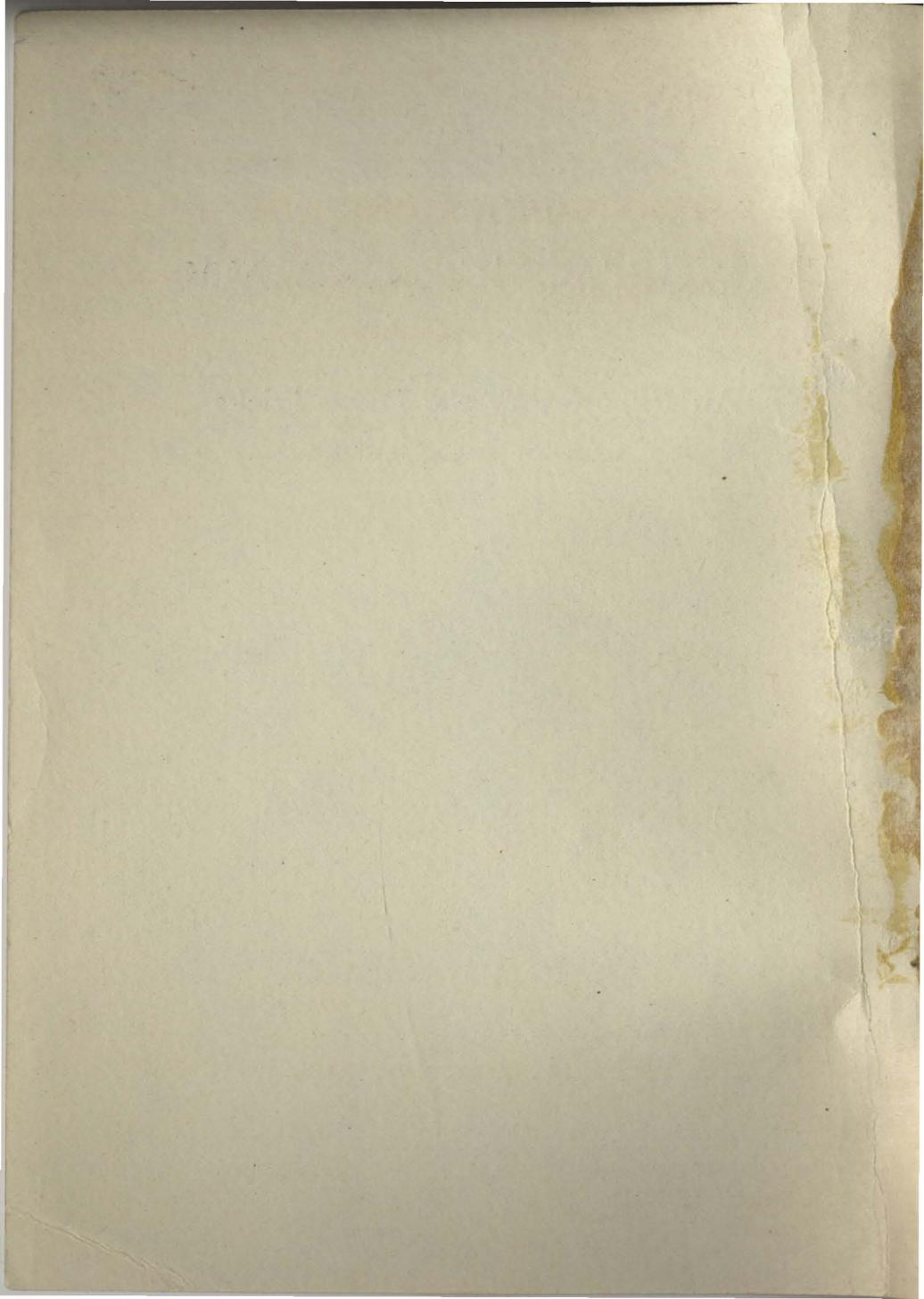


# TWO TACTICS, ONE AIM

An Exposure of the Peace Tricks  
of U.S. Imperialism

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# TWO TACTICS, ONE AIM

## An Exposure of the Peace Tricks of U.S. Imperialism

Edited by the Chinese People's  
Institute of Foreign Affairs

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS  
PEKING 1960

TWO FACETS ONE AIM

An Exposure of the Peace Talks  
of U.S. Imperialism

Edited by the Chinese People's  
Liberation Army

Printed in the People's Republic of China

## *EDITOR'S NOTE*

Recently certain representatives of the U.S. ruling circles have talked a good deal about peace and made certain peace gestures. Whether or not U.S. foreign policy has changed is a frequent topic of public discussion in all parts of the world. The articles compiled in this pamphlet serve to expose with ample facts and convincing arguments the two tactics — that of “peace,” and that of war — by which U.S. imperialism carries on its plunder and oppression. The purpose of these two tactics is one and the same: To preserve imperialism and all reactionary forces, to obliterate socialism and all progressive forces and enslave the people of the whole world. The basic policy of U.S. imperialism will not change. In order to safeguard the cause of world peace, the people of all countries who genuinely work for peace must be vigilant against the double-barrelled tactics of U.S. imperialism, and continuously expose and smash all the schemes and plots of the enemy of peace.

May 1960

REPORTS

The following reports were received from the various  
branches of the Society during the year ending  
the 31st of December 1900. The reports are  
of a general nature and do not contain any  
particular details of the work done in each  
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## ON THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Speech at the Conference Held by the Political  
Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty  
Member States in Moscow on February 4, 1960

**KANG SHENG**

*Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central  
Committee of the Chinese Communist Party*

Comrade Chairman, Dear Comrades:

In the capacity of an observer of the People's Republic of China, I have the honour to attend this regular conference of the Political Consultative Committee of member states of the Warsaw Treaty. We are convinced that the convening of this conference will make new contributions to further relaxing the international situation and encouraging the people of the world in their struggle against the expansion of armaments and war preparations and for a lasting peace. We wish the conference success.

The current international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to peace. There have appeared certain tendencies towards relaxation of the international tension created by imperialism. Comrade Nikita Khrushchov made a successful visit to the United States. Prompted by the Soviet Union's foreign policy

