialism over central-south China, second of this type of spy plane downed in three days. This victory has inspired the whole nation; it also shows that firmly carrying out Vice-Premier and Defence Minister Lin Piao’s orders, **the P.L.A. is highly vigilant at all times, combat-ready and determined to wipe out any enemy who dares invasion.**

The struggle against U.S. escalation of the war in Indo-China and to defeat the U.S. aggressors has already bound the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples closely together. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is our struggle and their victory is our victory. The Chinese people swear that they will stand at the side of the 30 million Vietnamese people and fight to the end to defeat the all-evil U.S. aggressors.

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## Facts on File

### **35,000 U.S.-Puppet Troops Put Out of Action in S. Viet Nam**

**A**CCORDING to a recent report from Viet Nam, in the first quarter of this year the Liberation Army and guerrillas of south Viet Nam launched over 3,000 attacks and wiped out 3 enemy battalions, 50 companies and 73 platoons. An enemy regiment, 8 battalions and dozens of companies were routed. U.S.-puppet losses included:

- Nearly 35,000 troops killed, wounded or captured. (Including 1,086 U.S. aggressors.)
- 205 aircraft shot down or damaged.
- 44 naval vessels sunk or damaged. (Including a 4,800-ton U.S. landing craft at Da Nang.)
- 250 military vehicles destroyed. (Including 70 M-113 amphibious armoured cars.)

7,000 weapons captured. (Including 15 artillery pieces, 45 mortars, 64 heavy machine-guns and over 200 light machine-guns.)

300 “strategic hamlets” destroyed in January and February alone.

A number of district cities and townships, and hundreds of thousands of people completely liberated.

The war in these three months had the following outstanding features:

1. The Liberation Army and guerrillas intensified their annihilation of enemy effectives, dealing many blows at the enemy’s mobile forces and pinning down many units of its regular forces.

2. Guerrilla warfare in south Viet Nam has become more widespread and fiercer and this has resulted in the exhaustion and wiping out of many enemy effectives. The enemy’s numerous “mopping-up” operations were defeated and the expansion and consolidation of liberated areas has continued.

3. The armed forces of the south Vietnamese people have not only gained increasing initiative on the battlefields but also made deep thrusts into the strong defence lines of the enemy, compelling it to withdraw from many important positions.

# Premier Chou Answers Questions of The Middle East News Agency

- The Chinese people remain for ever the reliable friends of the Arab people.
- The Second Afro-Asian Conference will raise higher the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. The spearheads of Afro-Asian solidarity and the genuine non-alignment policy are directed against U.S. imperialism.
- China firmly supports the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and is ready to send its own men to fight alongside the south Vietnamese people.
- The U.S. aggressors' attempt to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees by war blackmail, by escalating the war and at the same time assuming a posture of willingness to hold "peace talks" will never succeed.

*Following is a translation of the full text of Premier Chou En-lai's answers to questions put forward by the Editor-in-Chief of the Middle East News Agency in Cairo. — Ed.*

**Question 1:** Would Your Excellency please expound recent developments of U.A.R.-Chinese relations in the economic, cultural, technical and political spheres and the possibilities for their consolidation and give a general review of China's relations with the Arab countries?

**Answer:** To oppose imperialist aggression and oppression is the common historical task facing the peoples of the U.A.R. and China. To consolidate national independence and develop our national economies are our common aspirations. On this common basis and in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, the People's Republic of China and the United Arab Republic have established and have been constantly developing relations of friendship and co-operation. Our two countries have signed an economic and technical co-operation agreement, a scientific and technical co-operation agreement, trade agreement and agreement on cultural co-operation. The relations of friendship and co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the United Arab Republic have broad prospects and an ever richer content.

The Chinese and Arab peoples have all along sympathized with and supported one another. In recent years, the relations between the People's Republic of China and the Arab countries have been developing continuously. This is not only in complete conformity with the interests of the Chinese and Arab peoples but is also beneficial to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace.

**Question 2:** What are Your Excellency's impressions regarding recent events in the Middle East, particularly as regards the Palestine issue, the West German arms gift to Israel and its impact on the increase of tension in the area?

**Answer:** Aggression and intervention by imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, against the Arab world is seriously menacing the peace and security of this area and the whole world. The aim of U.S. imperialism is to push ahead with its neo-colonialism in this area and in the vast continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to enslave the peoples of various countries. This policy of the United States is not only imbued with the same spirit from Trumanism, the Eisenhower Doctrine to the present Johnson Administration, but also goes from bad to worse. Israel and the Congo (Leopoldville) are the best examples before us to prove this.

Of late, the United States of America has flagrantly stepped up arming Israel in collusion with West German militarism and backed West Germany to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. This has aroused great indignation among all the people of the Arab countries, compelling the Arab countries to heighten their vigilance and take corresponding measures to strengthen the necessary preparations. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just struggle of the Arab countries against the aggressive forces composed of U.S. imperialism, West German militarism and Zionism. In the great and just struggle of the Arab countries against imperialism and for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, the Chinese people remain for ever the reliable friends of the Arab people.

**Question 3:** Several foreign powers are interfering to prevent implementation of the Arab plan for the ex-

ploitation of the River Jordan waters aimed at consolidating the Arab economy. What is Your Excellency's opinion of such interference?

**Answer:** U.S. imperialism is exerting all-round military, political and economic pressure on the Arab countries in an attempt to force them to give up the projects for the diversion of the River Jordan tributaries worked out at the conference of Arab heads of state. U.S. officials even openly clamoured that Israel would resort to force to "interfere in and halt" the Arab countries' projects. This is to intimidate and threaten all the Arab people and once again exposes the aggressive features of U.S. imperialism which is obstinately hostile to the Arab people. But the great Arab people cannot be frightened. All these adverse acts of U.S. imperialism can only further arouse the common enmity of the Arab people towards it and make them close their ranks and struggle resolutely. The just struggle of the Arab people will certainly be crowned with final victory.

**Question 4:** Would Your Excellency kindly explain the main questions tackled in your talks with the U.A.R. authorities during your present visit?

**Answer:** I am very glad to have this opportunity to meet President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Prime Minister Aly Sabry and other leaders of the U.A.R. We have exchanged views in a frank and friendly manner on important problems of common concern in the present international struggle, including the Indo-China problem, the situation in Arab and African areas, the problem of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism and the problem of Afro-Asian Conference, etc. Our meeting is beneficial. It has a positive significance to the relations between the People's Republic of China and the United Arab Republic and the common cause of the Asian and African countries.

**Question 5:** Would Your Excellency please speak of the steps that have been accomplished concerning China's call for setting up a new United Nations? Please explain the motives and objectives of the call.

**Answer:** The United Nations, under the monopoly of the United States and a few big powers, has more and more become a tool serving imperialism and opposing the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries and the whole world. The fact that the United Nations is under the manipulation of the United States and a few big powers is seen more clearly with each passing day by the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries and the world over. The struggle to demand that the United Nations correct its mistakes and to have it thoroughly reorganized is developing day by day. The Chinese Government and people firmly support Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations. This is a revolutionary action which has greatly advanced this struggle. At present the struggle is spreading ever widely both from within and outside the United Nations. If the United Nations does not correct its mistakes and make a thorough reorgani-

zation, then, to set up a revolutionary United Nations will be the general course of development. Our call for the consideration of setting up a revolutionary United Nations also helps to strengthen the right of Asian and African countries to have their say in the United Nations, helps their struggle for exposing the United Nations and demanding the correction of its mistakes and its thorough reorganization.

**Question 6:** What are the main reasons for the convocation of a second Bandung Conference? What are the results Your Excellency would expect to come out of the conference and what are the similarities and difference, in Your Excellency's view, between objectives of Afro-Asian solidarity and the non-alignment policy?

**Answer:** During the ten years since the First Asian-African Conference, the continents of Asia and Africa have undergone tremendous changes and a brand-new outlook has appeared. Having shaken off the yoke of colonialism, a number of countries need to consolidate their independence and seek further development. Many other countries are struggling for their independence. However, imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the United States are not reconciled to their defeat. They are engaged in frenzied struggle and counter-attacks against the peoples of Asian and African countries. Under these new circumstances, it is very necessary for the Asian and African countries to further strengthen their solidarity and to support and assist one another in their common struggle. This is the main task of the Second Afro-Asian Conference. We are deeply convinced that the Second Afro-Asian Conference will surely represent the aspirations of the peoples in Asia and Africa, inherit and develop the Bandung spirit, hold higher the banner of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, strengthen the solidarity among the Asian and African countries and peoples and make important contributions to the development of the national economies of Asian and African countries and the strengthening of mutual assistance and co-operation between them.

Afro-Asian solidarity is a guarantee for the victory of the Asian and African countries and peoples in their common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. This solidarity has thoroughly crushed the imperialists' vicious schemes of making "Asians fight Asians" and "Africans fight Africans." The non-alignment policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Asian and African countries is in fact pointed at U.S. imperialism. For since World War II, U.S. imperialism has been using the method of whipping up aggressive military blocs and military alliances for the purpose of controlling its allies. U.S. imperialism is fully aware of this. It has tried by a thousand and one ways to undermine Asian-African solidarity. The late U.S. Secretary of State Dulles even openly attacked the non-alignment policy of peace and neutrality of the Asian and African countries as "immoral." It is very clear that though there are different peculiarities between

the endeavour of Afro-Asian solidarity and the genuine non-alignment policy, however, they have common aims and both of them have been developed in the struggle against imperialism and their spearheads are directed against imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the United States. This can be seen clearly from the main resolutions of the First Asian-African Conference and the two Summit Conferences of the Non-Aligned Countries.

**Question 7:** What is Your Excellency's opinion of recent developments of the Viet Nam issue and what are the best means for its settlement in the light of these developments?

**Answer:** The heroic struggle waged by the south Vietnamese people and the brilliant victories they have successively won have put the U.S. aggressors in a most awkward position. The U.S. aggressors are in a dilemma and can find no way out. In order to extricate themselves from the failures, they have, on the one hand, taken the adventurist step of escalating the war in defiance of the strong opposition of the peace-loving countries and the people the world over, and, on the other hand, they assume a posture of being willing to hold "peace talks," in a futile attempt to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees by war blackmail. Such wishful thinking of the United States will never be realized. The present grave situation in Viet Nam is entirely created by the United States. For the United States, there is only one way out, that is, to stop aggression and withdraw all its armed forces from south Viet Nam. There is no other way out. The longer it delays its withdrawal, the more disastrous

will be its defeat and the more it will lose its so-called "honour."

As for the Asian and African countries and all the peace-loving countries and peoples in the world, the key to solving the Viet Nam problem is to render their resolute support to the Vietnamese people, to curb the aggression of U.S. imperialism and to demand that the United States immediately cease its frantic bombing of and war provocation against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, immediately stop its armed aggression against south Viet Nam, withdraw all its armed forces from south Viet Nam and let the south Vietnamese people settle the south Viet Nam problem themselves.

The Chinese people and all the peace-loving peoples of the world unswervingly stand on the side of the Vietnamese people. The Chinese Government has repeatedly declared that aggression of U.S. imperialism against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China and that the Chinese people have long been prepared to aid the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in resisting U.S. aggression. The Chinese people firmly respond to the latest statement and appeal of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and will send the south Vietnamese people all necessary material aid including arms and all other war materials. At the same time, we are ready to send our own men, whenever the south Vietnamese people want them, to fight together with the south Vietnamese people, helping them to carry through to the end their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for the liberation of southern Viet Nam and reunification of their motherland.

## Document

# China-Algeria Joint Communique

*Following is a translation of the March 31 China-Algeria joint communique published in Algiers on April 1. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**A**T the invitation of Ahmed Ben Bella, President of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, paid a visit to Algeria on March 30-31, 1965.

