October 23, 1964



# GREAT VICTORY OF CHINA'S FIRST NUCLEAR TEST



- 1. C.P.C. Central Committee and State Council congratulate all comrades who took part in the work (p. 5).
- 2. Congratulations from many lands on this contribution to world peace (p. 6).



# Premier Chou Cables Government Heads of the World

Conveying Chinese Government's proposal for summit conference of all countries to discuss complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons (p. 6).

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# PEKING REVIEW

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

October 23, 1964 Vol. VII No. 43

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# THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress congratulated everyone who took part in making the  $\epsilon_{X}$ -plosion of China's first atom bomb a success.

Messages of greetings have been received from leaders of fraternal Parties, friendly governments and popular organizations throughout the world.

- Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to heads of governments throughout the world, conveying to them the Chinese Government's proposal for a summit conference to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.
- Chinese Communist Party and state leaders congratulated L.I. Brezhnev on his being elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and A.N. Kosygin on his appointment as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.
- The Peking International Table Tennis Invitation Tournament ended on October 21 after four days of keen competition.
- The Chinese and Indonesian journalists' associations signed a joint statement expressing their solidarity against imperialism.

#### Chinese Leaders Meet Cuban Delegation

Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Chinese Communist Party and government leaders met and had a cordial and friendly talk with the visiting Cuban Party and Government Delegation on October 16. The Cuban delegation was led by Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, Organizing Secretary of the Havana Provincial Committee of the United Party of Socialist Revolution of Cuba.

#### Chinese Leaders Receive Artists

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders on October 16 received the 3,000 people— professional and amateur artists and Young Pioneers—who took part in the song and dance pageant The East Is Red.

An ovation and enthusiastic cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" resounded in the hall as the leaders appeared. Everyone applauded warmly to express his deep love for the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the people of all nationalities of China. While walking forward to meet the gathering,

Chairman Mao, Chairman Liu and others waved their greetings to all.

#### Chinese Leaders See Modern Drama

Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Tung Piwu and other leaders on October 20 saw the modern drama Letters From South Viet Nam. Presented by the modern drama company of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the play depicts the anti-U.S. patriotic struggle waged by the people of south Viet Nam.

#### International Table Tennis Tournament

The Peking International Table Tennis Invitation Tournament opened on October 18 in the capital's Workers' Gymnasium where the 26th World Table Tennis Championships were held three years ago. Tung Piwu, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders attended and watched the keen play that followed the opening ceremony.

Banners and flowers decorated the big circular hall. On the rostrum were the national flags of the participating countries. The 10,000 and more spectators present gave a thunderous ovation to players from

# Chinese Leaders Congratulate L.I. Brezhnev And A.N. Kosygin on Their New Posts

### Message Also Hails Successful Flight of Spaceship "Voskhod"

#### Moscow

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U..

Comrade A. I. Mikoyan, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.,

Comrade A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.:

On learning that Comrade Brezhnev has been elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that Comrade Kosygin has been appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers, we, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government, extend to you our warm greetings.

We sincerely wish the fraternal Soviet people new successes, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, in their construction work in all fields and in the struggle to defend world peace.

The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and people rejoice at every advance made by the great Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people on their road forward. The recent successful launching and landing of the Soviet spaceship 'Voskhod' represented another great achievement of the working people of the Soviet Union. We wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to convey our sincere congratulations to you, and through you to the great Soviet people.

Chinese and Soviet Parties, China and the Soviet Union, unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism! May the fraternal, unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples continuously develop!

May the Chinese and Soviet peoples win victory after victory in their common struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and for the defence of world peace!

> Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

> Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China,

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, and

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the Penple's Republic of China.

October 16, 1964, Peking

Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Nepal, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and China as they marched in, Among the competitors were some of the best-known names in world table tennis today.

Chen Hsien, Chairman of the tournament's organizing committee and President of the Chinese Table Tennis Association, warmly welcomed the teams. He expressed the hope that the tournament, through exchange of experience, would help improve the skill of the players and contribute to the development of table tennis in Asia and the rest of the world. He expressed confidence that it would promote mutual understanding and friendship among the players and so further strengthen solidarity between the peoples and between the new emerging forces.

That same afternoon, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi received the leaders of all the teams taking part in the tournament.

# Chinese-Indonesian Journalists' Joint Statement

The delegation of the Indonesian Journalists' Association, which came to visit China and attend the 15th anniversary celebrations of the People's Republic, held friendly talks with representatives of the All-China Journalists' Association. They signed a joint statement in Peking on October 15.

The statement declares that the enhancement of friendship and cooperation between the journalists and the peoples of China and Indonesia is of great significance in strengthening the anti-imperialist front of the Asian and African peoples and in defending Asian and

world peace. The two sides reaffirm their support for the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world. Condemning the aggression and intervention by the imperialists, and the U.S. imperialists in particular, the statement points out that the important task of progressive people the world over is to develop the united front against U.S. imperialism. The statement also supports the convocation of a second Asian-African journalists' conference that will hold aloft the banner of opposing imperialism and new and old colonialism.

A banquet was given in honour of the Indonesian guests that evening. Both hosts and guests toasted the close co-operation between the journalists of China and Indonesia and the militant friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

# Great Victory of First Nuclear Test

# Central Committee of C.P.C. and State Council Congratulate All Comrades Who Took Part in the Work

- This successful test marks China's entry into a new stage in the modernization
  of its national defence. It is the result of raising high the red banner of Mao
  Tse-tung's thinking and thoroughly implementing the Party's general line for
  building socialism.
- Both the Party and the State Council hope that all who took part in the work will continue their persistent efforts, guard against conceit and impetuosity, and strive to reach new summits of science and technology; strengthen national defence, safeguard our motherland and defend world peace; and strive for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council on October 16 sent warm congratulations to all who contributed to the great victory of China's first nuclear test.

The message reads:

To all workers, engineering and technical personnel, scientific personnel and officers and men of the Liberation Army who took part in China's first nuclear test and all other comrades engaged in building up China's national defence:

We warmly congratulate you on the great victory of the success of the first nuclear test.

This successful test marks China's entry into a new stage in the modernization of its national defence. It is a powerful blow at the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail and a great encouragement to all peace-loving people of the world.

The success of this test is the result of the people of the whole country raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking; carrying out the general line of the Chinese Communist Party of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism and persisting in the four "firsts";\* and displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and enterprise. It is also the result of the hard work, great co-ordinated effort and joint struggle of various regions, departments and army units throughout the country.

We hope you will continue your persistent efforts, guard against conceit and impetuosity, and strive to reach new summits of science and technology, strengthen national defence, safeguard our motherland and defend world peace as well as strive for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons!

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council of the People's Republic of China October 16, 1964

#### Greetings From N.P.C.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on October 17 heard reports on the test by the Ministries of National Defence and Foreign Affairs. Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee, presided.

Discussing the reports, members stressed that the successful exploding of China's first atom bomb was a victory of the Chinese Communist Party's general line for building socialism. It was also a victory of the Chinese people in implementing the policy of self-reliance and hard work for their country's prosperity. They stated that this was a major achievement of the Chinese people in strengthening their national defence and a major contribution to the defence of world peace.

Premier Chou En-lai and Standing Committee Vice-Chairman Peng Chen spoke at the meeting amidst thunderous applause,

The Standing Committee expressed hearty congratulations to the workers, engineering and technical personnel, and scientific personnel who took part in the test and all working personnel engaged in building up China's national defence.

<sup>\*</sup>The four "firsts" mean that first place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and material, just as the People's Liberation Army puts man before weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to the other aspects of political work; and to living ideas in ideological work.

# Premier Chou Cables Government Heads of the World

Conveying the Chinese Government's Proposal for Convocation of A Summit Conference of All Countries to Discuss Complete Prohibition and Thorough Destruction of Nuclear Weapons

Premier Chou En-lai sent a message on October 17 to the government heads of all lands. The text of the message follows. — Ed.

O N October 16, 1964, China exploded an atom bomb, thus successfully making its first nuclear test. On the same day, the Chinese Government issued a statement on this event, setting forth in detail China's position on the question of nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government consistently stands for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China has been compelled to conduct nuclear testing and develop nuclear weapons. China's mastering of nuclear weapons is entirely for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from the U.S. nuclear threat.

The Chinese Government solemnly declares that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government will continue to work for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons through international consultations and, for this purpose, has put forward in its statement the following proposal:

That a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that as the first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other.

It is the common aspiration of all peace-loving countries and people of the world to prevent a nuclear war and eliminate nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that its proposal will be given favourable consideration and positive response by your Government.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

# Congratulations on China's Successful Exploding of A-Bomb

President Ho Chi Minh's Message

### Major Contribution to Socialist Camp, National Liberation, World Peace

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on October 17 received a message from President Ho Chi Minh expressing warm congratulations on the great success of China's first atom bomb test. Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, received on October 19 a congratulatory message from Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On the same day, Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, received a similar message from General Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. President Ho Chi Minh's message follows:

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people, I wish to convey to you, the Communist Party, Government and people of China my warmest congratulations on the great success in testing China's first atom bomb.

This outstanding achievement of the Chinese people and the science and technology of the People's Republic of China is a result of the clear-sighted line of the Chinese Communist Party combined with the staunch revolutionary will, the spirit of self-reliance and the creative labour of the brotherly Chinese people.

This successful nuclear test which aims at increasing the national defence potential of the People's Republic of China against the policy of nuclear blackmail by the U.S. imperialists, is a major contribution by the Chinese people and Government to the strengthening

of the might of the socialist camp and to the cause of national liberation and in defence of world peace.

Please convey my cordial congratulations and greetings to the scientists, engineers and workers who have contributed to making this test a success.

> Ho Chi Minh, President of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

Hanoi, October 17, 1964

#### Greetings From Albanian Leaders

## China's Proposal for Complete Destruction of Nuclear Weapons Fully Supported

Peking

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China;

Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China;

Comrade Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China;

Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

The Albanian people have learnt with immense joy the news of the successful first nuclear test by the People's Republic of China.