of peace and the peace-loving people and countries of the world, an East-West summit conference will soon be convened. As to the disarmament question, a certain measure of agreement has also been reached on procedural matters. The Chinese people and all other peace-loving people and countries the world over rejoice at this. The emergence of such a situation is not accidental. This is the result of repeated struggles waged by the socialist forces, the national revolutionary forces and the forces of peace and democracy against the imperialist war forces, the result of the East wind prevailing over the West wind.

The incomparable strength and the firm unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and its outstanding and effective efforts in the cause of peace are the decisive factors in this tendency towards easing the international situation. We are happy to see that construction in all the socialist countries is gathering speed and their material strength greatly enhanced. The Soviet Union, particularly, has scored brilliant achievements in carrying out its enormous Seven-Year Plan. The Soviet success in successive launchings of man-made earth satellites and cosmic rockets marks the fact that in the most important fields of science and technology, the Soviet Union has left the United States far behind. The balance of world forces has undergone a further, huge change favourable to peace and socialism thereby greatly fortifying the will to struggle, and confidence in victory, of the people throughout the world.

The unswerving struggle carried out by the powerful world forces of peace has caused repeated setbacks to the U.S. imperialists' "position of strength", and "brink

of war" policies. Not only is the United States becoming increasingly isolated politically as the days go by, but militarily, its forces are dispersed and it is lagging behind in new weapons; economically, too, its situation is becoming increasingly difficult. In these circumstances, and particularly under pressure of the strong desire for peace of the people everywhere, the U.S. ruling circles were obliged to make some peace gestures. Of course it is better to talk peace than to talk war. Nevertheless, even the U.S. ruling circles themselves do not try to hide the fact that the change in their way of doing things is aimed at numbing the fighting spirit of the people of the world by means of the "strategy to win victory by peace," wrecking the unity of the peace forces of the world and disintegrating the socialist camp; they are even dreaming of a so-called "peaceful evolution" in the socialist countries. These wild ambitions of the U.S. ruling circles will of course not be realized. While being obliged to make certain peace gestures, the U.S. ruling circles are still pushing ahead vigorously with their arms expansion and war preparations, making a strenuous effort to develop inter-continental ballistic missiles, setting up and expanding missile bases in various places, claiming to be ready at any time to resume nuclear weapons tests, and actively trying to strengthen and patch up military blocs in an attempt to gain time to improve their inferior military position.