He was accompanied on his visit by General Hsieh Fu-chih, Vice-Premier of the State Council; Chang Han-fu, Chao Yi-min, Lo Ching-chang and others.

During the visit, the Algerian people and Government extended to Premier Chou En-lai and the Chinese delegation a warm welcome and friendly reception, which fully reflect the fraternal ties established between the Chinese and Algerian peoples over the long years.

It was in this cordial atmosphere that President Ben Bella and Premier Chou En-lai entered into talks, which

were marked by frankness and sincerity, on the international situation and, more specifically, on problems confronting the Afro-Asian countries. The Chinese and Algerian delegations also studied the prospects of development of co-operation between China and Algeria, as well as other problems of common interest.

**The two parties are of the opinion that the main salient feature of the present international situation is the staunch fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism being carried on by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.**

The struggle of these peoples to win or safeguard their independence is an important phase in the achieving of equality among nations and of world peace.

The two parties are convinced that active solidarity among these peoples and effective support for their liberation movements in accordance with the principles elaborated at the Bandung Conference will ensure the

success of the forces which are struggling against imperialism, for national independence and equality among nations, and against all forms of economic domination.

The two parties noted with satisfaction the development of the struggle for national liberation in Africa as in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and in the occupied Arab regions.

They pointed out that the revolutionary struggle in Africa and Asia, and in particular, in the Congo (Leopoldville) and south Viet Nam is of great importance.

The two parties consider that the dispatch of foreign troops and the use of mercenaries is aggression and interference in an attempt to impose neo-colonialist domination.

**The two parties firmly support the battle for liberation waged by the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) and hold that the problem of the Congo (Leopoldville) can only be settled by the (Leopoldville) Congolese people themselves with the co-operation of the Organization of African Unity on the basis of non-interference by imperialist and colonialist countries and the withdrawal of their troops.**

**The two parties strongly condemn the U.S. imperialists for their ceaseless aggression against the people of south Viet Nam and for escalation of their military operations in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.** They expressed their conviction that the aggravated situation in Viet Nam directly menaced the security of the Asian countries and world peace.

**The two parties resolutely support the just struggle of the south Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national liberation.**

Considering active solidarity with the people of south Viet Nam to be an imperative duty of the peace- and freedom-loving peoples, the two parties are of the

opinion that the problem can only be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves on the basis of non-interference by imperialism and withdrawal of its troops, in conformity with the Vietnamese people's legitimate aspirations for independence, peace and unity.

Premier Chou En-lai reaffirmed the firm support of the Chinese Government and people for the position taken by Arab countries, including Algeria, against the German Federal Republic which, with the connivance of U.S. imperialism and Zionism, has boosted the expansionist and aggressive designs of Israel through its delivery of a considerable quantity of arms.

**Premier Chou En-lai also reaffirmed the resolute support of the Chinese Government and people to the just struggle of the Palestinian people and their movement, the Palestine Liberation Organization.**

The two parties once again expressed their solidarity and reaffirmed their active support for the struggle to win or safeguard national independence.

**The two parties are convinced that the Second Afro-Asian Conference to be held shortly in Algiers is of special importance** for the effective solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries, for the strengthening of common action against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against all forms of foreign interference, as well as for the political, economic and social advancement of the Afro-Asian countries.

**The two parties pledge that they will do all they can for the success of this conference.** Premier Chou En-lai expressed admiration for the efforts made in this respect by President Ben Bella and the Government of the host country.

The two parties feel certain that Premier Chou En-lai's present visit has contributed greatly to the development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the Chinese and Algerian peoples and to the promotion of solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries.

Algiers, March 31, 1965

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## THE WEEK

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(Continued from p. 5.)

ing Committee of the National People's Congress, were among the guests.

### Hungary's Liberation Anniversary

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Communist Party and state leaders sent a joint message to Hungarian Party and state leaders, greeting the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary.

In Peking, Hungarian Ambassador to China Halasz Jozsef gave a reception on April 3 to celebrate the an-

niversary. Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien attended. Both Ambassador Halasz Jozsef and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien toasted the achievements of the Hungarian people and the friendship between the Chinese and Hungarian peoples.

### Forged Publication Exposed

In the capitals of Tanzania, Kenya and Ethiopia there appeared recently a periodical called *Revolution in Africa* purportedly published in Tirana, Albania. The articles in it distorted China's policy towards Africa and spread slanders aimed at sowing discord and undermining

relations between China and the African countries. The Chinese Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam issued a statement on April 1 declaring that the said publication was a complete forgery.

Soon after the appearance of this forged publication, the Tanzanian papers *Nationalist* and *Uhuru* published editorials on March 26 denouncing the scheme of the authors of this forgery. The Chinese Embassy's statement said that the exposure by the two papers would help the Tanzanian people understand the true facts and defeat all imperialist intrigues to undermine China's relations with the African countries.

# Strategically Pitting One Against Ten, Tactically Pitting Ten Against One

— An Exposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Thinking  
On the Strategy and Tactics of the People's War

by LI TSO-PENG

*Following is the first instalment of an abridged translation of an article published in "Hongqi." Sub-heads are ours. — Ed.*

**M**AO TSE-TUNG'S thinking provides the sole correct guidance in every sphere of work of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Since its inception, the Chinese P.L.A. has waged a protracted and heroic struggle under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung to defeat domestic and foreign enemies and liberate China. The Chinese revolution took armed struggle as its main form of struggle; by destroying the counter-revolutionary armed forces one after another and smashing the reactionary state machinery in one area after another, it finally captured state power throughout the country and ended the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The historical experience of the Chinese revolution in winning this great victory provides striking proof of the wisdom, greatness and correctness of Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

When first established the revolutionary army of the Chinese people was inferior both in numbers and in equipment to the reactionary Kuomintang armed forces backed by the imperialists. For a very long period it was besieged by a powerful enemy and constantly under attack by him. Therefore, whether it dared to fight and win victory by pitting one against ten strategically, and whether it was good at fighting and winning victory by pitting ten against one tactically became a serious question of cardinal importance. It was Comrade Mao Tse-tung who, integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, formulated the

correct political and military lines for the Chinese revolution. Starting from the basic premise of a people's war and a people's army, he laid down the policies and principles for building such a people's army, solved a series of strategic and tactical problems concerning the way in which a people's army can defeat an enemy stronger than itself, and guided the Chinese people's armed revolutionary struggle from victory to victory.

The kernel of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking on the strategy and tactics of a people's war is to concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one; and this is also our army's traditional method of fighting. This method was evolved and developed in the course of the practice of the Chinese revolutionary wars and in the struggles against the erroneous military lines of "Left" and Right opportunism. It played a great role in defeating the domestic and foreign enemies of the Chinese people and in winning a nationwide victory. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "The Chinese Red Army, which entered the arena of the civil war as a small and weak force, has since repeatedly defeated its powerful antagonist and won victories that have astonished the world, and it has done so by relying largely on the employment of concentrated strength."<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere he said: "Using this method, we shall win. Acting counter to it, we shall lose."<sup>2</sup>

In order to gain a profound understanding of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's military thinking and make an overall study of the rich fighting experience of our army accumulated over several decades, it is of great importance to make a serious study of the method of fighting by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one.

## **I. The Method of Fighting by "Concentrating a Superior Force to Destroy The Enemy Forces One by One" Is the Concrete Embodiment of the Strategic and Tactical Thinking of "Despising the Enemy Strategically And Taking Full Account of Him Tactically" in Military Struggles**

To win victory for the revolution it is of key importance to size up correctly the situation with regard to the enemy and ourselves and to form a correct strategic and tactical concept. Comrade Mao Tse-tung based himself on the experience gained in the prolonged struggle

against the enemy at home and abroad and the dialectical materialist and historical materialist view, analysed Chinese and world history and the contemporary international situation, and advanced the famous thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper

tigers"; he put forward the great Marxist-Leninist strategic and tactical concept of despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out again and again that although imperialism and all reactionaries are seemingly powerful, they represent the reactionary, decaying and declining classes. The law of historical development determines their inevitable doom. The revolutionary people must, therefore, see them in their essential nature, look at them from a long-term point of view and see them for what they are — paper tigers; they must despise them strategically, dare to struggle against them and dare to seize victory, and base their strategic thinking on this.

At the same time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also pointed out repeatedly that just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature, so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature. Before they are finally destroyed, they may still be powerful for a certain period, may still enjoy a temporary military advantage, and will still devour people. From this point of view, they are living, iron and real tigers. Tactically, therefore, with regard to each specific struggle, the revolutionary people must take the enemy seriously, be prudent, carefully study and perfect the art of struggle, and base their tactical thinking on this. Only by combining a fearless revolutionary spirit with a flexible and inventive art of struggle will they be able to seize victory in every specific encounter and finally attain the aim of defeating the enemy.

Summing up the experience of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Our strategy is 'pit one against ten' and our tactics are 'pit ten against one' — this is one of our fundamental principles for gaining mastery over the enemy."<sup>3</sup> He went on to say: "We use the few to defeat the many — this we say to the rulers of China as a whole. We use the many to defeat the few — this we say to each separate enemy force on the battlefield."<sup>4</sup> The concept of despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically may be considered a generalization on a higher plane of the idea of strategically "pitting one against ten" and "using the few to defeat the many," and tactically "pitting ten against one" and "using the many to defeat the few."

The method of fighting by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one is a concentrated expression in military struggle of the concept of tactically taking the enemy seriously; it is a concrete expression of the concept of tactically "pitting ten against one" and "using the many to defeat the few."

In a military struggle, we take full account of the enemy and make a full estimate of his strength, therefore we stress the need to prepare fully for every battle and not to fight any battle unprepared or without assurance of victory; we are opposed to counting on a lucky chance; we are opposed to taking the enemy lightly and advancing in a reckless way; we strive to make

certain that we will win every engagement we fight, otherwise we avoid battle. In each and every battle we concentrate a force twice, three times, four times, or even five or six times the size of the enemy force we intend to deal with. In this way we ensure victory.

At the same time, we take pains to study and perfect the art of directing battles; we are careful to take advantage of the enemy's weaknesses, mistakes, internal contradictions and other conditions favourable to us and to destroy his forces one by one. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy can only be annihilated bit by bit. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. . . . This is called a piecemeal solution. And in military literature, it is called smashing the enemy bit by bit."<sup>5</sup>

The method of fighting by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one also embodies the idea of despising the enemy strategically. For only by strategically despising the enemy and displaying a revolutionary and militant spirit of "pitting one against ten" can we remain cool-headed in face of a powerful enemy and not be overawed by his truculence or confused by a complex situation; only in this way will we dare to concentrate our forces and deal the enemy blows. On the other hand, victories won in a succession of campaigns and battles by employing this method of fighting will further educate the people and their army and enable them through their own experience to see clearly that the enemy can be defeated and that it is entirely correct to despise him strategically. This will inevitably increase the confidence of the people and their army in their struggle against the enemy and encourage them to fight and win still greater victories.

Some people hold that tactics are subordinate to strategy, and that since strategically we "pit one against ten," we cannot "pit ten against one" tactically, for otherwise tactics will be in conflict with strategy. These people look at things in a metaphysical way. They fail to understand the dialectical relationship between strategy and tactics. When we talk of tactics being subordinate to strategy, we mean that all tactics must effectively ensure the implementation of the strategic principle and the attainment of the strategic aim. Strategy and tactics are at the same time at one with each other and different. They are at one with each other in that tactics are subordinate to strategy and serve the strategic aim. But the task of the science of strategy is to study those laws for directing a war that govern a war situation as a whole whereas that of the science of tactics is to study those laws for directing a war that govern a partial situation; herein lies the difference.