In the name of the Albanian people, the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Presidium of the Albanian People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and in our own name, we send you, and through you to the engineers and technicians and the entire fraternal Chinese people, our congratulations and best wishes on the brilliant victory which has strengthened the defence capacity of China and the whole socialist camp. This is a great contribution to the struggle for safeguarding world peace and security and against U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and aggression.

The successful carrying out by the People's Republic of China of the first nuclear test is striking proof of the tremendous creative capacity and talent of the great Chinese people and of the high scientific and technical level of China. It is the result of the correct Marxist-Leninist line and leadership of the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is a great victory not only for the Chinese people, but also a victory for all other peoples who are building socialism, and all peoples of the world who are fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. At the same time, it is a crushing defeat for the imperialists and modern revisionists.

Nuclear arms in the hands of a powerful socialist country like China are a mighty weapon for the defence of world peace and for the prevention of nuclear war, a weapon for smashing the plans and plots of the U.S. imperialists and their followers against the socialist camp, the freedom of the peoples and world peace. This new victory for the People's Republic of China's policy of peace is enthusiastically hailed by all peoples and the peace-loving forces of the whole world.

The People's Republic of Albania fully supports the correct, principled policy of the People's Republic of China on the question of nuclear weapons as well as the Chinese Government's proposal for a summit conference of all countries of the world to discuss the question of prohibiting the use and complete destruction of nuclear weapons.

We sincerely congratulate you once again, dear comrades, on this historic victory and we hope that the fraternal Chinese people, under the long tested leadership of the Communist Party of China, will achieve ever more magnificent successes in building socialism, in the resolute fight against imperialism and modern revisionism, and for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the safeguarding of world peace and security.

Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour;

Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania;

Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

Tirana, October 1964

### Greetings From Korean Leaders

### An Outstanding Result of The Revolutionary Spirit of Self-Reliance

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China;

Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China;

Comrade Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China;

Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

#### Dear Comrades:

We, in our own names and in the name of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people, extend the warmest congratulations to you, to the Chinese Communist Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, on the carrying out of the first successful nuclear test by the People's Republic of China.

The great success achieved by the Chinese people in the nuclear test is the outstanding result of the creative labour and struggle of the fraternal Chinese people. Under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party long-tested in protracted revolutionary struggle, they have, in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, been devoting all their wisdom and talent to building the country into a great power with modern industry and modern science and technology.

The success of the nuclear test by the Chinese People's Republic is a great victory for the Chinese people and a tremendous victory for the socialist camp and the peace-loving peoples of the whole world.

This is not only an inspiration to all the revolutionary peoples in struggle but also a great contribution to the cause of peace in Asia and the world, and is a telling blow to the U.S. imperialists who are stubbornly pushing ahead their policy of nuclear blackmail.

The Korean people fully support the proposal of the Government of the People's Republic of China on convening a world summit conference to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons.

We wholeheartedly wish new victory to the fraternal Chinese people who, closely rallying around the Chinese Communist Party, are confidently forging ahead in strengthening national defence, defending the motherland and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world.

> Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Premier of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;

> Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Pyongyang, October 18, 1964

### D.N. Aidit's Statement

### World Peace Further Guaranteed And New Emerging Forces More Powerful

D.N. AIDIT, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, issued a statement to the press in Djakarta on October 16 extending the warmest greetings to the Communist Party and people of China for the great success of China's first nuclear test.

Aidit said: "In the name of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, the Indonesian Communists and myself, I extend the warmest greetings and highest salute to the Chinese Communists, the Chinese people, scientists and all other personnel who have taken part in this great work."

He added: "This event has not only greatly raised the prestige of China but also the prestige of Asian nations."

"With this event, Asian and world peace have become further guaranteed and the new emerging forces become more powerful in confronting the old established forces," Aidit declared.

#### Jacques Grippa's Message

### China's Great Contribution to World Peace

Dear Comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

On the occasion of the atomic explosion carried out in the People's Republic of China at 15:00 hours today, the Communist Party of Belgium salutes the Communist Party and people of China, congratulating them on the great success they have made in the mastery of nuclear science by relying on their own efforts.

The possession of nuclear weapons by the People's Republic of China constitutes reinforcement of the defence potential of the socialist camp, support and encouragement to the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples and also a great contribution by the Chinese people to the defence of world peace.

The Communists and working people of our country wish their Chinese brothers greater successes in socialist construction and in the struggle against the menace, blackmail and aggression of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The Belgian people who will be particularly menaced by the U.S. delivery of nuclear weapons to the West German revanchists, will always support vigorously the efforts made by the People's Republic of China, with the support of all the peoples of the world, for the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons.

Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee, on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium

October 16, 1964

### China's Nuclear Test — Indispensable Defence Measure

Statement of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan

The following statement was released on October 17 by Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Japan, at a press conference held at the Party headquarters in connection with China's first nuclear test.

THE Communist Party of Japan has persistently advocated the prohibition of the use, testing, manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. It fully supports the resolution of the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs calling for a conference of government heads of all countries for a complete ban on nuclear weapons, and has always been struggling for the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The conclusion of such an agreement is a fundamental prerequisite to make all nuclear testing unnecessary.

However, the U.S. Administration not only has opposed the conclusion of an agreement concerning a total ban on nuclear weapons, but recently has also been trying to build up its nuclear combat strength in areas surrounding China, Korea and Viet Nam, the socialist states in Asia.

What is more, it is attempting to "contain China," has bombed the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and has continuously committed acts of aggression against Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The docking of U.S. nuclear submarines at Japanese ports is part of the U.S. Administration's steppedup nuclear war preparations. Under these circumstances, the Chinese Government has conducted a nuclear test; this is an unavoidable defensive measure taken by the Chinese people; it aims not only at protecting China itself but also at preventing a nuclear war in Asia.

We, the Japanese people who have thrice suffered from atomic bombs, sincerely wish that the day will come when no nuclear testing at all will be conducted. However, in order to have this desire come true, the most fundamental and realistic approach is to expose the forces of war obstructing a complete ban on nuclear weapons, including a complete ban on nuclear tests, to expose the forces of war and aggression which are plotting to perpetuate their present monopoly of nuclear weapons as a means of war and aggression (these forces are obstacles to a complete ban on nuclear weapons), and at the same time to struggle conscientiously for the conclusion of a treaty for the complete ban on nuclear weapons by all countries.

From our standpoint, the Chinese Government's proposal for the convening of a summit conference of all countries for the complete banning of nuclear weapons—a proposal which has consistently been made by the Chinese Government—is in full accord with our persistent stand.

This standpoint is also in accord with the line of the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. The Japanese Government, like the U.S. Administration, has failed to adopt any positive, concrete attitude towards the prevention of a nuclear war and the banning of the use, testing, manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, but has, in fact, ignored and opposed proposals along this line.

And now the Japanese Government, while allowing the United States to use Japan as a nuclear war base, has strongly protested against China's recent nuclear test which is a defence necessity. Although pretending to respect the Japanese people's wishes for the complete ban on nuclear weapons, it actually ignores these wishes.

Together with all peace-loving forces the world over, our Party will continue to do its utmost to struggle for the day when all nuclear weapons will be eliminated from the earth.

Our Party will also do its best to unite all the peaceloving forces which are opposed to the imminent docking of U.S. nuclear submarines at Japanese ports. (This U.S. step will increase the menace of a nuclear war in Asia and threatens to engulf Japan in a nuclear war.) Our Party will still further develop this struggle.

# World Acclaims China's Nuclear Success

THE successful exploding of China's first atom bomb has been acclaimed throughout the world as a great inspiration to the struggle of the revolutionary people and a big contribution to the defence of peace. It is clearly recognized that China's possession of nuclear weapons gives an effective answer to the growing U.S. nuclear threat to peace-loving countries and all the people struggling against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

#### Congratulations From Asia

Cambodia. In his October 17 message to Chen Yi, Chinese Foreign Minister, Huot Sambath, Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia, said: "The Royal Govern-

ment of Cambodia warmly greets the great nuclear success of the People's Republic of China and extends its enthusiastic greetings to the outstanding research scientists, engineers and workers who made it possible for peaceable China also to become a nuclear power. We are convinced that in breaking the nuclear monopoly some imperialist powers tried to keep, China has made effective preparations for the complete atomic disarmament which it has always proposed. Your great victory is a victory of all Asian, African and Latin American peoples who are victims of the contempt and chauvinism of the imperialists and the colonialists."

Indonesia. On October 17 many ministers of the Indonesian Government in Djakarta extended their congratulations to the Chinese people through the Chinese Ambassador Yao Chung-ming.

J.F. Massie, Minister in Charge of Banking and Private Capital Affairs, said that China's successful detonation of its first atom bomb was an event of which the Asian people could well be proud.

Hassan, Minister for Revenues, Expenditures and Supervision, said that the success was a matter worthy to be hailed not only by the Chinese people but by the Indonesian people as well.

Ponsen, Assistant Foreign Minister, described China's first nuclear test as a "great event."

Commenting on this event, Roeslan Abdulgani, Minister-Co-ordinator of Public Relations, said that although the Chinese people were encircled by the West, nevertheless they were fully capable of proving their talents before the Western world. This Chinese achievement would open the eyes of the West to the fact that from now on, their encirclement of the peoples of Asia and Africa would be of no avail, he stressed.

**Abdulgani** said that an atomic bomb was of an aggressive nature when it was held by an aggressive country of the capitalist system, but not when it was in the hands of the nations of the socialist system.

In his statement on October 18 Ali Sastroamidjojo, General Chairman of the Indonesian Nationalist Party, said that this was the first time the atom bomb was possessed by an Asian country. The manufacture of nuclear arms by China was intended to safeguard world peace, he emphasized.