U.S. President Eisenhower's State of the Union Message recently gave the clearest indication that the new tricks of the United States are designed to gain precisely what it failed to obtain by its old tricks. The actions of the United States prove fully that its imperialist nature

will not change. American imperialism still remains the arch enemy of world peace. All those throughout the world who are working sincerely for peace must maintain their vigilance against U.S. double-dealing. If our socialist camp and the people of all countries in the world continue to strengthen unity, continue to fortify our strength and thoroughly smash all the intrigues and schemes of the enemy of peace, U.S. war plans can be set back even further and even checked, and the cause of defence of peace will certainly win still greater victories.

At the present time universal disarmament is an important question relating to the defence of world peace. Since World War II, the Soviet Union has time and again made positive proposals for disarmament, the banning of atomic weapons and the ending of nuclear weapons tests. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have, on their own initiative, reduced their armed forces. Not long ago, the Soviet Union proposed general and complete disarmament at the U.N. General Assembly. It later adopted a law at the Supreme Soviet session, again slashing its armed forces unilaterally by 1.2 million men. These facts convincingly demonstrate the sincerity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for peace and their confidence in their own strength.

Although U.S. imperialism dare not oppose disarmament in so many words, it has always in fact sabotaged universal disarmament. Whenever certain U.S. proposals were accepted by the Soviet Union, the United States always concocted new pretexts for a retreat from its original position, creating all kinds of difficulties and preventing by every means the reaching of agreement on

the disarmament question. U.S. actions prove that it will not abandon its policy of the arms race. Therefore, the struggle for universal disarmament is a long-term and complicated struggle between us and imperialism.

The Chinese Government and the Chinese people have always stood for universal disarmament, and actively supported the proposals concerning disarmament made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Since 1951, the Chinese Government has on its own initiative again and again reduced its armed forces. The present Chinese armed forces are less than half their original size. We shall continue to work tirelessly for universal disarmament together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We hope that the countries concerned will reach agreement on this question of universal disarmament. The Chinese Government has never hesitated to commit itself to all international obligations with which it agrees. But U.S. imperialism, hostile to the Chinese people, has always adopted a discriminatory attitude against our country in international relations. Therefore, the Chinese Government has to declare to the world that any international disarmament agreement and all other international agreements which are arrived at without the formal participation of the Chinese People's Republic and the signature of its delegate cannot, of course, have any binding force on China.

The German question has a particularly important place among outstanding international issues. Its solution has a bearing not only on the security of Europe but also on the peace of the world. The permanent division of Germany and the speeded-up revival of West German militarism are an important component part of

the U.S. imperialist policy of war and aggression. The recent frenzied war cries of Adenauer and the rampant anti-semitic activities started by the West German fascist forces are the outcome of U.S. instigation and support. The Governments of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic have time and again put forward reasonable proposals for settlement of the German question. But all these proposals have been rejected by the United States and West Germany. In its efforts to come to agreement with the Western powers on the conclusion of a German peace treaty and on ending the occupation regime in West Berlin, the Soviet Union has made many concessions, whereas the Western powers have to date made no appropriate response. The Chinese Government and people will steadfastly support the basic stand taken by the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic on the solution of the German question, and the struggle of the German people for the reunification of their motherland on the basis of peace and democracy.