For example, our strategic principle in the War of Resistance Against Japan was "protracted defensive warfare on interior lines" whereas our basic operational principle in campaigns and battles was "quick decision offensive warfare on exterior lines." The two seemed to be opposite. But the former could not be realized without the latter. Likewise, strategically "pitting one

against ten" and tactically "pitting ten against one" seem to be opposite, but the latter is a necessary means for realizing the former. If we ignore the difference between strategy and tactics and stress the need to "pit one against ten" in specific battles, we will surely commit the mistake of underestimating the enemy and making reckless moves.

To be sure, under certain circumstances where all the advantages are on our side in relation to mass support, terrain, weather and the specific antagonist, or a certain specific battle assignment has to be carried out, there may be occasions in which campaigns or battles are won by using the few against the many. But

we must insist on using the many to defeat the few and concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one as our guiding operational concept and chief method of fighting.

It can thus be seen that the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one shows both our revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle and seize victory, our strictly scientific attitude, and our flexible and inventive art of struggle. It is the concrete embodiment in military struggle of the great Marxist-Leninist concept of strategy and tactics, the concept of despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically.

## **II. Concentrating a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One Is the Most Effective Method of Fighting to Change the Situation In Which the Enemy Is Strong While We Are Weak and to Speed The Winning of Final Victory**

At the outset and even over a fairly long period of time, the people's revolutionary armed forces are always relatively weak and small in numbers and subject to continuous attacks and "encirclement and suppression" by their powerful enemies. This is usually the objective situation in regard to the balance of forces. In the eyes of Marxist-Leninists, such a situation can be changed. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "It is possible to escape from our position of relative strategic inferiority and passivity, and the method is to create local superiority and initiative in many places, so depriving the enemy of local superiority and initiative and plunging him into inferiority and passivity. These local successes will add up to strategic superiority and initiative for us and strategic inferiority and passivity for the enemy. Such a change depends upon correct subjective direction."<sup>6</sup> This correct direction refers, first and foremost, to implementing the method of fighting characterized by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one.

This method of fighting was widely employed at various historical periods in China's revolutionary war. It played a most important role in changing the situation in relation to advance and retreat, the offensive and the defensive, and fighting on interior and exterior lines as well as in enabling our army to change from being weak to being strong and from inferiority to superiority. It has undergone all manner of tests in the prolonged practice of revolutionary war and has been proved correct.

### **Second Revolutionary Civil War Period**

During the Second Revolutionary Civil War period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to make a penetrating analysis of the situation in which the enemy was strong while the Red Army was weak. He pointed out that China's revolutionary war had both favourable and unfavourable conditions, that is, the Red Army could grow and defeat the enemy, but it could not grow and defeat the

enemy quickly. Such was the fundamental law governing China's revolutionary war.

In the light of this law, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward a whole series of principles and methods of operation such as "divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy," "the enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue," "extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around," "lure the enemy in deep," and "concentrate superior forces, pick the enemy's weak spots, and fight when you are sure of wiping out part, or the greater part, of the enemy in mobile warfare, so as to crush the enemy forces one by one," thus he solved the most difficult problem of how the weak and small Red Army could defeat a powerful enemy.

From 1930 to 1934, by employing the above-mentioned strategy and tactics, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, successfully smashed the four counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" carried out by Chiang Kai-shek with forces several and even ten times larger than ours. In this way, the Red Army increased its forces and extended the revolutionary base areas. But in the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression," the Red Army failed to shatter the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" because the supporters of the third "Left" opportunist line carried out a policy which ran completely counter to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's military line. The Red Army consequently suffered great losses.

### **Period of War of Resistance Against Japan**

During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Comrade Mao Tse-tung, after correctly analysing the characteristics of the enemy and ourselves

and the domestic and international situation, explained that the War of Resistance Against Japan would inevitably be a protracted one. He refuted the "theory of national subjugation" and the "theory of a quick victory" and scientifically foresaw the development of the war in three strategic stages.<sup>7</sup> Thus he defined the general principle of a protracted war and put forward the specific strategic principle of "offence within defence, quick decisions within a protracted war and exterior lines within interior lines." In this way, the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one found new development and varied ways of application under new circumstances and conditions.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung put a high value on the role played by guerrilla warfare in the War of Resistance Against Japan. He considered it to be of strategic importance. Thus he correctly solved a series of problems regarding how to carry out guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear. First, he clearly set forth the principle that "the dispersal of our forces for guerrilla warfare was primary, and the concentration of our forces for mobile warfare was supplementary."<sup>8</sup> and criticized and refuted the erroneous concept of "mobile guerrilla warfare" advanced by the Right opportunists.

Secondly, he stressed the need to establish base areas. These were strategic bases in which guerrilla warfare was fought and where we maintained and strengthened ourselves and destroyed and drove out the enemy. Without base areas, guerrilla warfare could not exist and develop for long. And "a base area for guerrilla war can be truly established only with the gradual fulfilment of the three basic conditions, i.e., only after the anti-Japanese armed forces are built up, the enemy has suffered defeats and the people are aroused."<sup>9</sup>

Thirdly, in employing forces in guerrilla war, "the chief ways are dispersal, concentration and shifting of position."<sup>10</sup> That is to say, we must at one time assemble the parts into a whole and at another break up the whole into parts and appear "now in the south and now in the north," and move and fight simultaneously. In regard to the relations between dispersal, concentration and shifting of position, Comrade Mao Tse-tung stressed: "Because of its dispersed character, guerrilla warfare can spread everywhere, and in many of its tasks, as in harassing, containing and disrupting the enemy and in mass work, the principle is dispersal of forces; but a guerrilla unit, or a guerrilla formation, must concentrate its main forces when it is engaged in destroying the enemy, and especially when it is striving to smash an enemy attack. 'Concentrate a big force to strike at a small enemy force' remains a principle of field operations in guerrilla warfare."<sup>11</sup> When circumstances and tasks call for it, guerrilla units or formations should shift their positions secretly and with lightning speed.

Fourthly, after guerrilla war has begun and developed on a considerable scale, the enemy will inevitably attack the guerrilla base areas. In the enemy's rear, therefore, "the guerrilla policy should be to smash it [the converging attack] by counter-attack."<sup>12</sup> But

how to smash such a converging attack? Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "We should use our secondary forces to pin down several enemy columns, while our main force should launch surprise attacks (chiefly in the form of ambushes) in a campaign or battle against a single enemy column, striking it when it is on the move." "After smashing one column, we should shift our forces to smash another, and, by smashing them one by one, shatter the converging attack."<sup>13</sup>

Throughout the eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our army resolutely adhered to these strategic and tactical principles of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It carried out guerrilla warfare extensively in the enemy's rear and established anti-Japanese democratic base areas. It engaged 64 per cent of the Japanese invaders and over 95 per cent of the puppet troops and smashed the enemy's ruthless "encirclement" and "mopping-up" operations, "nibbling" and "blockade."

During the hardest times, the enemy concentrated the great majority of his forces to attack the anti-Japanese democratic base areas, employing more than 800,000 men in north China alone. In these circumstances, the main force of our army, people's militia and local guerrilla units closely co-operated with each other to fight flexibly on both interior and exterior lines. On the one hand, part of our main force was dispersed to operate in co-ordination with militia and guerrilla units so as to pin down and harass the enemy, using land mines, home-made rifles and guns and hand-grenades to inflict casualties upon the enemy. On the other hand, the greater part of the main force moved out of the enemy's "encirclement" and seized opportunities to engage the enemy, concentrating its forces to wipe out columns or units of the enemy one at a time and so smash the enemy's attack.

During the eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our army wiped out more than 527,000 Japanese invaders and over 1,180,000 puppet troops, and set up 19 anti-Japanese democratic base areas and liberated a vast territory with a population of nearly 100 million. Our army also grew from scores of thousands of men to over 900,000. All this added up to the final great victory in the War of Resistance.

### Third Revolutionary Civil War Period

During the Third Revolutionary Civil War period (1946-49), the Kuomintang reactionaries' troops totalled 4,300,000 men, and, of these, 106 divisions were equipped by U.S. imperialism; in addition they had taken over the equipment of one million invading Japanese troops at the end of the War of Resistance. They held an area with a population of more than 300 million and controlled all the big cities and most of the railway lines in the country. They could be considered quite strong. At that time, our army numbered only 1,200,000 men, less than one-third of the Kuomintang's. Moreover, they were separated in more than ten base areas, ill-equipped and without aid from outside.

In July 1946 when the Kuomintang reactionaries unleashed a civil war on a scale unprecedented in his-

tory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung penetratingly analysed the situation at the time. He pointed out that the strength of the Chiang Kai-shek government was only temporary and superficial; in fact, it was a government outwardly strong but internally weak. Its offensives could be defeated and its inevitable fate would be rebellion against it by the masses, desertion by its followers and the total destruction of its army. In order to smash the Chiang Kai-shek gang's attacks, Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the operational concept that "concentration of our forces for mobile warfare should be primary, and dispersal of our forces for guerrilla warfare should be supplementary." Furthermore, when elucidating the ten major principles of operation (see box below), he further explained in concrete terms the method of fighting known as concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one. During the four years of war, by consistently implementing this basic method of engaging and defeating the enemy, our army put out of action over 8 million enemy troops and liberated the mainland of China.

At the start of the war, the Kuomintang reactionaries gathered together more than 1,600,000 troops to

launch an all-out offensive against us. Our army then put into practice the principle of active defence, that is, it made rapid withdrawals and advances over great distances, abandoned on its own initiative some cities and places so as to lure the enemy in deep and then, concentrating an absolutely superior force and selecting weak and isolated units of the enemy, wiped these out one by one while they were on the move. Thus in a year's time, 1,120,000 enemy troops were accounted for; the enemy was forced to resort to all-round defence, while our army passed from the strategic defensive to the strategic offensive.

In July 1947, the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Field Army started out, forced the Yellow River and thrust into the Tapiéh Mountains. Following this, large-scale offensives, launched successively by other field armies, built up to a general strategic offensive. From then on, the main battlefields were carried into the Kuomintang-controlled areas. By June 1948, 2,640,000 enemy troops had been wiped out and large quantities of arms and equipment captured. Our army not only repulsed Chiang Kai-shek's attacks, but also increased to 2,800,000 men in the course of the war. Notable

## The Ten Major Principles Of Operation

1. Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later.
2. Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.
3. Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and often a city or place can be held or seized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.
4. In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing the enemy crushing blows, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and an attack on one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we shall be absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.
5. Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning; make every effort to be well prepared for each battle, make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.
6. Give full play to our style of fighting—courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).
7. Strive to wipe out the enemy when he is on the move. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities.
8. With regard to attacking cities, resolutely seize all enemy fortified points and cities which are weakly defended. At opportune moments, seize all enemy fortified points and cities defended with moderate strength, provided circumstances permit. As for strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait till conditions are ripe and then take them.
9. Replenish our strength with all the arms and most of the personnel captured from the enemy. Our army's main sources of manpower and materiel are at the front.
10. Make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops. Periods of rest, training and consolidation should not in general be very long, and the enemy should so far as possible be permitted no breathing space.

[Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung, F.L.P., Peking, 1963, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks (Excerpts)," pp. 347-348.]

changes thus took place in the balance of military forces and the strategic situation. The five strategic corps of the Kuomintang were bogged down respectively in the northeast, east, north, central and northwest China battlefields; they found themselves in a passive position under attack and were engaged in a last ditch struggle.

In the light of this development of the military situation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung saw that the time to fight strategically decisive engagements had arrived. Just before Chiang Kai-shek attempted to withdraw his troops and effect a general retreat to the south, Comrade Mao Tse-tung promptly seized the excellent opportunity to organize and fight three unprecedentedly large-scale campaigns, those of Liaoning-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin. These were three great, strategically decisive engagements. In these campaigns, the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one was perfected and applied with great effect and skill. While strategically encircling the enemy troops, our army in each campaign adopted the tactics of cutting off, surrounding and wiping out enemy units, that is, strategically cutting off the enemy's strategic corps, dividing them up on several battlefields, and on each battlefield cutting them up into several isolated parts and then concentrating a superior force to destroy these parts one by one.