Suroto, General Chairman of the Indonesia-China Friendship Association, in a statement on October 17 declared that the success of China's first nuclear test would strengthen the power of the new emerging forces in their struggle against the old established forces. It would also strengthen the forces of peace to prevent a new world war, and the militant friendship between Indonesia and China.

He added that this was an event that would have far-reaching effects in the world, especially in intensifying the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

S. Viet Nam. In his October 17 message to the Chinese Communist Party and state leaders Nguyen Huu Tho. President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, expressed complete approval of and support for the Chinese government statement on the testing of China's first atom bomb.

"Now, as in the past," he said, "the People's Republic of China is fighting resolutely and unrelentingly against imperialism headed by the United States and actively supporting the national-liberation movement, thus contributing enormously to the defence of peace in Asia and the world. Possessing the atom bomb, China will help further in the successful fulfilment of this noble revolutionary cause. This is in keeping with the aspirations of the Chinese people and other people of the five continents who cherish freedom, justice and peace."

He said: "China's proposal concerning the convocation of a summit conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons is reasonable. It has the sympathy and support of the south Vietnamese people and broad sections of the people the world over."

Tran Van Thanh, head of the National Front's permanent delegation in China, has also sent a letter to Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, greeting China's successful nuclear test.

Laos. At a press interview in Khang Khay, Laos, on October 17, Nouhak Phoumsavan, representative of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat, said: "China's success in exploding its first atom bomb strengthens its defence, increases the might of the socialist camp and provides an additional guarantee for the cause of building socialism and world peace."

Phoumsavan went on to say: "This great achievement of the Chinese people deals the U.S. imperialists and other reactionaries a heavy blow and brings the policy of nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail by the U.S. imperialists and their followers to complete bankruptcy!"

"The Laotian people and the people of the world warmly greet and acclaim this great achievement of the Chinese people. They take it as a victory not only of the Chinese people but also of the Laotian people and people in the rest of the world since it came as a great inspiration and support to the peace-loving people of the world, especially those who are fighting for their national liberation. It heightens the confidence of the people of the world in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and for world peace," the Neo Lao Haksat representative added.

In his October 17 statement in Khang Khay, Colonel Deuane, commander-in-chief of the genuine neutralist forces of Laos, said that these forces and all the Laotian people were greatly heartened and inspired by China's successful atom bomb test.

This, he added, was a telling blow to the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war and a tremendous contribution to the cause of peace.

Colonel Deuane refuted the slanders against China's nuclear test spread by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. "China," he said, "is a great, peace-loving socialist country strictly pursuing a peaceful foreign policy and adhering to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It has never invaded other countries, and in no manner will it do so, even after acquiring the

atom bomb. But it is necessary for China to acquire the atom bomb, for its own defence and for the defence of peace. Let U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries tremble before its mighty strength!"

He added: "This tremendous achievement by the Chinese people gives immense encouragement to the Laotian people who are waging a heroic, patriotic and just struggle against U.S. imperialism; it inspires the peace-loving people of the whole world."

Japan. Public figures in various circles have made statements acclaiming China's success and supporting the Chinese Government's statement on its nuclear test.

Tokumatsu Sakamoto, Director-General of the Japanese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, stressed in his statement on October 17 that "the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world who are waging a struggle against the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear intimidation are immensely inspired by China's successful nuclear test."

Makoto Hori, Director-General of the Japan National Peace Committee, said that he fully agreed with the Chinese Government's statement and expressed support for its proposal for the convening of a summit conference of all countries in the world to discuss the complete destruction of nuclear weapons.

Kaoru Yasui, Executive Representative Member of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, said: "China's nuclear test opens a new phase in the world situation as it leads the way to the total banning of nuclear weapons."

Hiroshi Suekawa, Chairman of Kyodo Council of Scientists Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and President of Ritsumcikan University, in a statement in Asahi Shimbun on October 17, expressed support for China's nuclear test. "It is right and proper for China to conduct nuclear tests," he stressed.

The left-wingers of the Socialist Party expressed their satisfaction. Kozo Sasaki, Socialist Diet Member, said in a statement, reported by Japan Press on October 17, that it was of course necessary for China encircled by U.S. imperialism to acquire nuclear weapons to strengthen its national defence.

"To direct the spearhead of the anti-nuclear test movement against China can be of no help to the defence of peace," he stressed.

Many Japanese personalities told Hsinhua correspondents that on reading the Chinese government statement, China's intention in conducting the nuclear test could be fully understood. Some bourgeois pressmen said that they were very happy to hear of the explosion of the atom bomb in China. Since China had nuclear weapons, they said, the United States would have to think twice before it started a war. Therefore, possession of nuclear weapons by China was in the interest of peace, they noted.

Tokuma Utsunomiya, Diet Member of the Liberal Democratic Party, in an interview with Hsinhua on October 17 directed attention to the fact that the United States had established a nuclear base in Okinawa in pursuing its nuclear blackmail policy against China. Under such circumstances, he said, it was understandable that China had conducted its nuclear test in order to be able to defend its sovereignty.

The protest made by the Japanese Socialist Party against China's nuclear test was ridiculous, said Tokuma Utsunomiya.

Utsunomiya agreed with the Chinese Government's proposal for the convening of a summit conference of all countries of the world to realize the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

Takeo Kimura, another Liberal Democratic Diet Member in an interview with Hsinhua on October 19 also acclaimed China's possession of nuclear weapon as "a good thing" and "essential to peace in Asia and the world."

Yemen. Many Yemeni officials and people have congratulated China on its successful nuclear bomb test.

"Congratulations on China's success in the atomic bomb explosion!" This was the first thing that Ahmed Mohamed Nouman, President of the Yemeni Legislative Council, said when he met Chinese Ambassador Wang Jo-chieh on October 17.

Mahamed Kaied Saif, State Minister for Presidential Affairs, said, "We Yemeni people are very happy to hear the exciting news about China's successful nuclear test,"

Ousman, Director of the Office of the Foreign Ministry in Taiz, said, "All the peace-loving and revolutionary people of the world share with the Chinese people the joy of the success."

Pakistan. The Pakistan press has paid tribute to China's successful nuclear test. In its October 19 editorial "Great Success," the paper Anjam said that China's great success is a matter of pride for Asian and African countries. The paper Kohistan said in its October 19 editorial that the Chinese Government's proposal for the convocation of a summit conference of all countries to discuss the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons "demonstrates China's sincere desire for world peace." The paper Dawn said editorially on October 18 that China's proposal "is the line of action all peace-loving people have always demanded and hoped for."

#### From Africa

O.A.U. Telli Diallo, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, on the evening of October 16 congratulated China on the successful exploding of its first atom bomb. Upon receiving confirmation of the news from the Hsinhua correspondent in Addis Ababa,

the O.A.U. executive shook hands with him and said, "Congratulations!"

Ethiopia. On the same evening, Kebede Asfaw, Assistant Information Minister of Ethiopia, told Ting Po, leader of the visiting Chinese Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe, that he was glad to hear the news of the exploding of China's first atomic bomb. He congratulated Ting Po and other members of the troupe.

Earlier, on receiving the news over the radio, an official of the Ethiopian Information Ministry immediately informed the Hsinhua correspondent, and said, "Congratulations! China successfully exploded an atom bomb today."

When the Hsinhua correspondent arrived at the office of the Information Ministry, Ethiopian friends there greeted him with: "It's Big News! Congratulations!"

Prince Ras Imru and Acting Foreign Minister Ketema Yifru of Ethiopia greeted the successful exploding of China's first atom bomb when they received Ting Po, leader of the visiting Chinese Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe, in Addis Ababa on October 19.

Prince Ras Imru said: "We are happy about the scientific achievements which China has made over the past years. You have achieved what others have achieved. This may come as a shock to other people, but we Ethiopians are very happy about it."

In his interview with Ting Po, Acting Foreign Minister Yifru said that since there was as yet no Chinese diplomatic representative in Ethiopia, he would like to express congratulations to him on the exploding of China's first atom bomb. He said, "Ethiopia and China are both against the use of atomic weapons, but every country has the right to defend itself, and China is no exception."

The Congo (Brazzaville). At a reception given in his honour in Shanghai on October 18 Major Mouz Abakani Felix, head of the Congolese (Brazzaville) Military Delegation and Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Congo (B), in the name of the delegation, congratulated the Chinese people on exploding their first atom bomb. This achievement was proof of the Chinese people's big leap forward, he said. "This is a matter of pride for all nationally independent countries with a socialist system. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our thanks to the Chinese people and to all those who participated in the work."

Kenya. Speaking at a cocktail party he gave on October 20 to mark Kenyatta Day. Kenyan Ambassador to China Henry Nzioka Mulli said: "I should like to heartily congratulate the Chinese people and Government for the great achievement they have registered in the field of atomic physics which culminated in the recent explosion of an atom bomb.

"This is a great advancement in the Afro-Asian world as it dispels the myth that Western countries are

the only ones capable of developing atomic weapons. We salute the Chinese people."

Somalia. In a message, acclaiming China's successful nuclear test, the Youth Organization of the Somali National Congress said, "This achievement undoubtedly is the latest victory won by the great Chinese people in the field of scientific and technical endeavours." It is "not only a bulwark for national defence of the Chinese people but also an indispensable contribution to international peace and security," the message added.

Representatives of African nationalist parties in Cairo hailed the successful exploding of China's first atom bomb as a great contribution to the strengthening of world peace and a support to the national-liberation movements in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world.

People's Organization of South West Africa. In a message of greetings to the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China, Louis Nelergni, Vice-President of the People's Organization of South West Africa, said, "I sincerely wish to congratulate Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people under his dynamic leadership for China's great scientific achievement in the field of modern technical engineering skills."

He expressed his confidence that with such a great advance as was seen in the exploding of an atom bomb by China on October 16, 1964, world peace would be guaranteed and secured.

"This achievement shows great progress not only in the confrontation with aggressive forces now threatening certain countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also in relation to the betterment of the Chinese people's economic advancement and world peace in general," he said.