While intensifying its efforts to rearm West Germany, U.S. imperialism is reviving Japanese militarism in the East, and has signed a Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance with the Kishi government, its close follower. The Chinese Government has issued a statement strongly condemning this act of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries which threatens the peace and security of Asia. The Soviet Government, too, has sent a memorandum to the Japanese Government, pointing out that the treaty seriously endangers the interests of the Soviet Union, China and many other countries in the Asian and Pacific regions. The people of all lands, including the Japanese people, are unanimous in their firm opposition to this

further step of military collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

The Chinese Government and people hold that West Germany and Japan, which are supported energetically by U.S. imperialism, have become two sources of serious war danger. All peace-loving peoples and countries of the world must maintain a high state of vigilance against this, and exert every effort to prevent the militarism of these two countries from violating world peace.

In other parts of Asia, U.S. imperialism also continues to create international tension. The Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew from Korea on their own initiative long ago, but U.S. forces are still hanging on in south Korea and are trying hard to obstruct Korea's peaceful reunification. The United States, supporting the reactionary forces in Laos, undermined the Geneva agreements and the Vientiane agreements and provoked civil war in Laos. At the Sino-American ambassadorial talks, China has persistently advocated the principle of settling disputes between China and the United States by means of peaceful negotiation and without resort to force or threat of force. But the United States has all along refused to reach agreement with China in accordance with this principle and up till now is occupying our territory of Taiwan. The U.S. navy and air force have been constantly making military provocations against our country despite our repeated warnings. Therefore, the Chinese people and all the people of the world must unite still more closely and resolutely smash U.S. schemes for new wars and aggression in Asia.

The foreign policy of our socialist countries has always firmly adhered to the principle of peaceful coexistence

among countries with different social systems. We socialist countries will never encroach upon others, but neither will we tolerate encroachment by others. Lenin said that to achieve peaceful coexistence, no obstacle would come from the Soviet side. Obstacles could come only from imperialism, from the side of American (as well as any other) capitalists. We will continue to adhere to Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence. Our efforts to carry out this principle have won the support of increasing numbers of people. But if the imperialist reactionaries mistake this for a sign of weakness and dare to impose war on us, then they will only be inviting their own destruction.

The Chinese people have always sympathized with and supported the national and democratic movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and striven for long-term, friendly relations with the nationalist countries in Asia and Africa on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence jointly initiated by our country with India and Burma. To realize their ulterior aims, the imperialists have tried by every means to undermine our country's unity with these countries. One of their chief tricks to undermine this unity is to use the border issue and the overseas Chinese issue, which are legacies of history, to sow discord and cook up anti-Chinese plots in a vain attempt to isolate China. The reactionary forces in certain Asian countries also make use of these issues to try to undermine the friendship between the people of their countries and the Chinese people. They attempt to use the anti-Chinese campaign to divert the attention of the people of their countries from domestic issues and to create pretexts for suppressing the

democratic, progressive forces in their own countries. In our relations with certain Asian nationalist countries, there once appeared small patches of dark cloud, but the sun cannot be overshadowed for long and friendship between our people and the people of these countries will certainly be maintained and developed.

Recently the Indonesian Government and our Government have exchanged the instruments of ratification of the treaty concerning the question of dual nationality, set up a joint committee to implement the treaty and started talks on questions relating to the return of overseas Chinese to their homeland. A certain period of time is needed for an overall settlement of the overseas Chinese question and there may still be some twists and turns. But, if both sides treasure their friendship, persist in peaceful consultations and seriously carry out the agreements already reached, the overseas Chinese question can be solved justly and reasonably.

China and Burma have always had friendly relations. Recently, the Prime Minister of Burma Ne Win visited our country and signed with the Chinese Premier the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and an agreement between the two Governments on the boundary question. This not only signifies that friendly relations of the two countries have entered a new stage, but also sets a new example for friendship and solidarity among the Afro-Asian countries. The Sino-Burmese border question is a complicated one left over by history. The imperialist reactionaries used this question to sow dissension and cause division. But both Chinese and Burmese Governments sincerely desire peace and friendship, so the two parties were able to reach

agreement in principle speedily and pave the way for an overall, thorough settlement of this question. The Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression offers striking proof that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have certainly not "outlived themselves" or "become defunct" as certain reactionary elements and instigators of war allege, but, on the contrary, are showing their great vitality with increasing clarity. These facts thoroughly give the lie to the slanders of the imperialists and all reactionaries about China's "aggression." They amply prove that China's sincerity in abiding by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence can stand the test of time and history. Those who attempt to isolate China have failed to do so. On the contrary, they have isolated themselves.