In the 141 days from September 12, 1948, to January 31, 1949, a total of 1,540,000 enemy troops were wiped out and the whole of northeast and north China and other vast areas were liberated. Following the advance of the main force of our army to the north bank of the Yangtse River, the crack troops on which the Kuomintang relied for waging its counter-revolutionary civil war had been virtually annihilated. This greatly speeded up the pace of liberating the whole country.

Practice in China's revolutionary war proved that application of the method of fighting by concentrating

a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one not only changed our position from inferiority to superiority when we were in an inferior position and the enemy was in a superior position, but also accelerated the final victory of the revolutionary war when the positions of the enemy and ourselves were reversed.

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, "Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One," p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> *Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers"*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, F.L.P., Peking, 1963, "On Protracted War," p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> The first stage covered the period of the enemy's strategic offensive and our strategic defensive. The second stage was the period of the enemy's strategic consolidation and our preparation for the counter-offensive. The third stage was the period of our strategic counter-offensive and the enemy's strategic retreat. (*Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, F.L.P., Peking, 1963, "On Protracted War," pp. 210-1.)

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, "Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One," p. 315.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," p. 171.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p. 176.

## Chinese Personnel in Brazil Must Be Freed Immediately

by COMMENTATOR

*Following is a translation of the April 4 "Renmin Ribao" article "The Brazilian Authorities Must Immediately Set Chinese Personnel Free." Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

ONE whole year has elapsed since the Brazilian authorities, at the instigation of U.S. imperialism, sprang their plot to persecute the nine Chinese trade personnel and journalists. The illegally arrested Chinese are still held in jail.

Facts have long and fully proved that they are guiltless. Immediately after their illegal arrest on

April 3, 1964, Gustavo Borges, Chief of the Department of Political and Social Order of Guanabara State, admitted that his agents had found nothing of a compromising nature after a search of their residences. The false "charges" and "evidence" fabricated later by the Brazilian authorities have been completely discredited. Therefore, the arbitrary verdict passed in December last at a Brazilian military tribunal is entirely illegal. It has been sternly repudiated by the accused Chinese, and vigorously denounced by the people and public opinion throughout the world. Even public opinion in Brazil has urged the authorities to admit their error and restore freedom to the Chinese immediately. How-

ever, three months have since passed and the innocent Chinese still suffer torments in a Brazilian jail. The Chinese people are most indignant and cannot remain indifferent to this.

They consider it necessary to remind the Brazilian authorities: **By acting as a cat's paw for U.S. imperialism in this dirty frame-up, you have already brought evil consequences upon yourselves. In the past year, some 1,230 official and legislative bodies, parties, groups, organizations, business firms and prominent figures from all walks of life in 85 countries, including those of Latin America, and 26 international organizations and their leaders, have repeatedly expressed, in various forms, their strong protest against your crime.** The national prestige of Brazil has been seriously injured. Trade and cultural circles of many countries rightly entertain misgivings about your wanton violation of the

normal practice of international intercourse. If you keep to this path, what result can you expect other than more extensive and stronger condemnation by world public opinion and a difficult situation in which you will find yourselves more isolated?

The Chinese Government and people keep constantly in mind the nine Chinese personnel unjustifiably imprisoned in Brazil. It is the firm intention of the Chinese people to carry on the just struggle against their persecution as long as the Brazilian authorities refuse to end this victimization and to restore their freedom. It is high time that the Brazilian authorities free themselves from the influence of U.S. imperialism and at once restore freedom to the nine Chinese personnel! **The longer the delay, the more unfavourable will become the situation for the Brazilian authorities who must bear responsibility for all consequences.**

## International Communist Movement

# March 1 Meeting Condemned as a Major Conspiracy

*"Zeri i Popullit," organ of the Albanian Party of Labour, published on March 18 an article "The Revisionist Schismatic Meeting of March 1—A Big Conspiracy Against Marxism-Leninism and International Communism." Excerpts from the article follow. Bold-face emphases are ours.—Ed.*

**B**Y holding this meeting in Moscow in defiance of the serious warning of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the Soviet revisionist leadership and its followers have taken a very dangerous step towards a complete and final split in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

This act has finally torn the mask off the present Soviet leaders and once again exposed their true features before the world. It has proved that they are the faithful continuers of the anti-Marxist and splittist line of Khrushchov, and that they are carrying out what their chieftain failed to realize. It has proved that side by side with Khrushchov, they are the biggest conspirators and splitters known in the history of the world communist movement, revisionists and incorrigible renegades from Marxism-Leninism, and the allies and accomplices of imperialism.

The March 1 meeting was absolutely illegal because it was convened arbitrarily, without consultations among the fraternal Parties, without their approval and in defiance of their resolute opposition. It was a flagrant violation of the principles and norms of the relations among Parties and trampled on the 1960 Moscow Statement. **It was a schismatic and factional meeting of a handful of revisionist leaders, a meeting intended**

purely and simply to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement and directed against the fraternal Parties and all true revolutionaries who are firmly opposed to modern revisionism. It was a typical meeting of experienced conspirators who, while crying for "unity" and "cohesion," were sharpening the dagger with which they are prepared to stab the revolution in the back. It was also a pro-imperialist meeting, a meeting to meet the plans and needs of U.S. imperialism in the present circumstances. **The Khrushchovian revisionists of the Soviet Union and their followers must bear grave and full historical responsibility for this act of unprecedented betrayal in organizing their factional and schismatic meeting.**

### "Anti-Imperialist" in Word, Pro-Imperialist in Deed

The article points out that the authors of the communique of the Moscow schismatic meeting issued on March 10 were obliged to weigh their words and camouflage their hostility towards Marxism-Leninism with demagogy. For instance, the communique of the Moscow schismatic meeting is filled with "anti-imperialist" phrases. Of late especially, "anti-imperialism" has become a favourite theme of the Khrushchovian revisionists. Their aim is to deceive the peoples and revolutionaries and win their confidence so as to make it easier for the revisionists to practise their pro-imperialist policy.

However, unity and co-operation in the anti-imperialist struggle can be achieved only among those forces which truly adhere to the anti-imperialist posi-

tion and which firmly combat, in word and deed alike, imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, the chieftain and main bulwark of world reaction and the worst enemy of the people of the world. By their political line and actual performances, the modern revisionists have placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front. Simply for demagogic purposes, they pay lip service to the anti-imperialist struggle. In fact, they are undermining the anti-imperialist front, collaborating with imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, and serving its policy and designs. Facts have proved that the revisionists, instead of taking the anti-imperialist position, adhere to the pro-imperialist position.

Beginning from the 20th Congress, the Khrushchovian revisionists and their followers have been pursuing the line of rapprochement and many-sided collaboration with imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, the line of undermining the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and of sabotaging the revolution. However, the revisionist Soviet leaders, as in the communique of the schismatic meeting of March 1, swear by all that is sacred to their "anti-imperialism." Could a change have taken place? Could these people have departed from their old path of serving imperialism and become resolute "anti-imperialists"? Facts have proved that, as in the past, neither the Soviet leadership nor its followers who participated in the schismatic meeting make any change at all. They firmly adhere to Khrushchov's pro-imperialist line put forward at the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses. **The revisionist Soviet leadership has maintained all the former alliances with U.S. imperialism and is establishing new ones. It dreams of and works for consolidating "Soviet-American multiple co-operation."** Like Khrushchov, it continues to join imperialism and other reactionary forces in plots at the expense of the fraternal socialist countries and the peoples. The co-operation of the revisionist Soviet leaders and the U.S. imperialists has been exposed most concretely and clearly at the recent session of the United Nations General Assembly.

**The "anti-imperialism" of the present Soviet leadership has also been clearly shown up for what it is on the question of the U.S. imperialist aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.** At a time when strong indignation and protests against this aggression were sweeping the world, the demonstration of Soviet and foreign students in front of the American Embassy in Moscow was brutally and sanguinarily suppressed on orders of the revisionist Soviet leadership.

The false posture the revisionist Soviet leadership has assumed in regard to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has also been exposed by the following fact: At the very moment when the U.S. imperialists were dropping bombs on the territory of socialist Viet Nam on the orders of Lyndon Johnson, the Soviet Government confirmed through the mouth of Kosygin that, despite the incidents in Viet Nam, the invitation to President Johnson, a "friend" of the Soviet Union, to visit Moscow remained valid. This amounts

to saying: "You Americans, do what you like in Viet Nam! Don't pay any heed to what we revisionists are forced to say against the Johnson Administration and U.S. imperialism for demagogic purposes. Our main concern remains the amelioration of Soviet-American relations." The Soviet revisionists try to "settle" the Viet Nam question through negotiations while maintaining the status quo and respecting the demands and interests of U.S. imperialism which, as everyone knows, wants negotiations from a position of strength.

Facts have shown that the grandiloquent words of the revisionists who allege that they support the anti-imperialist struggle and the national-liberation and revolutionary movements of the world, are nothing but a bluff, a demagogic manoeuvre to camouflage their true features and gain some political capital. **The so-called "anti-imperialism" of the revisionists, publicized in the communique of the schismatic meeting and by the revisionist Soviet leaders, is not in the least what unites them with the Marxist-Leninists, but is precisely the main gulf that separates them from the Marxist-Leninists; this is the most fundamental question on which differences exist today in the communist movement. The revisionists make no distinction at all between friend and foe; they have embarked on the path of alignment with imperialism against socialism, alignment with the United States and reaction in various countries against the peoples and their liberation and revolutionary movements, and alignment with the lackeys and agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialists, with the Tito clique and the Right-wing social democratic chieftains against Marxism-Leninism, the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces of the world.**

The historic duty of the Marxist-Leninists today is to expose the high-sounding, anti-imperialist words of the Khrushchovian modern revisionists, and their true colours as lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, and not to permit them to deceive the peoples and plot with imperialism to the detriment of the peoples.

### **Public Polemics Inevitable and Necessary**

Referring to the present polemics in the international communist movement, the article says that, with a view to deceiving the Communists and the people with their "anti-imperialist" card so as to be able more easily to achieve their object of destroying the communist and the revolutionary movements, the modern revisionists try, in their communique, to ensure calm and stop the polemics. They try to justify all this by the imperative necessity to ensure the unity of the international communist movement.

The revisionists are out and out hypocrites. It is common knowledge that it is none other than the revisionists themselves who first laid bare the differences before the enemy and provoked public polemics by a series of attacks and frenzied calumnies against the Albanian Party of Labour at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. and later against the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties.

**At present the revisionists are in fact continuing the polemics and are unwilling to abandon them.** But they demand that the Marxist-Leninist parties keep their mouths shut and they deny them their right, in accordance with the principle of equality, to reply to the attacks by the revisionists.

The present polemics are a great debate which involves the most fundamental questions of the theory and practice of communism. After the revisionists started the polemics, they have become inevitable and necessary because the Khrushchovian revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and replaced it with opportunism and revisionism, betrayed proletarian internationalism and replaced it with great-power chauvinism and national egoism, betrayed the interests of the revolution and socialism and replaced them with the interests of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and betrayed unity and cohesion and created a split in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

**It is clear that so long as the revisionists do not renounce their way of betrayal and split but are bent on following it to the end, cessation of the polemics is out of the question. Public polemics will stop only when the modern revisionists are completely unmasked and thoroughly destroyed.**

The continuation of public polemics will contribute to a better elucidation of the truth and to a real Marxist-Leninist unity on a new basis through this struggle.

### **Splitters and Factionalists Try to Cover Themselves by Cries Against "Splittism" and "Factionalism"**

The article says that the splitters and factionalists try to conceal their real features by raising cries against splittism and factionalism. The revisionists who pretend to be concerned about the cause of unity try to pass themselves off as defenders of proletarian internationalism and of the Marxist-Leninist principles governing the relations among the Communist and Workers' Parties and among the socialist countries.