Basutoland Congress Party. Ramaqele Tsinyane, representative of the Basutoland Congress Party in Cairo told Hsinhua's correspondent that the success of this nuclear test was not only a victory for People's China but also a victory for the revolutionary peoples throughout the world. It would contribute to the strengthening of the liberation movements in Asia and Africa and to world peace, he stated.

Progressive peoples of the world rejoiced at this achievement and only the imperialists would be scared and worried, he added.

The Chinese Government's declaration that China would not be the first to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances showed its peaceful intentions in mastering nuclear weapons, he said.

Bechuanaland People's Party. Bobby Mack of the Bechuanaland People's Party hailed the test as a great achievement of the Chinese people in the field of science. He said that this achievement broke the nuclear monopoly held by imperialist powers and therefore served as a big contribution to world peace.

Referring to China's peaceful intentions, he said that China, by producing atom weapons, wanted to destroy all nuclear weapons in the world.

He expressed his support for the proposal by the Chinese Government to convene a summit conference of all countries of the world to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa. Ntlodibe and Nkoana, representatives of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, also expressed their congratulations. Ntlodibe said that this would be an encouragement to those freedom fighters who were struggling in south Viet Nam, the Congo (Leopoldville) and elsewhere.

Representatives to the meeting of the Liberation Committee of Nine of the Organization of African Unity, which opened in Dar-es-Salaam on October 17, also hailed China's successful first nuclear test.

Swaziland's Ngwane National Liberatory Congress. S.J. Zwane, Representative of the Swaziland's Ngwane National Liberatory Congress in Dar-es-Salaam, said: "I am indeed very glad to hear this news. It may bring the imperialists to understand People's China." And he added: "The imperialists have never stopped their tests, so we must also have nuclear weapons and conduct nuclear tests."

Mozambique Liberation Front. Lourenco Mutaca, Financial Secretary of the Mozambique Liberation Front stressed the importance of the speed in which China raised its scientific level and made the atom bomb. He acclaimed China for exploding its first atom bomb in a very short period.

#### From Latin America and Other Lands

Cuba. Antonio Nunez Jimenez, President of the Cuban Academy of Sciences, said: "We greet China on its scientific success in nuclear research and on its statement for world peace. The scientific achievements made by China under the socialist system will help promote the development of sciences in the underdeveloped countries."

Mexico. Acclaiming China's success, the Mexico-China Friendship Association issued a statement on October 17 which said: "China's mastery of nuclear technology in such a short space of time demonstrates the tremendous creative power of its social system." Pointing out that the event marked the beginning of the end of the era of nuclear blackmail, the statement declared: "The Chinese people ardently love peace and hope to see all the peoples on earth live in peace. Hence, nuclear weapons in the hands of the Chinese people contribute to world peace."

Dr. Esther Chapa, head of the Mexican Women's Delegation now visiting China, sent a message of greetings to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. She heartily congratulated the Chinese people on the successful explo-

sion of the atom bomb which, she declared, would serve world peace.

Chile. Ana Eugenia Ugalde, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, said: "Nuclear weapons in the hands of the Chinese people are a guarantee of peace."

Araujo Hidalgo, former Ecuadorian Minister of the Interior now in exile in Chile, said: "China's nuclear explosion assures a future of freedom and peace for mankind and will check U.S. imperialism, the sole menace to world peace."

Costa Rica. All Costa Rican papers gave prominence to the news of China's success in exploding an atom bomb. The news radio Impacto in a commentary on October 17 said that China's nuclear weapons would serve to reinforce the socialist camp as a whole. It added that the call of the People's Republic of China for a world conference to discuss the question of destroying nuclear weapons was evidence that "the leaders and people of China resort neither to force nor to overseas political aggression."

**Argentina.** The paper *Clarin*, while reporting the news of the exploding of China's first atom bomb, carried **a** picture of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

**Uruguay.** The paper *Epoca* published an editorial on the event. It pointed to the fact that the success was achieved by China without Western aid, nor with any technical aid from the Soviet Union which had pulled out all its experts.

Australia. The paper Vanguard, in a special issue, carried an editorial on China's success in exploding an atom bomb. It said: "As a thorough-going socialist country, China has no and can have no expansionist aims. She will never be the first to use nuclear weapons." The editorial went on to say: "Nuclear weapons in the hands of the enemies of the working class headed by U.S. imperialism are entirely different from nuclear weapons in the hands of the working class. One is for aggression, the other for the defence of peace against aggression."

In London, Claudia Jones, Convener of the Committee of African, Asian and Caribbean Organizations, greeted China's great success. She said: "Imperialists and reactionaries all over the world are worried over the news that China has successfully exploded its first atom bomb. But the world's people, especially the anti-imperialist peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America feel joy, satisfaction and confidence at this news. We are very happy that China, which is threatened by the U.S. imperialists, is strengthening its defence forces, thus contributing to the struggle of the world's people against imperialism."

Baron Allard of Belgium, in his message to Chairman of the China Peace Committee Kuo Mo-jo, said: "We greet you and reiterate to you our confidence in a common future of progress and peace."

# World Opinion on Non-Aligned Conference

D Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries which took place in Cairo early this month; they also differ in their attitudes towards the results of the conference. Newspapers of various shades all over the world reflected this. The great majority of the people of the world hailed the mainstream of the conference, which was unity in opposition to imperialism. However, a few, in Washington, New Delhi and Belgrade, either spoke of it angrily or showed a feeling of frustration. This was only natural since the conference, scene of a struggle between two different lines, turned out to be a victory for the opponents of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. At the same time, the conference brought defeat to those, namely, the delegates of India and Yugoslavia, who, serving imperialism and modern revisionism, tried but failed to impose on it their line of peaceful coexistence with imperialism. Moreover, Nehru's heir Shastri failed in his foul anti-China manoeuvres.

#### **Great Achievement**

The world's anti-imperialist forces saw the Cairo declaration as one of the conference's great achievements. "The conference drew a line of distinction between the interests of the new emerging nations and those of the colonial powers," declared an editorial in the Pakistan Indus Times. Cuba was satisfied with the results of the conference, said the Cuban paper Hoy. It said that the achievements of the conference was a hard blow to the aggressive policies of the imperialists, especially those of the United States.

The Vielnamese paper Nhan Dan denounced the imperialists headed by the United States and the reactionaries of various countries who sought to lead the non-aligned countries away from their revolutionary struggle against imperialism. But, it said, the outcome of the conference had completely dashed their hopes. Pointing out that the conference proceedings demonstrated the determination of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to keep up their staunch fight against imperialism and colonialism, the Korean paper Rodong Shinmoon predicted that the imperialists and reactionaries would meet utter failure in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Among those who praised and showed all-out support for the results of the conference was Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia. In a speech at Kompong-Speu, the Cambodian Head of State hailed the final declaration as "a precious contribution to the cause of justice and liberation of the people." He also announced Cambodia's severance of diplomatic relations with South Africa and Portugal in response to the conference's call to condemn the colonialists.

#### New Delhi-Belgrade Conspiracy

Many papers censured the New Delhi-Belgrade conspiracy against the people's cause of fighting imperialism. "India and Yugoslavia," wrote the Indonesian paper Bintang Timur, "which called themselves 'non-aligned countries,' in their frantic activity at the conference to sell their 'peaceful coexistence' policy," tried "to subordinate everything to their 'peaceful coexistence,' even at the expense of the independence and liberation movements." "We shall never follow them," declared the paper.

World opinion also denounced India's futile attempt to whip up an anti-China campaign. The Indian effort to dominate the conference, forge some sort of anti-China front and abolish the ten Bandung principles failed miserably, said an editorial in the Pakistan Times. It pointed out that India had become completely isolated in the Afro-Asian community. In the opinion of the Burmese paper Ludu, India's anti-China activities at Cairo were its most dishonourable acts. "If India wants to regain its prestige and respect from other countries, it must negotiate with China and settle the Sino-Indian boundary question as early as possible. It must also stop at once acting as a protege of imperialism and revisionism," Ludu stressed. It added that India was making a living by using the Sino-Indian boundary question and its anti-China activities to beg for aid from both the West and the East.

"India stands alone," "Without non-aligned friends," and it "lost a point of some substance . . . ." These are some of the pointed comments in Indian newspapers which did not hesitate to voice annoyance and dismay over their government's defeat at the non-aligned conference. Citing the failures of the Indian delegation in Cairo, Statesman said: "Shastri's suggestion for a special mission to China [asking it not to carry out the nuclear tests] has met with no response . . . so did . . . the effort to get the Colombo Conference countries to try and break the deadlock . . and India lost a point of some substance in the item of self-determination."

While the *Hindustan Times* described Shastri's anti-China proposal as "a damp political squib," a Cairo dispatch in the *Indian Express* reported that "India's attitude is bound to create misunderstanding... it put itself in a position of giving the impression that it could not gather enough support for its suggestion." This is not very difficult to explain. The Indonesian paper *Harian Rakjat* provided the answer: "As a U.S. hireling, India tried to scare the people with a gruesome picture of the destructive effect of atomic weapons. But it did not say a single word for the

national-independence movement, which is sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America."

Frustrated, the Statesman also wrote: "Yet the outcome [of the conference] suggest serious questioning how far it is worth attending such conferences again if direct diplomatic gain is to be so meagre and the risk of indirect repercussions so evident?" The Statesman was right; at a conference of non-aligned countries there was no place for a country like India which is doubly aligned — with both Washington and Moscow.

#### Washington's Chagrin

Many papers observed that imperialism was not happy about the results of the conference. The successful Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries was a blow to the West, stated the Tanganyikan paper Nationalist. The American press, obviously irritated by some of the resolutions adopted, was determined to discredit its achievements. To Western countries, the paper continued, "any country, particularly an African state which does not toe their line, must be discredited or made into a pro-Communist bogey."