Strengthening the unity of the countries of the socialist camp is a matter of the utmost importance. Our unity is built on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of proletarian internationalism. The Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in 1957 ushered in a new historic period in our unity. The Declaration adopted at this meeting is the charter of solidarity of our socialist camp. The imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries in all countries are always dreaming that changes in their favour will occur within our countries and splits will occur in the unity between our countries. The greater the difficulties they come up against, the more they hope to save themselves from their doom by sabotage within our countries and by undermining the unity between our countries. However, in face of our great unity, their futile calculations can never be realized.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always taken the safeguarding of the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union as their sacred international duty. They have always regarded an attack against any socialist country by the imperialists and all reactionaries as an attack against China. They have always considered that the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia are renegades to the communist movement, that revisionism is the main danger to the communist movement at the present time and that it is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against revisionism. This stand of ours is firm and unshakable. Working for the cause of peace and socialism, we socialist countries will certainly extend further support and help to each other. As long as the socialist camp is united, the unity of the peoples of the world has a firm nucleus and the victory of our cause has a reliable guarantee.

The present situation is extremely favourable to us. Let us hold aloft the banner of peace, the banner of socialism and communism and march victoriously towards our great goal!

# **IMPERIALISM — SOURCE OF WAR IN MODERN TIMES — AND THE PATH OF THE PEOPLES' STRUGGLE FOR PEACE**

In Commemoration of the 90th Anniversary of  
Lenin's Birth

**YU CHAO-LI**

The struggle to defend world peace and make it lasting is the major political "order of the day" for the peoples of the world. In this struggle, we are fighting against the imperialist war forces and their policies of aggression and war. This truth is self-evident.

Lenin taught us that in the era of imperialism, the imperialist system is the source of war. Imperialist war is a continuation of its policy of aggression and enslavement. In times of peace, the imperialists always pursue a whole set of policies for the continuous extension of the rule of monopoly capital. The exploitation and oppression of their peoples at home, their domination and plunder of the colonies and semi-colonies and the rivalry among monopoly capital groups in various countries do in fact breed new wars. To the imperialists, peace is no more than an interval between wars. Taking advantage of the interval, they work energetically to expand their arms and prepare for the next war. They wage war to

redive the world and, under certain conditions, to conclude the type of peace treaties they require. The peace and peace treaties which are to their liking themselves generate new wars and may at any moment be scrapped by the imperialists. The Paris Peace Treaty concluded by the imperialist powers following World War I did not prevent them from attacking each other in the first place, thus touching off World War II. After World War II, U.S. imperialism, supplanting German, Japanese and Italian fascism, unceremoniously blocked the signing of peace treaties. By unrestrained arms expansion and war preparations and the ever more frequent alternation between war and peace tactics, it endeavours to realize its imperialist ambitions to dominate the world.

Of late, certain representative figures in U.S. ruling circles seem to be paying greater lip-service to peace than hitherto and playing more peace games. They hope to create the illusion among people that Eisenhower and his kind are capable of "laying down the butcher's knife and turning into buddhas." They want people to believe that U.S. imperialism will offer the gift of peace to the world.

Will Eisenhower and his like really lay down their butcher's knives? Does U.S. imperialism actually desire world peace? Facts are most eloquent. Numerous events have demonstrated that juggling with peace, Eisenhower and those like him are actively preparing for war. There are irrefutable facts to show this.

The State of the Union and Budget Messages submitted by Eisenhower to the Congress this year were not messages of peace, but messages of war; not messages of disarmament, but messages of armaments expansion.