The modern revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, followed an anti-Marxist line and given wide publicity to it, thus undermining the ideological and political basis of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. It is they who have departed from and betrayed the principles of proletarian internationalism, trampled underfoot the principles and norms governing the relations between the socialist countries and Communist Parties, and slid down to the stand of great-power chauvinism and national egoism.

Since the 20th Congress, the Khrushchov group has crudely interfered in the internal affairs of a number of Parties and countries under the pretext of "opposing the personality cult and its consequences." To put the socialist countries under its many-sided control, the Khrushchov group has done its utmost to infringe their sovereignty, grossly interfered in their

internal affairs, and carried out disruptive activities against them.

**If the present Soviet leaders and their followers genuinely want to adhere to the internationalist principles governing the relations between the fraternal Parties and socialist countries and to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of others, they should first make public and sincere self-criticism and bravely and in a principled way repudiate and correct all hostile actions and measures they have taken against the fraternal Parties and fraternal countries.** However, the present Soviet leaders have not only failed to take any positive step in this direction but show no intention whatsoever to do so. They have continued to engage in disruptive activities against the fraternal Parties and to oppose the Japanese and Indonesian Communist Parties. **As in the past, they are following the line of great-power chauvinism, of the "baton" and the "patriarchal party," although in a new way.**

The article refutes the outcries of the Soviet revisionists and their followers that the Marxist-Leninist parties' support for the new Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces in all parts of the world is "intervention in internal affairs" and "factional activities." The revisionists attempt to represent the formation of new Marxist-Leninist parties, groups and bodies as the result of external encouragement and organization by the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other fraternal Parties. This is an attempt to distort the real causes of the split in many Parties in which the revisionists are dominant and also to cover up the factionalist nature of the March 1 anti-Marxist meeting.

**The split in many Parties is the result of the attempt of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and its followers to impose their revisionist line upon other Parties. Wherever there is revisionism, the Marxist-Leninists will inevitably rise to oppose and struggle against it.** The struggle now going on within or outside of the Communist Parties — especially those in which the revisionists are dominant — in various countries is but a manifestation of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism on an international scale and is the struggle between two opposing lines in a country.

The hue and cry raised by the modern revisionists to prevent the so-called "factional activities" and their slanders, charges and attacks against the revolutionary Communists of the new Marxist-Leninist groups and Parties can never arrest the latter's development and growth in strength, or block their revolutionary struggle.

**As to the support given by the Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties to the revolutionary Communist comrades of all countries, the Albanian Party of Labour has always regarded and still regards this as a noble international duty.** The Marxist-Leninists have the right and the duty to give unreserved support to the revolutionary Communists who persist in the Marxist-Leninist stand, selflessly engage in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, protect the work-

ing-class revolutionary parties from the revisionist corrosion and adhere to a firm revolutionary line.

### **Revisionism Is the Opposite and Destroyer of Unity**

The last part of the article exposes the modern revisionists' true colours as combining sham unity and a real split. It points out that people have seen clearly that **the Soviet leaders and their followers oppose real unity and what they want is unity against Marxism, a revisionist unity based on revisionism. The conference they want to convene is designed to serve this very "unity."**

As with all other questions, the article says, the Khrushchovian revisionists have always tried to speculate on the proposals for unity and the sincere desire for unity of the Communists and revolutionaries. But their statements on unity are designed merely to mislead the people.

**It is necessary to take a number of basic measures in order to restore and strengthen the real unity of the communist movement and of the socialist camp and to create the conditions for the convening of an international conference which will be conducive to unity. First of all, it is necessary to repudiate the opportunist and revisionist line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses. It is necessary to repudiate the line of rapprochement and alignment with the U.S. and other imperialists, the Tito clique, the chieftains of the Right-wing Social Democrats, the reactionaries and all enemies of the working class, of socialism and of the peoples. If this line is not discarded, unity will be out of the question. It is also necessary to repudiate the line of great-power chauvinism and national egoism. Only thus will it be possible to create the conditions and climate favourable to the overcoming of differences, the development of consultation among the fraternal Parties on an equal footing and in a comradely spirit, the convening of an international conference and the strengthening of unity.**

But the revisionists who persist in the path of betrayal have refused to give up their anti-Marxist line

and correct any of their grave mistakes. Instead, they have been sinking ever more deeply into the quagmire of revisionism and split.

After the revisionists have taken a new step of betrayal by organizing the March 1 factional schismatic meeting, the Marxist-Leninists and all genuine revolutionaries are faced with a new task. **In the face of the big challenge of the revisionists, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists will draw lessons and conclusions and adopt all necessary measures.**

As an answer to the factional meeting of the revisionists, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists will increasingly strengthen the unity of their ranks and enhance their mutual aid, solidarity and co-operation internally and internationally in order to counter the present and future schemes of the revisionists and, through resolute, principled and co-ordinated struggle, to defeat completely the Khrushchovian revisionists and their plots.

The genuine Communists of various countries who are now waging a struggle within and outside of the Parties led by the revisionists will strengthen their struggle and make greater efforts to save the various Communist Parties so that they will not take the dangerous road of betrayal which the revisionists attempt to make them follow. **Any waiting, hesitation or cherishing hopes and illusions about compromise and unity with the revisionists will be more dangerous at present than ever before and will seriously damage the vital interests of communism and the revolutionary movement.**

In conclusion, the article says that by organizing the March 1 factional schismatic meeting, the Soviet revisionist leaders and their followers have thrown out a challenge to the entire international communist movement and the workers' movement. The Marxist-Leninists have every reason to strengthen their struggle to expose and defeat the revisionist conspirators and hold still higher the banner of revolution, the liberation of the peoples, and socialism and the banner of struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

## **D.N. Aidit on Communist and Workers' Parties' Conference**

- **The March Moscow meeting added fuel to the flames of polemics.**
- **International communist movement will grow in strength even without an international meeting.**

**T**HE Indonesian Communist Party will agree to the holding of a Communist and Workers' Parties' conference only when unanimity is reached on the time, place and agenda of the conference by the Communist and Workers' Parties of all the socialist countries," declared D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) on March 27. He said this while

receiving Charge d'Affaires of the Soviet Embassy P.P. Sevostinov, according to a March 28 press release of the P.K.I.

"If the Communist and Workers' Parties of all the socialist countries reach agreement on these matters, then the Indonesian Communist Party will attend the

conference because it will be a conference which will strengthen the unity of the international communist movement," Aidit declared.

He pointed out that "the meeting which began on March 1 on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union without the agreement of some Communist and Workers' Parties has added fuel to the flames of the polemics in the international communist movement which for a while began to abate."

He continued, "At present, it is unwise to hold a world Communist and Workers' Parties' conference. It does not mean that without such a conference the international communist movement is non-existent. Even without such a conference, the international communist movement exists and will grow in strength. The international communist movement existed and fared quite well during the time when there was no international conference of the Communist and Workers'

Parties, namely, between 1943 when the Communist International was dissolved and the 1957 Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties at which the joint Statement was adopted."

Aidit warned: "The arbitrary holding of an international conference without adequate preparation will certainly weaken the international communist movement."

In his talk, Aidit also explained the daily developing revolutionary situation in Indonesia in general and the struggle against British and U.S. imperialism in particular.

He said, "The situation in Southeast Asia is very serious indeed, but, also very favourable to the revolutionary movement in this part of the world. The present revolutionary situation in Indonesia will surely play its role in giving an impetus to the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia."

## New Zealand C.P. on March Moscow Meeting

- **The C.P.S.U. leadership's adherence to Khrushchov's line can only deepen the split in the international communist movement.**
- **Only when capitulation to imperialism is abandoned can there be unity.**

*Following is the full text of the statement issued by the Political Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand on the schismatic March Moscow meeting. — Ed.*

**T**HE Political Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand met on March 19 to consider the communique issued by the meeting of the representatives of 19 Parties held in Moscow from March 1 to March 5, 1965. Assessing the meeting and communique, the Political Committee adopted the following views:

1. The communique, behind a facade of "fair words," shows the intention of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to continue the bankrupt policies and tactics of Khrushchov and to continue working for a split in the world communist movement by attempting to force a revisionist line on all Communist and Workers' Parties.

2. The form and character of the meeting was down-graded from that of a drafting commission to prepare a new world meeting and instead was called a

"consultative meeting." Nevertheless, the fact that it was held at all in face of opposition and protests from a number of Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of New Zealand, shows the intention of the convenors—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union leadership—to pursue basically the same course as Khrushchov towards the Parties adhering to Marxism-Leninism.

3. The communique attempts concretely to continue the tactics of working for a split by its proposal for an 81 Parties' "consultative meeting," to prepare a new world conference.

Such a "consultative meeting" held in circumstances in which the leaderships of those Parties supporting Khrushchov's revisionism in practice follow the path of capitulation to imperialism, must inevitably lead to an open split. The Political Committee calls attention to the following points in connection with both the 19 Parties' meeting and the communique.

Firstly, the meeting took place at a time when the U.S. imperialists were conducting flagrant acts of

aggression against a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This aggression—which is aggression against the whole socialist camp—is continuing unabated. Despite this, neither during the meeting or since, have the leaderships of the C.P.S.U. and the other seven socialist countries participating taken concrete steps in practice to repulse the aggression.

This fact exposes the words of the communique calling for unity to fight imperialism as being no more than hollow deception. Events show with absolute clarity that the practice being followed by the modern revisionists is the practice of capitulation to imperialism.

The united action against imperialism called for in the “fair words” of the communique cannot be built on the practice of capitulation. Such a unity would be a fraud. It would mean subordinating the genuine anti-imperialist forces to the requirements of imperialism.

The test of any Communist Party is its practice. In a situation where imperialism is waging aggressive war against a socialist country, the only firm, the only possible basis for uniting the socialist camp and the world communist movement is the abandonment by the revisionists of capitulation in practice, of which the absence of action in defence of socialist Viet Nam is a glaring example.

Without such practical evidence of willingness to wage a real struggle against imperialism, “fair words” on unity were worthless.

Secondly, the changes in the form and title of the meeting in Moscow were impelled by the fact that seven of the 26 Parties invited refused to attend. These included the Communist Parties of five socialist countries—Albania, China, Viet Nam, Korea and Rumania plus the Communist Parties of Indonesia (the largest in the capitalist world) and Japan. As well as this, a number of the Parties participating had previously expressed their reluctance to proceed with the type of meeting envisaged by Khrushchov—one that would immediately force an open split.

Thus the down-grading of the meeting was brought about by growing opposition to revisionist methods, not through any conscious recognition by the revisionists of the previous wrong methods of treatment of other fraternal Parties. There was, and has been, no open admission of erroneous practices in terms of the methods laid down in the 81 Parties’ Statement for maintaining comradesly relations between Parties and for settling differences between them. As the C.P.N.Z. and other fraternal Parties have repeatedly pointed out, the very holding of the 19 Parties’ meeting was in contravention of the methods laid down in the Statement. The convening of this meeting from the point of view of the world communist movement as a whole was thus illegal and the meeting can have no status in relation

to the calling of any meetings or conferences of the world movement. In this respect nothing can ensue from it, other than deeper division.

Thirdly, the proposal of the 19 Parties for a “consultative meeting” of the 81 Parties to prepare a world meeting, as stated in the communique, is an attempt to impose on the world communist movement the same objectives which were originally sought by Khrushchov in illegally convening a “drafting commission,” for December 1964. The postponement of that meeting following Khrushchov’s downfall had clearly not been motivated by an abandonment of Khrushchov’s policies, tactics and methods. These have already done great damage to the unity of the socialist camp and the struggles of the international working class and the national-liberation movements against imperialism.