And sure enough, the U.S. press, bitter over the results of the conference, assailed the non-aligned countries and the Cairo parley. The Washington Post attacked Indonesia's position in Cairo and threatened that the United States would step up its support of Britain and "Malaysia," a product of neo-colonialism. Complaining that the "general tone of the communique [of the conference] is anti-Western, and more especially anti-American," the Washington Star said that "the party was a bust" and even tried to intervene by declaring that "the non-aligned would be well advised not to stage another get-together."

These assaults, like the usual White House practice, were followed by the threat to withdraw "aid" to the non-aligned countries, and also by the proffer of more "aid." Thus, New York's Journal-American urged the U.S. Government to "cease immediately" its "assistance" to some countries that had taken part in the conference. It suggested "to immediately cease any and all financial assistance to such 'non-aligners' as Egypt [U.A.R.], Ghana and Guinea—as has already been done with Indonesia."

The New York Times, however, tried the other tactic. It urged the non-aligned countries to "improve their relations with the United States . . . in an atmosphere that would make it politically possible to expand substantially the flow of government aid and private investment." Similarly, the Washington Post had some sanctimonious advice: the "pressing problem for most of the post-colonial world is not sovereignty but solvency, not foreign bases but foreign trade. For the real division in the world today is not between the colonialist powers and anti-imperialist rebels, it is between the rich and poor nations of the world."

What with persuasion and threats, the American press has tried to scare the non-aligned countries. But can it? This all reminds one of an ancient Chinese parable which related how a tiger, never having set eyes upon a donkey, was frightened when he saw one for the first time. But having realized that all the donkey could do was bray and kick, the tiger fell upon it and devoured it. U.S. newspapers, through their editorial comments on the Cairo conference, have shown what that American donkey is capable of.

-R. J. Z.

# Currency War Between the United States and Other Imperialist Countries

by HSIANG CHUNG

Following is the second and concluding instalment of the article. The first instalment appeared in our last issue. — Ed.

WITH this tremendous change in the balance of forces, the use of the dollar as an instrument to control the currencies of other countries in the early postwar years has turned into its opposite and become a trump card of its rivals against U.S. imperialism. This trend is obvious from the following.

#### "Dollar Shortage" Becomes "Dollar Glut"

First, the U.S. Government is still maintaining its policy of a low price for gold, but this monopoly "low price," far from helping U.S. imperialism attain its aim of robbing other countries, has become an effective weapon in the latter's hands.

Since the other imperialist countries have succeeded in turning deficits in their balance of payments into surpluses, they have accumulated large amounts both of gold flowing in from the United States and of dollars from increased U.S. short-term debts. Their "dollar shortage" experienced in the early postwar years has become a "dollar glut." Thus, in their struggle to resist Washington's control in the economic, political and military spheres, the other imperialist countries are able to exchange some of their surplus dollars for gold from the U.S. Government at \$35 an ounce. This is

borne out by the fact that in 1962 when the United States was experiencing a massive gold outflow, the de Gaulle government exerted strong pressure on Washington and exchanged \$100 million of its dollar holdings for American gold.

In making every effort to maintain its low price of \$35 an ounce for gold at the present time, U.S. imperialism aims to avoid an open devaluation of the tottering dollar, which would lead thereby to "the end of the dollar as an international currency and the beginning of a retreat from the world role of the United States in the field of international payments." (From a speech by William C. Martin, Chairman of Board of Governors of Federal Reserve System in Pittsburg on December 28, 1962.) Speaking at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in 1963, the late U.S. President Kennedy made an urgent plea for the defence of the dollar. "No one," he said, "should confuse caution with timidity or a careful and deliberate pace with lack of determination. We are determined to do whatever must be done to protect the dollar as a convertible currency at its present fixed rate. We are determined to maintain the firm relationship of gold and dollar at the present price of \$35 an ounce."

However, with recurrent deficits in its balance of payments and persistent gold outflows, U.S. imperialism will not be able to take advantage of the low price of gold to drain more gold from other countries as it did in the early postwar years. The question confronting Washington now is how to prevent foreign governments from runs on American gold with their large dollar holdings. For this reason the U.S. Government in recent years has had to ask for an "understanding" of the central banks of other countries and their agreement to suspend, whenever necessary, their exchange of U.S. gold with their dollar holdings. In 1962, the U.S. Government took a further step and asked the West European countries to join it in forming a "gold pool" so that they can collaborate in keeping the price of gold stable at \$35 an ounce on the London gold market.

In his State of the Union Message this year, President Johnson also appealed to his allies to "preserve the present gold value of the dollar." It is true that under certain conditions the West European imperialist countries may give the dollar temporary help in various forms in order to prevent further weakening in the capitalist monetary system, which would inevitably ensue from dollar devaluation, and greater chaos in international financial relations. But collaboration among the imperialist countries for temporary common interest can in no way resolve their contradictions, and bitter and large-scale struggles are bound to emerge even in the process of collaboration.

#### **Deteriorating Dollar**

Second, because the dollar crisis is deepening all the time and talk of its external devaluation has spread unchecked, the U.S. dollar which once claimed to be the capitalist world currency has been placed in an increasingly unfavourable position both with respect to its status as a world currency used as a foreign exchange reserve by other countries and with respect to the problem of maintaining a fixed exchange rate with other currencies.

Even before 1960, some West European countries planned to link their currencies with gold, instead of maintaining a fixed rate with the U.S. dollar about which there were already some doubts. Later, these countries asked that the convertibility of their accumulated dollar deposits with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York into gold at \$35 per ounce should be guaranteed by the U.S. Government. In the programme he advanced in 1962 for reforming the capitalist world currency system, Reginald Maudling, then British Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed that the money deposited by a country with a favourable balance of international payments in one with an unfavourable balance be all deposited with the International Monetary Fund which should guarantee the convertibility of these deposits at their original gold value. Such demands and proposals are in essence a demonstration of lack of faith in the dollar and are, of course, unacceptible to Washington. It is ironic to contrast the present position of the U.S. dollar with its position in the early postwar period when U.S. imperialism was asking various countries to stabilize their currencies and tie them to the dollar. The lack of faith in the dollar is a heavy blow to the American ruling group's appeal to other countries to protect the U.S. dollar.

Hitherto, the dollar and the pound sterling have been the two most important currencies used in their foreign exchange reserves by capitalist countries. Of the two the dollar plays a greater role in this respect. But economic crises have frequently erupted in the United States whose domestic political and economic situation remains very unstable. In these circumstances, the possibility exists that the moment any trouble occurs other countries will want that part of their foreign exchange reserves deposited as dollars in the United States to be converted into other currencies or gold. This places great pressure on the United States, faced as it is with a growing shortage of gold reserves. Meanwhile, with the growth in the annual deficit in the U.S. balance of international payments, the dollar reserves owned by other governments inevitably keep on increasing, while U.S. gold reserves continue to shrink and short-term foreign debts to rise. This leads to the further undermining of the international credit of the dollar. In a large measure, it also accounts for the flight of large amounts of short-term capital, both foreign and domestic, from the United States; the outflow from 1960 to 1962 reached an average annual rate of as much as U.S. \$1,800 million. Since the deficit in the U.S. balance of payments will tend to increase, the United States will be confronted with unsolvable problems in the international monetary field. In view of this, U.S. bourgeois economists have made proposal after proposal to expand the functions of U.S.-controlled international monetary organizations in which America's allies would have to contribute more funds and share more burdens than previously. It is clear that the position of the dollar as the principal reserve currency in the capitalist world is becoming more and more difficult as U.S. imperialism grows increasingly weaker.

#### A Great Challenge

Third, free convertibility, which was resumed by certain West European countries in 1958, has become a great challenge to the dominant position of the dollar. The present situation is different from that in the early postwar period when American imperialism tried to impose free convertibility on its allies as a means of controlling their currencies.

The introduction of free convertibility in certain West European countries in 1958 was the result of the gradual recovery of their economic power and independence, and not the result of pressure exerted by U.S. imperialism. In the mid-1950s when the economic strength of the West European countries began to increase, some monopoly groups began preparing for the adoption of free convertibility to improve the credit of the West European currencies and restore their power in the international money market. The prelude to the struggle came in 1954 when Britain and West Germany gradually relaxed their foreign exchange controls and Britain re-opened the free gold market in London. Because essentially the conditions were ripe and because the formation of the West European Common Market gave rise to the need to adopt free convertibility among the Six, many West European countries such as Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Belgium, switched over - almost simultaneously within a few days of each other at the end of 1958 - to full or conditional free convertibility.

This type of free convertibility differs in principle from the free convertibility of banknotes into gold under the classical gold standard system, a convertibility which was a means of maintaining the relative stability of the internal value of currencies. After World War II, each time a capitalist country found that its balance of payments was deteriorating and the external value of its currency was undergoing serious fluctuation, it was forced to use governmental measures to restrict and control free transactions in foreign exchange. As soon as its economic strength revived to some extent, it would take steps to lift or loosen its exchange controls and restore free convertibility in varying degrees on the basis of a fixed foreign exchange rate pegged by the government. Such action was intended to strengthen the international status and competitive position of the currency concerned. Restrictions on convertibility and free convertibility are both alternative means used by contemporary monopoly capital through the state apparatus to protect its own interests and carry out economic expansion abroad. The wave of free convertibility in West Europe was a demonstration of the fact that at a time when they found the balance of forces in their favour, these imperialist countries sought to dominate the international money market; towards this end they fought among themselves and contended with the United States. If free convertibility adopted under the classical gold standard system played a certain role in speeding capitalist economic development, present-day free convertibility was adopted at a time when the general crisis of capitalism had further deepened; it is a method to redivide the world market and a new form of economic infiltration used by the powerful imperialist countries against their weak partners.

Because of the free convertibility of the West European imperialist currencies into the currencies of other capitalist countries, the dollar has ceased to be the most important hard currency in the capitalist world. The British pound sterling, the West German mark, the French franc and other currencies have gradually asserted themselves in the international money market. At the outbreak of each U.S. dollar crisis in the last two or three years, there often was a rush to sell it for gold or other currencies. One striking example was found in October 1960 when the gold price on the London market rose for a time to U.S. \$43 per ounce. The revaluation of the West German mark and the Dutch guilder in 1961 also brought great pressure to bear on the external value of the dollar. In the face of this embarrassing situation, the United States was compelled in recent years to conclude agreements for bilateral and stand-by loans with West European countries, Canada and the Bank of International Settlements, stipulating that both parties make loans to each other in their own currencies. The United States also issued treasury certificates for West European currencies and obtained stand-by loans in foreign currencies from the International Monetary Fund. It was planned that, if necessary, the foreign currencies thus borrowed would be sold for dollars in order to alleviate pressure caused by a rush sale of the dollar in the international money markets. In the second half of last year, to restrict the continued outflow of private U.S. capital. Washington tried to increase taxes on securities issued by other countries in the United States. This, in reality. is a step in the direction of foreign exchange control. It is now evident that U.S. imperialism, which formerly forced other countries to abolish foreign exchange controls under the pretext of "liberalizing foreign exchange transactions," has been humiliated and has had to make concessions in dealing with the freely convertible currencies of West Europe. The United States in turn has had to consider "protecting" the dollar by foreign exchange controls. This is an indication that U.S. dollar supremacy of the early postwar years is gone and that U.S. imperialist dreams of making the dollar dominate the international money market have been shattered.

At present, U.S. imperialism still holds the largest shares of the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund established soon after World War II and can still pull the strings of its voting machine. But a certain change has already taken place here too. In recent years, as a result of alternate dollar and pound sterling crises, the fund has become inadequate in meeting the large turnover of a country in crisis and the needs of trade expansion in the capitalist world. At the suggestion of the United States, therefore, the fund has asked its members to increase their contributions for the second time since 1958. Though reluctantly agreeing, the six Common Market countries insisted that the newly contributed fund should not be put under the sole control of the fund, but that a "Paris Club" should be established to provide for a stand-by loan of U.S. \$6,000 million as a reserve for the fund. As a result the United States has in part lost its leadership over international monetary organizations, for, according to the provisions of the agreement, the voting power of the "Club" has in effect passed into the hands of the Common Market countries.

In early postwar years, U.S. imperialism planned to set up a vast dollar area embracing the capitalist world in order to facilitate the founding of an unprecedentedly large empire. Only a short time has elapsed and things have already moved in the opposite direction: Washington is encountering difficulties on all sides.

U.S. imperialism is now the biggest international exploiter and the main bulwark of neo-colonialism. Despite the great weakening of the position of the dollar, it is still the most powerful currency in the capitalist world. In addition to possessing 37 per cent of the capitalist world's gold reserves, the United States dominates a dollar area embracing Canada, the Latin American countries, the Philippines and other countries. Currencies like the Japanese yen are still subordinated to the dollar which is their basic reserve. U.S. banks head the list of the capitalist world's biggest commercial banks in terms both of their domestic and foreign financial resources. The struggle between the dollar and other imperialist currencies has heightened rather than diminished. With the present redivision and regrouping of the imperialist countries in the political and economic fields, certain new trends are emerging in this struggle.

#### Intensification of Struggle Between Currency Blocs

One of these trends is that the struggle between the currency blocs of the imperialist countries will be further intensified as state monopoly capital enters into different temporary alliances in the international field.

In the 1930s, after the outbreak of the world economic crisis, the capitalist world was divided into various currency blocs, among the most important of which were the U.S. dollar, the sterling and the franc blocs. Under the mighty assault of the national-liberation movement after World War II, the Belgian franc and the Dutch guilder areas have disintegrated while the internal links of the sterling and French franc areas have been gravely weakened. But a large part of the foreign exchange and gold reserves of the countries in the sterling area is still concentrated in London in the form of sterling deposits which are not freely

convertible into U.S. dollars. The franc and foreign exchange reserves of the African Monetary Community in the franc area are still associated with the franc. More than 30 per cent of Britain's foreign trade and about 20 per cent of France's are conducted with their currency areas which are in opposition to the dollar area.

At a time when the area under imperialist exploitation is continually shrinking, the currency blocs gradually tend to be composed only of the countries in the imperialist camp, instead of embracing both the imperialist countries and their colonies and dependencies. The effort to reduce to some extent the trade barriers in the Common Market countries has necessitated their gradual adoption of "integrated" monetary measures. The Six have jointly set up a monetary organization to engage in economic expansion abroad and in varying degrees have brought about "free movement" of investment, credits and transactions in securities among themselves. They are also attempting to establish common foreign exchange reserves, "co-ordinate" their international monetary policies and restrict the infiltration of foreign, and especially American, capital into the Common Market. Their goal is to create the conditions for an "integration" of their currencies. It is true that a unified currency system is quite impractical in view of the numerous contradictions, disagreement and pressures being brought by the new wave of inflation they are facing. But it will inevitably pose a grave threat to U.S. imperialism if these countries enter into an alliance - even a temporary one - to counterattack dollar infiltration and to scramble for the leadership of the International Monetary Fund. Another common target of attack for the currencies of the Six is the pound sterling and the sterling area. With short-term foreign debts already far exceeding both its gold and foreign exchange reserves, Britain has increasingly become unable to match the Six since its exclusion from the Common Market. All this is a demonstration of the growing disintegration of the imperialist camp in the international monetary realm.

#### U.S.-British Collusion Against the Six

Another trend in the present imperialist struggle in the currency field is the temporary collusion between the dollar and the pound sterling in opposition to the currencies of the Six.

Since the early postwar period, there have undoubtedly been irreconcilable contradictions between the two currencies over the price of gold and the sterling area. Recently, it has become, more than ever, impossible for the two countries to co-ordinate their interest rate policies because their two governments competed with each other in raising domestic interest rates to attract as much short-term capital from abroad as possible. After Britain's failure to join the Common Market, there was widespread talk that the British Government would attempt to stimulate exports by devaluing the pound sterling. Should this happen, under certain conditions, it is likely that other capitalist

countries will lose no time in following suit. This development would deal U.S. imperialism another heavy blow in its drive for markets. It might also cause the devaluation of the dollar which is very much weakened already.

But there is also another aspect. Since both the dollar and the pound sterling are the basic reserve currencies of the capitalist world, if one is undergoing a crisis, the other would also be affected - though, if one took measures to strengthen its own position it would be at the other's expense. In recent years, the two principal reserve currencies have alternately faced crises. To give each other support and stave off common peril, the American and British imperialists have found it possible to join forces under certain conditions in their sharp struggle with the Six. At the 1961 Vienna international monetary conference, for instance, bitter rivalry over the control of the International Monetary Fund broke out, with the United States and Britain against the six West European countries. After the British attempt to squeeze into the Common Market failed, the United States and Britain reached an agreement for a bilateral loan of U.S. \$500 million; under the agreement, when a crisis faces one party, the other will give it currency support. In a recent study of the U.S. balance of payments, the Brookings Institute, a mouthpiece of American monopoly capital, proposed the formation of one vast dollar and sterling bloc. Under the terms of this proposal, a fixed rate would be maintained between the two currencies; the U.S. and British capital markets would be merged into a single unit; and the sterling deposited in Britain by the countries of the sterling area would be "freely convertible" into dollars. Although the proposal has the wrecking of the foundations of the pound sterling area as one of its aims, it is clear that the United States is seeking to ally itself with Britain to forestall a currency alliance by the Six.

The six countries have always held that inflation is the basic cause of the frequent dollar and sterling crises. They make it clear, therefore, that they have no obligation to support the two currencies for any length of time or to have permanently fixed exchange rates between their currencies and the unstable U.S. dollar. The financial and monetary authorities of France, the Netherlands and West Germany have more than once "lectured" Washington about the need to avoid a policy of deficit spending. When the United States asked for loans to protect the dollar, the French Finance Minister emphasized that this request could be met only within certain limits, because, he said, a rational use must be made of France's currency reserves which are the fruits of the French people's labour. At last year's annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund, he expressed great dissatisfaction that the countries with a favourable balance of trade retained large amounts of the currencies of those countries with an unfavourable balance of trade. The Western European Six, because their economic growth in the past several years resulted from artificial stimuli, are now beginning to be hit by an inflationary

wave. Some countries' currencies, for instance the Italian lira, have begun to reflect instability. But the monopoly capitalist groups of the six Common Market countries, and especially the leading monopoly capitalist group in France, are doing their utmost to coordinate a common monetary policy within the framework of the Common Market, and propose the replacement of dollar reserve by a new international reserve unit incorporating a gold guarantee. By this means, they seek to free themselves from the grip of the dollar as well as from the influence of the dollar and the pound sterling. Of course, the intensification of contradictions between the U.S. and British imperialists will lead to frequent new struggles between the dollar and the pound, while unpredictable developments in the international arena might result in collusion on a certain scale between the dollar and the West German mark. However, a regrouping of monetary forces in the imperialist camp has already taken shape with the United States and Britain on one side and the six West European countries on the other.

#### Hopeless Case

To save their currencies from crisis at a time when the struggle among the imperialist countries in the monetary sphere has become unprecedentedly serious, the monopoly capitalists of a number of countries and the bourgeois economists have put forward a variety of proposals for "reforming" the world currency system and for solving the world "liquidity problem." The International Monetary Fund is also planning to review this subject. These capitalists and economists have prettified as "international monetary co-operation" the temporary support the imperialist countries have given each other in order to prevent the collapse of the currency system of the capitalist world. Under the pretext of international monetary co-operation, moreover, they have proposed many "plans" dealing with the price of gold, foreign exchange reserves, foreign exchange rates, etc. But since imperialism will never change its predatory nature and cut-throat competition and dogfights among the imperialists are inevitable, their genuine co-operation is completely out of the question.