It appears from the fact that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. still proceeded with the meeting, even in its down-graded form, and from the proposal of the communique, that they are bent on forcing the acceptance of these policies, tactics, and methods on all Parties.

As the C.P.N.Z. has consistently pointed out, the procedures laid down in the 1960 Statement must be adhered to if there is to be a world meeting productive of Marxist-Leninist unity.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. did not comply with the procedures of the Statement in the calling of the Moscow meeting. Now again, they are not complying with these procedures, but are substituting their own, that of calling an 81 Parties’ “consultative meeting,” to prepare a world conference of Parties.

In the absence of real conditions to make such a “consultative meeting” productive, such a gathering would have virtually the same results as the conference planned by Khrushchov—the open splitting of the world movement through attempts to impose on all of the Parties the anti-Marxist-Leninist revisionist line of the C.P.S.U. leadership.

The Political Committee therefore rejects this proposal. It calls instead for bilateral talks, in which the modern revisionists can start a thoroughgoing self-criticism of their mistakes, and an abandonment of attempts to impose their capitulationist practice and theory on the world communist movement. It calls for immediate steps by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the other participants to demonstrate in practice that they are prepared to defend the integrity of the socialist camp by rendering all possible and necessary assistance to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in repulsing the imperialist aggressors.

Only when the practice of capitulation and its theoretical justification are abandoned, can there be a real prospect of establishing the unity of the world communist movement on a firm, truly Marxist-Leninist foundation. That sort of unity is what the Political Committee of the C.P.N.Z. desires. This is what it has fought for. This is what it will continue to fight for.

# Exposure of Revisionists' Capitulationist Line On Viet Nam Question

*Following are excerpts from the editorial "U.S. Imperialist Aggression in Viet Nam and the Manoeuvres of the Anti-Party Revisionists" published on April 2 by "Akahata," organ of the Japanese Communist Party. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**T**HE savage war of aggression against Viet Nam unleashed by U.S. imperialism shows ever more clearly the correctness of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and the revolutionary viewpoints of our Party programme and Party line; at the same time, it shows up once again the absurdity of the arguments prettifying U.S. imperialism, peddled everywhere by the modern revisionists as their own special line.

The advocates of the thesis of "polarization of U.S. imperialism" have been clamouring that the "sensible group" as represented by Kennedy and Johnson should be distinguished from the "warlike group" as represented by Goldwater and his like. This thesis has now been proved publicly and indisputably to be sheer nonsense.

The illusion they created that the partial nuclear test ban treaty would bring about "general relaxation of international tension" has been completely shattered.

The Johnson Administration has gone to the length of using napalm bombs and poison gas, and attempts to extend the war to the whole of Indo-China. Moreover, it is contemplating a war of aggression directly against China. In so doing, it poses an impending, grave threat to peace in Asia and the world. In these circumstances, even the revisionists find it difficult to publicize impudently and undisguisedly the arguments prettifying U.S. imperialism.

The same is true of Yoshio Shiga, Shigeo Kamiyama, Tomochika Naito, Shojiro Kasuga and other anti-Party revisionists of Japan who, in collusion with the international trend of modern revisionism, have been working desperately to undermine our Party. Acting hand in glove with a number of anti-communist, Right-wing Social Democrats, they have smuggled anti-communism, revisionism and splittism into the Japanese people's movements. They have tried to put into practice "greater unity," raised the banner of an anti-Party "new organization" and asked for its "recognition" by the March (Moscow) meeting. This organizational line of theirs suffered a heavy blow as a result of the failure of the "drafting committee" meeting called by the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on March 1. The increasingly brutal aggression of U.S. imperialism against Viet Nam has dealt a heavy blow to their political line which, by negating the anti-

imperialist struggle, has rounded out the unique "theory of peaceful coexistence" and the opportunist strategy based on it into a system.

The first tactic of the Shiga-Kamiyama "Voice of Japan" gang, the Naito gang and the Kasuga gang of anti-Party revisionists in their new schemes in connection with the Viet Nam question is to pretend that they, too, condemn U.S. imperialism — an attempt to cover up their discredited line in face of the undeniable U.S. imperialist aggression.

But this tactic is a sheer fraud. The fact is that if they do not tone down a little their arguments prettifying U.S. imperialism and if they do not make some gestures of protest, they will show themselves up in their true colours as the enemy of the forces of peace and democracy and will thus be repudiated by the tiny fraction of the public that still follows them.

They parroted everything that Khrushchov said, and when Khrushchov's successors said something slightly different they immediately echoed that. Their attitude brings out most clearly the Japanese anti-Party revisionists' characteristic of combining modern revisionism and modern dogmatism and reveals that they are completely dependent and have betrayed the Party.

**Another tactic of the anti-Party revisionists in their new schemes in connection with the Viet Nam question is actually to put forward under the guise of "protests" their opportunist, capitulationist and divisive line, a line which is aimed at preventing a correct settlement of that question.**

Chiming in with some imperialist and capitalist newspapers, they advocate "peaceful negotiations" with U.S. imperialism in the name of seeking "a peaceful settlement."

**The only prerequisite for a peaceful solution to the Viet Nam question is the immediate stopping of the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Viet Nam and the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from south Viet Nam. Any proposal for a "settlement of the Viet Nam question" through an "international conference" or "political negotiations" without the realization of this prerequisite will inevitably lead, in practice, to the quagmire of capitulationism: to maintain the very status quo of U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam and recognize an "armistice" which would allow U.S. imperialism to hang on in south Viet Nam. Such a stand goes against the demand of the Vietnamese people that "the Viet Nam question and the peaceful unification of Viet Nam be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves."**

On the lips of the revisionists, the call for "the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Viet Nam" is only fine

words. Their real aim is to "settle" the Viet Nam question through capitulationist "U.S.-U.S.S.R. cooperation," as when Khrushchov held talks with U.S. imperialism during the "Cuban crisis" in disregard of the stand of the Cuban Government and as when he signed the "partial nuclear test ban treaty" in defiance of the expressed will of all peoples.

In escalating its war of aggression in Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is obviously taking advantage of the

disunity in the international communist movement and the opportunist line of the modern revisionists. The manoeuvres of the anti-Party revisionists in our country will serve to divide the struggle of the people against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Viet Nam, distort the policy adopted in their struggle and thus give help to U.S. imperialism on the flank.

To expose before the popular masses the revisionists' new schemings over the Viet Nam question is a struggle of the utmost importance.

## Pen Probes

### The American Way of Gassing

THE White House press secretary, according to his boss Lyndon Johnson, is "an honest newsman, a wonderful human being and a man of good judgment." Now when such a paragon of virtue declares that the use of poisonous gas against people in war is "a matter of routine," why should ordinary mortals object? Nevertheless they do, loudly and forcefully.

To answer those who still question the honesty of Johnson's press aide, his Defence Secretary, famous for his "flexible response" tactic, has come out with the idea that since gases have been used before in other places, they must now be "Okay," the 1925 Geneva protocol forbidding the use of gas notwithstanding. Were they not used, he asked, against Negro people at home and the people of Panama abroad? So they must be regarded as conventional weapons. Why all the fuss?

This is the logic of a habitual killer who, in defending his latest crime, argues that since he killed before and plans to kill again, there's nothing unusual about it and therefore, nothing to make a fuss about.

Adding its voice, the U.S. Information Service declares that the use of gas in war is more "humane." Here, the word "humane" is evidently used in the sense Johnson used it to justify his November 1964 mission to massacre the Congolese people in Stanleyville.

Despite their bold front, the American gassers, however, had misgivings. The men in Washington were putting up apologies even before their crime was discovered. Typical were the outpourings of Clifford F. Rassweiler, one time President of the American Chemical Society and a Pentagon brainman. Writing in the *Saturday Evening Post* of January 30, Rassweiler asked: "What's so terrible about germ or chemical warfare?" According to him, poison gas and germ warfare "provide the most effective way known to kill masses of people" which "is the objective of all other weapons of warfare." Dr. Rassweiler gassed: ". . . if we give this new kind of war the attention and support it deserves, we can make war more humane, even 'benign.'" Even his boss Johnson has not yet thought of that — the use of gas in war is something "benign"!

While publishing such views of an adviser to several government agencies, including the Pentagon, the *Saturday Evening Post* wasn't so sure that this would not provoke public indignation. So its editor put them discreetly under the column "Speaking Out" which advertises that the publishing of such views is a measure of "democracy": "One measure of a democracy's strength is the freedom to speak out." So under the watchword "democracy" it tried to prepare its readers mentally for further violations of international law and the commonly accepted, most elementary concepts of human conduct.

"Democracy," "Humanitarianism" "Benign" all these and other such nice words have been used by the U.S. aggressors to justify their brutalities both at home and abroad. This reminds one of the dialogue between Humpty Dumpty and Alice in Wonderland:

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master — that's all."

"That's a great deal to make one word mean," Alice said in a thoughtful tone.

"When I make a word do a lot of work like that," said Humpty Dumpty, "I always pay it extra."

Lyndon Johnson, his press secretary, his defence secretary, his Dr. Rassweiler must pay their words quite a lot extra.



# ROUND THE WORLD

## "ROK"-Japan Agreements

### Without Legal Basis

In a statement issued on April 5 a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea outlined his government's position on the so-called agreements on "property claims," "fisheries" and the "legal status of Koreans in Japan" initialled between Japan and the Pak Jung Hi clique (south Korea) in Tokyo two days earlier. Following the "south Korea-Japan treaty on basic relations" which was agreed on in Seoul on February 20, the "talks" long drawn out over the years are being hastily rushed through their final stages. The speed at which this is being done is entirely due to the United States, which is calling the tune.

The dangers that these "agreements" pose to the Korean as well as the Japanese people are clear. Through the initialling of these treacherous documents, the Korean Government points out, the Pak Jung Hi clique openly paves the way for the Japanese militarists to invade south Korea once more. It denounces the clique's high treason and declares that any agreement concluded between the Japanese Government and the Pak Jung Hi regime is null and void.

What is behind the "agreement on property claims"? The statement points out that in return for waiving the legitimate and huge reparations claim arising from the consequences of the barbarous and predatory colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists over Korea in the past, the Pak Jung Hi clique receives a few dollars with which to line its own pockets, in addition to some "government and private loans." Under the "fisheries agreement" the Pak Jung Hi clique hands over the fishing grounds of south Korea to the Japanese militarists, an act of treachery which menaces the livelihood of one million fishermen in south Korea. Finally, by the "agreement on the legal status of Koreans in Japan" the Pak Jung Hi clique grants the

Japanese authorities the right to perpetuate national discrimination and even to deport Korean nationals in Japan at will and to deprive them of the right to subsistence.

As the statement makes plain, the Pak Jung Hi clique does not represent the Korean people. It cannot last a day without the bayonet support of U.S. imperialism which maintains a large occupation army south of the 38th Parallel. Therefore, when these "agreements" are formally signed and ratified, south Korea will be reduced to a dual colony of the U.S. and Japanese imperialists and the day of the country's peaceful unification postponed, the statement adds.

Washington takes a special interest in close collaboration between Japan and south Korea because, knocked about in south Viet Nam and running into a blind alley in its aggressive schemes generally in Asia, it hopes that the conclusion of the "south Korea-Japan talks" will make it possible for the "Northeast Asia military alliance" to be strung together at long last. This evil design of lining up the Japanese militarists and the scum that is the Pak Jung Hi clique to serve its aggressive ends, of making Asian fight Asian, is plain to see. That is why rallies and demonstrations in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Japan, and in south Korea itself, have been growing in scale and intensity since the announcement that the "agreements" have been initialled in Tokyo.

### When Gas Fails

#### U.S. Tries Scorched Earth

Boi Loi, the thick forest some 30 miles northwest of Saigon where last November U.S. "Operation Brush-fire," boasted of as "the biggest air assault in army aviation history," met with disaster, has been the scene of another American fiasco. On March 31, the American aggressors again mounted a massive attack on Boi Loi, this time trying out against the South Viet Nam Liberation Army what the U.S. military in Saigon called a "new

type strike." Much was expected from this carefully worked out operation, coming as it did in the wake of their fruitless and universally condemned gas warfare.