It is clear that the ever sharpening struggle between the imperialist countries over currency is a reflection of their unceasing efforts to redivide the world and an outcome of the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and of the crisis of its monetary system. This struggle in its turn has simultaneously aggravated the battle among the imperialist countries. Now, the currency struggle is being fought by means of "free convertibility" instead of foreign exchange control, and between different blocs instead of individual countries. Therefore one country's currency crisis will, more than ever, affect other countries and shake the capitalist world's currency system as a whole. It can definitely be predicted that the struggle will become more and more acute as the contradictions among the imperialist countries deepen and the crisis in the capitalist currency system grows.

# ROUND THE WORLD

#### Bogged Down

#### U.S. Commits New Crimes

On October 16 three U.S. fighterbombers attacked inhabited localities on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam side of the demilitarized zone. Flying from the direction of Laos. they bombed and strafed Ta Rua village in the Vinh Linh area. On the following morning another three U.S. fighter-bombers, this time coming from south Viet Nam, again attacked Ta Rua and other points in Vinh Linh. A spokesman of the D.R.V. Foreign Ministry has protested against these provocations. Sinking deeper and deeper into the mire in Indo-China, U.S. imperialism is making frantic moves to extend the war in south Viet Nam to the north

To its long list of war atrocities against the people of south Viet Nam U.S. imperialism has also added another monstrous crime. Not content with using toxic chemicals, a measure which has shocked world public opinion, the U.S. "special warfare" experts, with the assistance of the Nguyen Khanh clique, have lately resorted to terrorization. On September 27 their aircraft bombed and strafed more than a hundred fishing boats moored at Phu Huu village on the Ong Keo River in Bien Hoa Province. Four hundred fisher folk, pregnant women and children included, were killed or wounded.

From July to September losses in men and weapons suffered by the United States and its stooges in south Viet Nam mounted again. Casualties were more than 41.000, of whom 439 were American "advisers." Four hundred and forty-five armoured vehicles were destroyed, 163 planes shot down or damaged, 162 vessels put out of action and 26 military trains derailed. In the three months Maxwell Taylor's men lost as much ammunition as in the first six months of the year.

During this third quarter of 1964 the war waged by the people's armed

forces against the U.S. aggressors and their puppet troops brought liberation to a widening area. Destroyed in the process were 1,405 "strategic hamlets," some lying close to enemy "pacification centres" or enemy-occupied cities and towns. The resounding successes of the patriotic forces led to the desertion or revolt of thousands of enemy troops. And in many a rural area officials of the puppet administration threw up their jobs to surrender to the people.

If anything, the U.S. air raid on the fishing boats has only succeeded in stiffening the resistance of the south Vietnamese patriots. It cannot alter in the slightest the "almost impossibly bad" situation in south Viet Nam, to quote Henry R. Luce, editorial chairman of *Time* magazine. Nor will air attacks on the D.R.V. help the U.S. imperialists in their predicament.

#### **British Election**

#### Labour Scrapes Home

Labour won the general election in Britain narrowly. Harold Wilson, leader of the party, was asked by the Queen on October 16 to form a new government. His choice of some important cabinet posts has already been announced.

The campaign was a see-saw battle fought on Labour and Tory election manifestos very much alike. Despite the ballyhoo of both parties and the 11th hour barnstorming of Tory ministers, the turn-out at the polling booths was less than in the 1959 election. With only one result outstanding, Labour had won 317 out of the 630 seats, against the Conservatives' 303 and the Liberals' 9. Labour took 61 seats from Home's party, while the latter gained 5 at Labour's expense. Tory votes were down by 5.8 per cent, the biggest fall since the general election in 1945.

After 13 years in the wilderness Labour is now back in power, though its majority is precarious. When the result was known, Wilson declared

that the "small majority" "will not affect our ability to govern." He also said that priority consideration would be given to economic problems. Britain's industrial production is stagnating and the trade gap widening and there is the worst deficit in the balance of payments since 1958. This is accompanied by rising living costs, a chronic housing shortage, unemployment and frequent strikes.

In the 64 years of its history, Labour had been master at Westminster from January to November in 1924 and from June 1929 to October 1931 under Ramsay MacDonald, and again from July 1945 to September 1951 under Clement Attlee. Wilson's administration is Britain's fifth Labour government.

In domestic policy, Wilson puts the accent on "modernization," which means re-equipping and reinforcing the big monopoly enterprises. In foreign policy, he intends, as he has said time and again, to "maintain firm relations with the United States." On Britain's "special relationship with the United States" on which the Tory government, too, prided itself, he pointed out some time ago that "on certain aspects of foreign policy Labour's attitude has been perhaps closer to the American view." He is also on record favouring abandonment of Britain's "separate nuclear force," expansion of its conventional armaments and the establishment of a U.S.-sponsored "U.N. police force" to suppress the national-independence movements.

#### Nuclear Proliferation

#### Bonn's Finger on the Trigger?

In the current issue of Foreign Affairs, the American quarterly, there is an article "Moscow and the M.L.F." by Zbigniew Brzezinski. It has come out at a time when discussions about a Washington-Bonn pact on the M.L.F. scheme are being held in the United States by Secretary of State Rusk and Defence Secretary McNamara with the West German permanent representative at NATO, Dr. Grewe. In a spate of sophistry the author tries to sell the line U.S. imperialism has long been pursuing.

He talks glibly about the M.L.F. plan being designed to prevent West Germany from acquiring nuclear weapons. The current discussions in the American capital make a mockery of his claim.

China's Renmin Ribao carried a translation of the full text of this article and prefaced it with an editor's note. It said, "The stand and viewpoints of this article are extremely reactionary but it reveals unequivocally that the 'M.L.F.' plan being energetically peddled by U.S. imperialism is aimed at spreading nuclear weapons to all the NATO countries, especially placing them in the hands of the West German revanchists." It added, "We are convinced that the people of the Soviet Union. the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries will not be deceived, that they will see through this conspiracy of U.S. imperialism and firmly oppose the U.S. 'M.L.F.' plan."

U.S. imperialism has sought to spread nuclear weapons to its NATO allies under this M.L.F. scheme, scathingly referred to in Europe as the M.L. farce. Some of the NATO countries have been lukewarm to the proposal, and France, Norway and Denmark have refused to join. But the Bonn revanchists have been itching to get a finger on the nuclear trigger. And it suits the American war planners to give the West Germans access to nuclear weapons. Hence the final details now being worked out in Washington for the Erhard government to sign an agreement with the United States before the end of the year.

An American-West German pact on the M.L.F. would mean an American-West German nuclear fleet in Europe. This would pose a serious threat to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and especially the German Democratic Republic. It would also threaten European security and world peace. Lyndon Johnson's television speech on the anniversary of the signing of the U.S.-U.K.-U.S.S.R. partial nuclear test ban treaty in which the American President bragged about the benefits his country has derived from the treaty points to increasingly brazen American nuclear blackmail. He said, "We have more than 1,000 atomic missiles and 1,100 long-range bombers ready for instant reply [read attack]" and that the U.S. nuclear strength "is greater than the combined might of all the nations in all the world."

#### U.S. Nuclear Submarines

#### Told to Keep Out of Japan

President Johnson was bomb-rattling in his television speech on October 15, the people of Japan were taking their movement against the docking of U.S. nuclear submarines in Japanese ports one stage further. On that day they decided to launch a 10-day campaign throughout the country to prevent the entry of the U.S. nuclear vessels. The National Federation of Students' Self-Governing Associations went into operation, holding rallies, staging demonstrations and collecting signatures to oppose the U.S.-Japan "security treaty," which Washington is using as justification for sending its nuclear submarines to Japan. The Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs also sponsored a nationwide "united action month" to begin on October 15.

Ever since Washington decided to dock nuclear submarines in Japan, opposition to the move has been The 10-day nationwide mounting. campaign is the culmination of a sustained movement. On October 11 thirty-five thousand Japanese workers and others marched to the U.S. base at Iwakuni to voice their protest. The demonstrators included delegates from mass organizations in Okayama. Hiroshima and other prefectures. A few days earlier there were similar rallies elsewhere in the country, in Shiogama and Odawara and other cities. Several hundred Japanese nuclear physicists took the opportunity of the annual meeting of the Japan Physics Society at Nagoya University to issue a joint statement protesting against the docking of the submarines. The scientists declared they would work with their colleagues in other fields to push ahead the movement in Japan to oppose the U.S. nuclear war plot.

#### African News In Brief

Zambia. Northern Rhodesia, to be known as Zambia on achieving independence on October 24, has announced that it will take over the mineral rights held by the British South Africa Company unless Britain solves the question before Independence Day. The mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia were seized 70 years ago by Cecil Rhodes, Britain's "empire builder." They are illegally held by the British South Africa Company which rakes in over six million pounds sterling in annual royalties.

Ghana. Encyclopedia Africana, compiled under the editorship of the late American Negro scholar W.E.B. Du Bois, will be a 10-volume work of some 10 million words. The first three volumes are expected to be published before 1970. The first volume will be a general introduction to the study of the continent, the second will consist of articles on each of the African states, and the third will provide biographical sketches of some two thousand prominent figures in African history.

Tanganyika. President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar has called on the country's youth to go to the rural areas to work on the farms. Speaking at one of the young people's training centres newly introduced by the local governments, he stressed the need for intellectuals to work among peasants and help develop the country's agriculture. He repudiated the idea that it would be a waste of time for educated boys and girls to do farm work.

Mali. The country has made rapid strides in developing a national cinema industry. Since 1962 it has made 28 documentary films on important political events in Mali, construction work, and the country's scenic spots. The Chinese feature films The White-Haired Girl and The Party's Daughter dubbed in cooperation with Chinese film workers in Bambara, the most widely spoken language in Mali, have won great popularity.