Boi Loi was subjected to heavy and continuous bombing, followed by the spraying of poisonous chemicals to defoliate the trees. Then, on March 31, seventy American planes dropped tons of napalm, incendiary and phosphorous bombs and barrel after barrel of fuel oil to burn out all the 19,000 acres and deny "the Viet Cong dense jungle cover." The attack was described as the "largest scorched earth raid yet made in south Viet Nam." Joseph H. Moore, commander of the U.S. air force units in south Viet Nam, told reporters after a flight over the area that "the fire attack culminated a 3-month air force project begun with saturation bombing of the Viet Cong base camp in the area in January."

So pleased were the U.S. army headquarters with their attempt to make the "whole vast forest go up like tinder" and subsequently "wipe out the Communists in the tunnels in this area" that newsmen were invited to inspect the effectiveness of the new tactics. They were flown the next day "over the area expected to be a blazing inferno." But, AP lamented, they "were greeted by heavy Viet Cong ground fire. The enemy was apparently still there." Of course, the people's armed forces were still there. The U.S. aggressors may try to burn down all the forests in south Viet Nam but they cannot stamp out the fighting resolve of a nation determined to achieve liberation.

Like gas warfare, the scorched earth raids employed by the Americans in south Viet Nam are a monstrous crime. By resorting to these desperate and diabolical tactics in a hopeless bid to ward off defeat, the Johnson Administration has only proved that it has outdone the Nazis in barbarity.

### Whitehall Diplomacy

#### What Is It After?

All the world's people have left the American Government in no doubt that they condemn intensi-

fied American aggression in south Viet Nam and escalation of the war in Indo-China as a whole. The use of poison gas against the South Viet Nam Liberation Army and civilians, and the unceasing bombing raids north of the 17th Parallel, have come under especially heavy fire. Even among its own allies the United States has found little support or encouragement for its war moves which are designed to blackmail and bludgeon the Vietnamese people into submission. Yet, while Washington thus stands increasingly isolated and indicted before world opinion, the British Labour Government has seen fit to come out with statements to defend the indefensible.

This Whitehall record is at once dishonourable and ignominious. China's *Renmin Ribao* in a commentary on April 5 catalogues four charges. First, the Labour government echoes the false American accusation of "aggression" by Vietnamese against Vietnamese. Second, it approves wanton U.S. bombing raids on the D.R.V., claiming unashamedly that such attacks are "proper" and "unavoidable." Third, it tries to make a case for the continued presence of American troops in south Viet Nam, brazenly declaring that Britain rejects the demand of the Vietnamese people for the "complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces." Fourth, it has lost all sense of proportion in not only condoning but in countenancing U.S. gas warfare in south Viet Nam, saying that this was "not in contravention of the 1925 Geneva Convention, or of other conventions."

It is a record that no self-respecting government can be proud of. Least of all one that is a co-chairman of the Geneva conference. Harold Wilson's administration takes special pride in cultivating what it calls a special relationship with Washington. What is "special" in this relationship is that the junior partner tails faithfully behind the senior partner, that it goes out of its way to find excuses for and in some cases even to sing the praises of American aggression against the Vietnamese people. Such a role befits a hireling more than a partner.

Perhaps the British Labour Government believes that it is worth exposing itself to the odium of taking up the cudgels in defence of America's war and aggression in Indo-China. Perhaps it believes that, in return, the United States will come to Britain's aid in underpinning tottering British colonial rule in the region of the so-called "Malaysia." But let it be said at once that escalation in Indo-China can only spread the war flames. It can mean only one thing—the end of colonialists, old and new.

### Bases in Thailand

#### Where U.S. Bombers Strike Out

To an ever greater degree, Thailand, headquarters of the U.S.-created SEATO bloc, has become a base for U.S. aggression. All three countries of Indo-China, Cambodia and Laos as well as the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, have protested, at one time or another, against the United States using Thailand as a jumping-off ground for spy missions or outright bombing raids. At the Thai bases of Korat, Takli, Udorn and Won Muang intense American military activities are going on and, according to an AP dispatch, the Americans are extending the Korat airstrip from 10,000 to 12,000 feet "to handle large U.S. jet bombers."

The fact is that the Johnson Administration is feverishly converting Thailand into a huge mili-

tary base for widening its aggression in Southeast Asia. A recent issue of the *U.S. News & World Report* gives some inkling of this effort. It says: "Nearly 6,000 American servicemen of all branches of the armed forces are in Thailand. They fly U.S. air force combat planes, train and advise the Thai, help build new roads and assist in a counter-insurgency program." It adds significantly that "stockpiles of heavy materiel sufficient to equip an entire American division are in place at Korat."

Apart from using Thai bases to strike at the neighbouring countries, and apart from building Thailand up as a centre of aggression, the United States is seeking to tighten its control over the country ruled by the military junta of Thanom Kittikachorn and Praphas Charusathien. It has decided to supply these American henchmen with more arms and money to suppress the patriotic movement for independence that is strong in northeast Thailand and is steadily making its impact on the whole country. This is what the *U.S. News & World Report* means when it says Americans "assist in a counter-insurgency program" in Thailand.

### "Redundancy" Dismissals

#### Bahraini Workers Down Tools

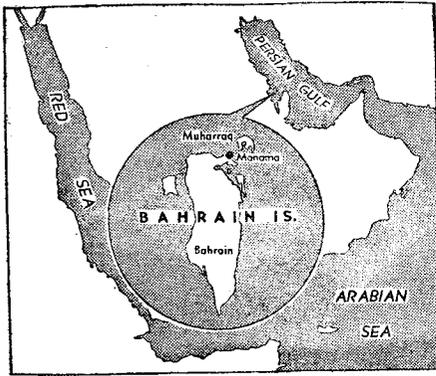
Bahrain, an oil-rich archipelago and sheikhdom under British control

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Till Death Do Us Part

For Lyndon B. Johnson and Maxwell D. Taylor who at one and the same time planned the raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and, out of a guilty conscience, the evacuation of U.S. family dependents from south Viet Nam, one of the unforeseen consequences is the effect on the morale of U.S. servicemen whose wives complain. Officials at the U.S. Operations Mission with a staff of 600 report from Saigon that the number of resignations is climbing swiftly. Under pressure from families separated by half a world, they say, many of the men are throwing in the towel. And a harassed legal officer of the U.S. 2nd Air Force Division grumbled that he had to process ten divorce applications each day.





Sketch map by Su Li

in the Persian Gulf, has hit the newspaper headlines. The workers of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, an American syndicate consisting of Standard Oil of California and Texas Oil Corporation, downed tools on March 11, and since then have been demonstrating in protest against the unjustified dismissal of their workmates. The company sacked the Bahraini workers on a pretext of redundancy, but actually the move was taken to make room for workers of European origin.

Despite the ruthless repression of the British colonialists who, with the help of U.S. imperialism, used helicopters to drop tear-gas bombs, the

protest action went on unabated. A large number of students joined the demonstrators, and merchants put up the shutters in protest, too. Ahmed El Umrani, Minister of Education of the Sheikdom of Bahrain, sided with the workers and students and resigned his post. The demands advanced by the strikers include reinstatement of the workers dismissed by the Bahrain Petroleum Company and the students dismissed from their schools, the release of all political detenus, the granting of freedom to the people and the formation of vocational and trade union organizations.

### Latin America

#### Political Power From Gun's Barrel

You have been told you are not strong, that you have no rifles. Revolutions do not start with rifles; start first and get your rifles after. Our curse is our belief in our weakness. We are not weak, we are strong. Make up your mind to strike before your opportunity goes.

— James Connolly

These stirring words of the Irish patriot who was executed on a charge of sedition by the British Government half a century ago, still hold

true today in their entirety. In some countries on the Latin American continent, Colombia and Venezuela, for instance, revolutions have started because patriots have refused to submit to the U.S.-financed dictatorial regimes. They did not worry about first having so many rounds of ammunition or so many stacks of guns and rifles. They rebelled and have captured from those in power arms and munitions with which to make the revolution.

In March, the guerrillas in Colombia won further successes against the government troops. In one sortie they took the town of Villavieja in Huila Province, crushed the garrison and seized large quantities of weapons and munitions. Reports from Bogota say that in Cauca Province, a guerrilla detachment, led by crack shot Pedro Antonio Marin, stormed the town of Inza and killed the hated mayor and a dozen of his henchmen before withdrawing.

In Venezuela where, notably, a unit of women guerrillas has been operating for several years under the leadership of Trina Urbina, a heroine of the Venezuelan people, the National Liberation Army not only held its own in the face of strenuous suppression campaigns in March but won new victories in engagements with the government troops. One unit fought a running 15-minute battle in El Faso. The guerrillas killed and wounded 20 enemy soldiers, then destroyed an army camp and made off with a huge booty. On March 12 thirty guerrillas attacked the town of Aracua, 80 kilometres from the capital of Falcon State, occupied the local government offices, disarmed the police and destroyed the telecommunication system. This was after the announcement made by Defence Minister Florencio Gomez that the government troops had wiped out all guerrilla centres in Falcon.

These are but a few instances of the successes won by the revolutionary movements in two of the Latin American countries that have taken the path of armed struggle for liberation. The day will come when they, too, will prove the axiom: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

### **Viet Nam War in U.S. Eyes**

Asked whether there are more plus or minus factors in the south Viet Nam situation, General Maxwell Taylor, reporting on his mission to President Johnson, said in Washington that there are "probably more pluses, but then you have to weigh them—one minus may be worth six pluses or vice versa." (UPI)

\* \* \*

It is a common practice of the (puppet) government to vastly inflate enemy casualties in the face of a major reverse as the operation in Quang Tin Province apparently was. (AP)

\* \* \*

Walter Lippmann, the leading American columnist, said "the official theory of the war, as propounded by General Maxwell Taylor to Pres-

ident Kennedy and by Secretary McNamara to President Johnson, has proved to be unworkable . . . After two months of bombing north Viet Nam it has become manifest also that the bombing has not changed the course of the war." (*New York Herald Tribune*)

\* \* \*

The use of tear (*sic*) gas is officially considered more humane than bombings and gunfire. But the cost in worldwide public opinion now has to be considered . . . The announcement touched off a worldwide furor which brought criticism and denunciation of the United States. (UPI)

\* \* \*

Senator George McGovern charged that "the increasing commitment of U.S. troops and arms to Viet Nam can lead to a military, political and moral disaster unparalleled in America's history." (UPI)

# THEATRE

## North China Festival

Peking drama critics and theatre people have been kept on their toes this last month and more by the North China Festival of Modern Dramas and Operas. Performances at four major theatres added up to 42 new productions — full-length plays, one-acters, and modern and folk operas.

The festival opened in late February. Sixteen professional theatrical companies and a number of amateur troupes of workers, peasants, soldiers, and people in other walks of life presented entries. All came from the north China areas of Hopei and Shansi Provinces, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the Peking municipality, or P.L.A. units stationed in Peking. Called a “*guan mo yan chu*” the aim of the festival is, as these words indicate, to “learn from each other through watching the performances.” In the first part of the festival just ended, 1,300 actors, directors, playwrights and other theatre people, both those who themselves put on plays or those who came as observers, saw the shows and discussed and exchanged experiences. Public performances have now begun to get the benefit of opinions from the general public.

### Special Significance

The special significance of this festival is that it reviews progress made in the past year or more in the north China area at a time when a thorough socialist revolution is taking place on China's cultural front.

A conspicuous mark of that progress is the fact that all 42 festival

items, with one exception, portray life in the 15 post-liberation years — and portray it well. One feels, through them, the powerful pulse of socialist construction and socialist revolution. They have created vivid images of today's heroes — men and women in the vanguard of industry, agriculture and other fields of endeavour. They inspire audiences to learn from and emulate them.

Outstanding among these heroes are the selfless village Party secretary in *Battle Against Flood*, who leads in a great contest with nature; the sharp-witted, saucy-tongued old commune cowhand in *Red Heart*, who is single-minded when it comes to guarding collective interests; the former poor peasant in *Green Pines Ridge*, who is alert against those who would erode the people's power; and the middle-school girl student in *Mountain Village Sisters*, who typifies the young educated peasants of today, dedicated to building up the countryside.

*Man of Paotow Steel*, *The Miner Brothers* and a number of others portray men and women in industry — a theme which is appearing more and more frequently on the Chinese stage. The former gives a fine characterization of a young Mongolian, a horse drover who overcomes great handicaps in learning to become one of the

first generation of Inner Mongolian steelmakers.

### Grasp of Reality

The professional actors performing at the festival showed a much deeper and finer grasp of the worker, peasant or soldier-heroes they portrayed. This is a result of their movement to live and work with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and to perform plays for them and about them. One interesting example is provided by the young actor Li Ying-chieh of the Shansi vernacular opera *Red Heart*, who was such a success in his role of the old cowhand. When first given the part, he was at a loss how to make the role come alive. Living and working with a real-life cowhand taught him. This old man lavished care on the animals. While continuing to live himself in his old room beside the stables, he had insisted on contributing all his savings to build four handsome new additions to the commune stables. The actor gradually came to understand the noble spirit that inspired the old man and brought it to his acting.

The feel of reality is one of the outstanding features of the amateur performances. Playwrights, directors, actors and actresses come from all walks of life. Among them are miners, locomotive drivers, peasants, bus conductors, restaurant waitresses, soldiers. They bring a colourful cross-section of reality to the stage with all its pungent, down-to-earth flavour. Many are outstanding personalities in their fields. Whatever they write, direct or act is done with great enthusiasm. Back of these performances is a significant fact: that across the land amateur theatricals are burgeoning in factories and mines, people's communes and army units, and that large numbers of talented activists have emerged.

The festival brought together professionals and amateurs; it brought together from every front of socialist construction people who have taken the theatre into their own hands. The ferment of ideas that grows out of these meetings will not fail to stimulate the cultural revolution and carry it forward.



The old cowhand in *Red Heart*

# ACROSS THE LAND

## Demonstration Farms Grow

THE movement for agricultural scientific experimentation, centring on demonstration farms, has advanced with big strides in the past few years. These farms have been growing rapidly and given good results. They received an accolade of approval when the recent national conference on agricultural scientific experimentation held in Peking decided that they and the land under their guidance would be extended to 50 million *mu* this year. The importance of demonstration farms was further underlined by the decision that agricultural scientific institutions will allocate half their manpower to run them.

These farms vary in size from a few score to several thousand *mu*. One-fourth of China's agricultural scientists are already helping to run them by working in close co-operation with local authorities and the peasants. Besides setting an example in using better farming methods, they also undertake both comprehensive and specialized research to increase output in farming and animal husbandry. In addition to the 1,000 farms run by agricultural scientific institutions, the hundreds of thousands of rural experimental groups organized by village cadres, veteran farmers and young graduates of schools and agricultural courses run their own demonstration farms.

The demonstration farms are a good organizational form for scientific research serving production; they are an important method for developing knowledgeable leaders for the farms. By linking theory closely with practice, they have done much to develop and popularize scientific methods of farming that incorporate the farmers' invaluable local experience.

There is no lack of examples to demonstrate their value. In high-yield areas, the best demonstration farms last year produced 20 to 30 per cent more per *mu* than the local average. In low-yield areas, they produced from 30 per cent to over 100

per cent more. It was largely by applying methods worked out by local demonstration farms that, despite serious waterlogging, hailstorms and insect pests, output last year on the 1,200,000 *mu* planted to cotton in the Paoting area of Hopei Province rose to 27 per cent above the average for the previous eight years.

Describing the farms as "the pivot in developing the current movement for scientific experimentation in the countryside," the Peking conference recommended them to pay special attention to breeding fine strains of staple crops, the control of pests that attack wheat, rice and sweet potatoes; development of mechanization in the major farming areas, breeding improved livestock and devising better measures of protection from animal diseases.

## The Fight Against Cancer

ACHIEVEMENTS over the last five years in the field of prevention and treatment of cancer in this country were reviewed at a nine-day conference in Shanghai. Nine hundred and ten papers were received at this second national cancer conference which was attended by 190 delegates.

Since the first conference in 1959, extensive surveys of the frequency and varieties of cancer were carried out in urban and rural China. Research into its causes, prevention and treatment were made in 26 provinces, cities and autonomous regions. Results reported at the conference included those from border regions such as Sinkiang, Tibet and Yunnan.

Data obtained on the geographic distribution of the more commonly seen cancers will greatly improve measures for cancer-control work. In some areas, cancer-prevention centres have been established for early detection and treatment. There are now six cancer hospitals and two research institutes; oncological departments or laboratories have been established in many large hospitals and medical colleges.

In recent years, good results were reported in the treatment of malig-

nant moles, cancer of the uterus, breast or upper jaw by means of chemotherapy, surgery and radiation, alone or in combination. Results obtained through Chinese traditional treatments were also discussed.

Several new anti-cancer drugs have been synthesized or produced through the co-operation of research and clinical workers. In clinical tests, the drug, N-Formyl Sarcocystin, one of several new drugs produced in China, was found effective in the treatment of advanced cancer of the testis and of multiple myeloma. This compound gives earlier remission than urethane and is less toxic. AT-71, a new heavy metal compound produced in Shanghai showed a marked power to inhibit the growth of fibrosarcoma and cancers of the digestive tract without causing serious side-effects.

The conference also heard reports on improved methods of diagnosing cancers. The use of colloidal barium for early X-ray detection of cancer of the nasopharynx, and of radioactive isotope p32 and ultrasonics for detection of liver, abdominal or brain tumours were amongst other methods described. A simplified method for screening in mass surveys for cancer of the uterus was also reported.

Increased availability of diagnostic aids, radiographic equipment and competent pathologists have resulted in more cancer cases being discovered earlier, thus affording better chances of treating the disease more effectively.

## Economizing Spurs Production

INDUSTRY is going all-out for a big increase in production this year based on better quality, greater variety, higher productivity and lower costs. An integral part of the force propelling production forward is economizing in the nation's plants. In this respect, there has been no let up, despite the growing abundance of raw materials.

Large-scale savings were registered in 1964, not so much by administrative order as by the workers' conscientious and unflagging devotion to economizing on the job. Results are to be seen in the many ingenious ways workers have thought of to make use of industrial scrap and

waste, in new methods that make raw materials go further, and in willingness to experiment to replace costly tools and materials with those that are cheaper but equally good.

The significance of economizing can be seen from what took place last year in China's biggest industrial centre, Shanghai, where half a million tons of coal were saved. Generally, this was accomplished by getting more heat out of every ton of coal through more thorough burning. Rational stoking methods were adopted wherever coal was heavily used. Cinders from chemical, metallurgical and other large coal-consuming enterprises were collected into depots where they were sorted and then passed on to users of inferior grade coal.

Workers in the Dalong Engineering Plant worked out twin benefits when

they set up a water curtain to reduce radiated heat from their furnaces. Not only did this cut down temperature for the furnace-face workers, but the heated water was used for showers for 2,000 workers and 70 tons of coal were saved monthly.

Towards the end of 1964, Shanghai held a 60-day exhibition to popularize various measures that bring about economies in production. More than 130,000 people from 2,000 Shanghai enterprises attended, and 17 provinces and cities sent personnel to learn and to spread on their return what could be useful and applicable.

### Briefs

China successfully developed more than 200 new types of farm machinery during the past year. These include various kinds of pumps, the Dongfanghong medium wheel-type

tractor, a handy "walking" tractor, land-levelling and furrowing machinery, flour-milling and rice-husking machines and other farm processing machinery.

More of China's crops this year will grow from better seeds. The Taihu Lake region will plant good strain rice on an area five times as large as last year's. Communes on the plain between the Huai and the Yellow Rivers will plant improved strains of maize, soyabeans and sorghum on an area two and a half times as great as last year's.

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region has become self-sufficient in sugar. The region has rapidly extended sugar beet farming. Its refineries in the 1964-65 refining season produced twice as much sugar as in the previous season.

## Juichin—Former Revolutionary Centre

**J**UICHIN, in southeast Kiangsi was from 1929 to 1934 the pivot of the Central Revolutionary Base of China. Today it is a bustling county centre with a dozen factories. It was here that the First National Congress of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers met in 1931 and established the Central Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Government with Mao Tse-tung as its chairman. It was from here that the main columns of the Chinese Red Army set out on the famous Long March.

The whole nation cherishes this historic centre of the revolution. Since the liberation, all its memorable sites have been restored. The former residence of Chairman Mao has been repaired and the century-old camphor tree in its courtyard flourishes among new flower-beds. A memorial hall has been built to exhibit arms, documents and other relics of those glorious years. Many of these were preserved by local people at the risk of their lives during the years of Kuomintang occupation of the area.

The mud streets of old Juichin have been replaced by wide, metalled roads bordered by new shops, restaurants, office and residential buildings, schools and a theatre and hospital. The county town's factories include a modern power plant, chemi-

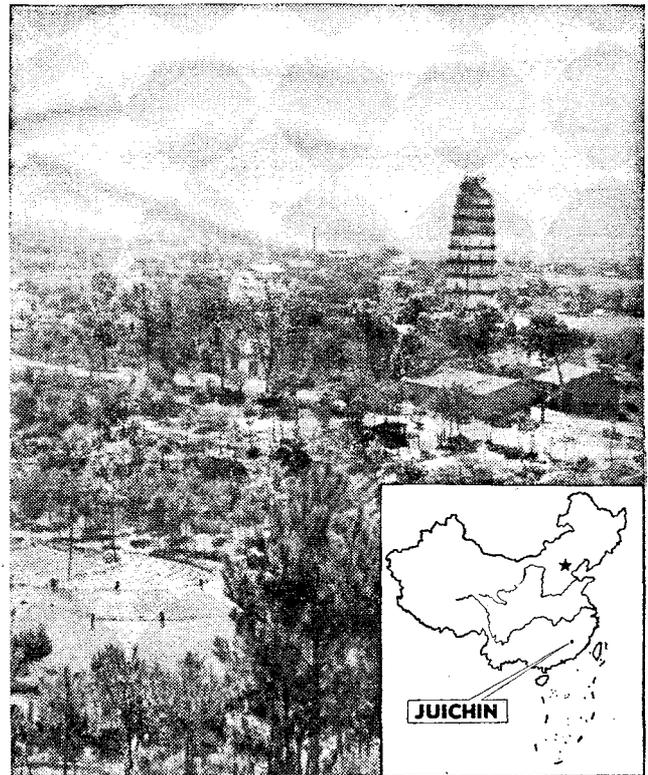
cal works, farm machinery repair works, sugar refinery and rice mill.

Flourishing farmland surrounds Juichin. Since liberation the area with good irrigation and drainage has increased from 90,000 to 380,000 *mu*. A new reservoir has been built to water 80 per cent of the farmland and many small hydro-electric stations provide most peasant homes with electricity.

Juichin strides forward with youthful steps but everywhere you hear the living voice of the revolution: more than 12,000 veterans of the legendary Red Army and the local revolutionary organizations of the fighting days of the early 30s are still active in Juichin's industrial, agricultural and civic life.

In the Homes of Respect for the Old set up by the people's

communes round about you will meet many an oldster now living a full and contented old age, who remembers the trials and exhilaration of China's first people's government, the long and bitter struggles of the following years and that wonderful day Juichin was freed again.



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