#### BALLET

#### Japanese Ballet in Peking

The Japanese Matsuyama Ballet Company has returned to Peking for a most welcome second visit after an interval of six years. This time it has brought with it a group of ballets and dances that demonstrate its rapid and confident advance along the path it mapped out for itself: the creation of a national school of modern ballet art that amalgamates the cosmopolitan art of the classical ballet, developed first in the West, with the national artistic genius of the Japanese people as expressed in the first place in their folk music and dances.

The company presented two programmes. It opened with its new ballet Gion Matsuri, a full-length, four-act story choreographed by Mikiko Matsuyama and Yishida Taneo, based on an incident of the struggle waged by the Japanese artisans, townsfolk and peasants against their feudal rulers in the 15th century. The second programme, as it were, filled in a deeply interested audience on the elements of the art and the work of the company that led up to its latest creation. This

Mikiko Matsuyama in "Gion Matsuri" Sketch by Jack Chen

included a classically composed ensemble. danced en pointe by the corps de ballet. entitled Spring Tide; a moving little dance vignette The Blind Girl; a rousing, brilliantly costumed Japanese folk dance of celebration composed by Yishida Taneo, and the duet for Hsi-erh and her peasant betrothed danced by Mikiko Matsuyama herself and her partner Tonozaki Yoshiaki from the 1955 ballet version of The White-Haired Girl based on famous Chinese opera the same name, which the troupe

brought to China on their 1958 tour.

The troupe thus showed its firm foundation in the classical ballet technique (it has a number of the classics on its repertoire) and also its deep knowledge and ability to perform the traditional national dances of Japan. In the one-act comedy ballet The Red War-Coat shown in this programme and on a bigger scale and theme in Gion Matsuri the

choreographers and the troupe as a whole show their ability to synthesize the two elements of the classical ballet and the national folklore.

In Gion Matsuri this produces a powerfully expressive dance-drama. It is the story of a town that is determined to celebrate traditional festival despite the opposition of the feudal rulers. Centrepiece of the festival is a triumphal cart and the building of this brings together the artisans and peasants in a common Mikiko Matstruggle. suyama takes the role of one of the peasant insurgents who acts as a link between the two forces and her love for the

#### Chinese Leaders See Japanese Ballet

Fremier and Mme. Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier and Mme. Chen Yi saw the Japanese Matsuyama Ballet Company's farewell performance of The Red War-Coat and other ballet excerpts in Peking's Capital Theatre on October 17. During the interval, the Premier and Vice-Premier received and talked with Masao Shimizu, head of the company, Mikiko Matsuyama, deputy head, Akira Imachi, conductor, Kazuhiro Iido, director, and the company's leading artists. Masao Shimizu presented Chou En-lai with a Japanese kimono which the Premier put on for photos with the Japanese friends. The Premier had already seen the company's new ballet Gion Matsuri. Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and other Chinese Party and government leaders received the company's leading members and artists on October 10.

> master carpenter (danced by Yishida Taneo) supplies a lyrical counterpoint to the vigorous mass scenes and dances.

> The troupe is fortunate in having in Mikiko Matsuyama not only a lovely prima ballerina but also a talented and lyrical choreographer. Yishida Taneo's rousing Japanese Folk Dance, his work dances and comedy interludes have great strength and robustness, particularly in the dances for men.

The Matsuyama company occupies a prominent place in the Japanese artistic scene. It is now fifteen years old and has branches in many parts of Japan. Its main troupe is based in Tokyo where it maintains a folklore research group. Gion Matsuri to a large extent sums up its achievements to date. In its robust presentation of

the mass struggles of the Japanese working people against oppression, it serves as an inspiration — as does all the work of the troupe — to the Japanese masses in their current struggle for national independence and world peace. In bringing this ballet to China "as a gift to the 15th anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic" the troupe has made a notable contribution to Japanese-Chinese friendship and cultural interflow.

### MUSIC

#### Blind Musician Remembered

When Ah Ping<sup>1</sup> (1893-1950), a blind folk musician, died soon after the liberation, only six of his compositions had been recorded for posterity. But neither his memory nor his music has been forgotten. Tunes he used to play on his *er hu* or *pi pa*<sup>2</sup> on the streets, in parks or before teahouses are now heard by thousands at concerts where they are performed by full-sized orchestras.

Ah Ping's musical compositions, like those of other folk musicians, are valued as part of the national music of China. They are deeply infused with the sentiments of the common people, and show a strong patriotism. In style, they are both national and original. His musical attainments came of a life spent among the city poor, the rickshaw men, railway porters and coolies, from whom he gained a deep knowledge of folk music and in whom he found his most devoted listeners.

Ah Ping had his musical upbringing in a Taoist monastery in Wusih city, Kiangsu Province. An old priest adopted him and taught him to play many ancient airs on Chinese musical instruments. Before he was Ah Ping was a versatile musician. much sought after by the rich to play at their Taoist ceremonies. When not yet thirty, he became blind in one eye. Around that time he also first learnt folk music and opera through friends, and fell deeply in love with these forms. But folk music was scorned by his Taoist colleagues, and he was driven out when he refused to give it up.

That was the start of his second life, a real life among the people, which lasted over 20 years. Wandering as a minstrel from street to street, Ah Ping came to see much of the injustice and darkness of the old so-

ciety. An attack on a young servant girl by a local despot roused his strong indignation. He made up a song exposing the deed and sang it all over the city. Popular anger became so great that the scoundrel did not dare show his face for a long time. During the Japanese occupation Ah Ping sang in denunciation of traitors and, after victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, he protested against the Kuomintang misrule with songs of bitter sareasm. Among his own folk at the doors of the poor and the needy, he played those songs of his own composition or adaptation which he loved best. Among these are the ones played today.

Liberation came in the year before his death, and the blind musician rejoiced at the news told to him by friends of the justice and order brought by the new regime. He settled down to teaching students who were workers on the railways and in textile mills. In the summer of 1950, he heard that someone from Peking was coming to record his tunes. That evening, he had a bath, put on clean clothes, took his er hu and pi pa, and went out into the street. Outside, he started to play The Moon Reflected in the Hui Pool as he went the round of his old haunts. A friend cried out to him from afar: "What! Ah Ping, back at your old trade again?" The musician laughed in reply: "No! Someone from Peking wants to record my music. I've got to do some practising."

In December of the same year, Ah Ping died but not before his favourite tunes had been recorded. These were: Pine Whispers, The Moon Reflected in the Hui Pool, The Dragon-Boat, Chao Chun Leaves the Border, Waves Washing the Sand and The Cold Winds of Spring.

Most of Ah Ping's life was lived in the period of imperialist aggression against China. A folk musician who loved his native land could not but be concerned with his country's fate. The er hu tune Pine Whispers deeply and clearly reflects this sentiment. It takes as its theme the defeat of northern invaders by Yo Fei, the patriot-general of the Sung Dynasty. The opening passage is grave and disquieted, expressive of a patriot's feelings when his country is attacked.

The first part resounds with the urgent call of the bugle to arms. In the second is released the thunder of battle, when the notes, one higher than the other, reach a crescendo of valour and resolution on the battlefield. The bugle sounds once more in the third, this time a proclamation of victory.

The Moon Reflected in the Hui Pool, also an er hu air, shows another aspect of Ah Ping's patriotism, his great love for the natural beauty of his own land. The music is gentle, murmuring and graceful, the rhythm even and flowing. But here and there has crept in a note of melancholy, perhaps because the musician had tasted to the dregs the bitterness and hardships of life. But these are offset by other notes of hope, which are even more characteristic of Ah Ping. Both these factors contribute to give this work more power to move than a mere ode to nature.

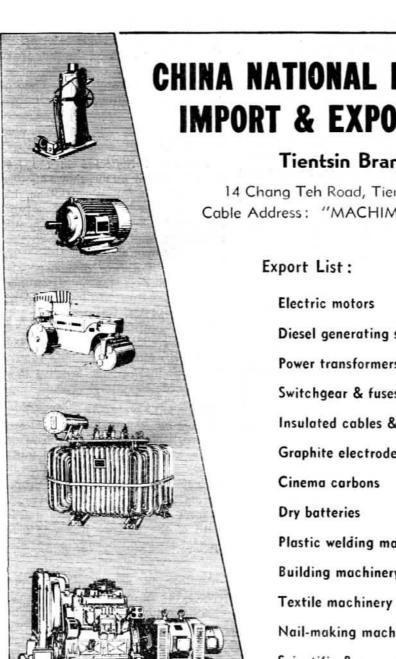
In the pi pa piece The Dragon-Boat, Ah Ping has caught the buoyant and unquenchable spirit of the common people as they celebrate their traditional festival. He has drawn liberally on the cymbal-clashing and drumbeating of folk music in south Kiangsu and the stringed music south of the Yangtse River, to give his boat-racers a wholehearted gaiety, optimism and courage.

Another pi pa air, Chao Chun Leaves the Border, is typical of Ah Ping's originality in conception. Unlike other representations of Chao Chun, the famous beauty of the Han Dynasty who was sent by the emperor as a gift to the Huns, his Chao Chun is cheerful and serene, not broken-hearted and wilting, at her departure. This comes from Ah Ping's direct contacts with the ordinary people, among whom the image of languishing beauties common to the upper classes did not exist. Maybe unconsciously, Ah Ping expressed the simple-hearted longing of the people for unity in the land.

Ah Ping's music, which at its best reaches great heights, was written before socialism came to China. But it provides an indispensable fund of research material for New China's musicians to draw on in building up a new, socialist national music.

¹ His original name is Hua Yen-chun, but he preferred the nickname of Ah Ping, and after he became blind was known as Ah Ping the Blind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The *er hu*, a small Chinese violin with two strings between which the bow is passed. The *pi pa*, the Chinese balloon-guitar.



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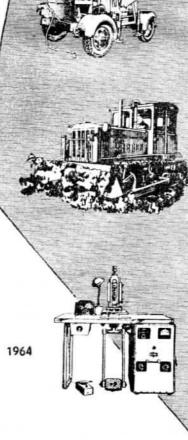
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