Nearly 60 per cent of the 1960 U.S. budget outlays, amounting to more than 45,000 million dollars, are allocated to arms expansion and war preparations. The recent great debate in the U.S. Congress and monopoly-controlled press was similarly not a debate on peace or war, but a debate on how to expand armaments and prepare for war. Eisenhower truculently declared that the United States has "got all of the power that would be necessary to destroy a good many countries," that henceforth no effort will be spared to supply a "real deterrent" and that more guided missiles will be developed as well as more atomic submarines. In their electioneering, the two major bourgeois political parties in the United States, the Democratic and Republican Parties, are not campaigning on a programme for peace and easing of international tensions but competing for better records in armaments expansion and war preparations. The United States still has over a million troops stationed in more than 70 countries and regions. It has more than 250 military bases in foreign countries and is accelerating the establishment of intermediate range and other guided missile bases abroad. In the United States itself, more than ten I.C.B.M. bases are in process of construction. At the end of last year Eisenhower announced that the United States was free to resume nuclear weapons tests. The United States has continuously conducted military manoeuvres, experiments with various types of guided missiles and underground non-nuclear explosions. Recently it has proclaimed its readiness to conduct underground nuclear tests. This imposing array of facts makes it clear that Eisenhower and his kind will never lay

down their butcher's knives. U.S. imperialism being what it is will certainly not abandon its policy of war.

The peace which U.S. imperialism seeks is nothing but peace with U.S. global domination. Neither Eisenhower today, nor Dulles yesterday, made any effort to hide the meaning of their "peace with justice." In their eyes, the socialist countries are "captive nations," all revolutions are "means of evil" and "peace with justice" is a peace in which socialism is eliminated, revolutions in all countries are "strictly *verboden*" and the peoples of the world submissively knuckle under to the oppression and exploitation of U.S. monopoly capital. Last year, Eisenhower personally stage-managed the farce of the so-called "captive nations week" in the United States. Recently, U.S. Secretary of State Herter issued a provocative statement propagating the illusion that the three Soviet Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia would one day "again enjoy national independence." The national revolution in Iraq and the national liberation war in Cuba are regarded by the U.S. imperialists as impermissible "armed conquests" of "free nations." In their eyes, "the pattern for world peace" can only be found in "the pattern of the national life" of the United States. It is thus clear that the "peace" they seek is nothing but U.S. world domination, a duplicate of the ancient *pax Romana* and the *pax Britannica* of the 19th century.

Not long ago U.S. ruling circles published reports by certain leading research institutes on foreign and military policies. These reports arrive at a like conclusion, namely, that in carrying out its imperialist policy the United States must play the peace game at the same time that it actively prepares for war. It is well known that

the United States is not subject to armed threat from any country in the world. Yet the U.S. imperialists in overall state policy always give top priority to war preparations. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc., representing the most powerful financial group in the United States, prepared a foreign policy report which says that while seeking "peace," the United States must be prepared to face up to the possibility of war. It poses the question of "whether peace shall be the whole aim of foreign policy; whether everything shall be yielded to that end" and replies "clearly the answer must be *no*." A report submitted to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a research group at Johns Hopkins University associated with the Morgan financial grouping notes that since the initiation of nuclear war remains a possible course, the United States "should have the ability to fight such a war." Another study published by the Stanford Research Institute with Pentagon connections declares that "with current technology, there are plausible, even probable, circumstances in which the leaders of a country might decide [nuclear] war was the best alternative," and that the United States should be "prepared to fight a war in addition to being able to deter one." *U.S. News and World Report*, a mouthpiece of U.S. monopoly capital, states in an article prefacing extracts from these three reports that "rival powers or rival groupings of powers will inevitably develop antagonisms — military or economic — and those antagonisms are likely, in the future as in the past, to lead to a test of strength." Regretting that the United States did not take advantage of the opportunity when, at the end of World War II, it "was in a position to assume world

domination," it concludes that "only through world dominance by a single power can assurance of safety from nuclear war be established." This reveals, fully and flagrantly, the aim of world domination pursued by U.S. imperialism, identical with that of Hitler.

To realize its ambition for world hegemony, U.S. imperialism is on the one hand actively preparing for "total war," that is world war, while on the other is energetically engaged in preparing for "limited wars," that is "local wars." Eisenhower has declared that "to meet a situation of less than general nuclear war, we continue to maintain our carrier forces, our many service units abroad, our always ready Army Strategic Forces and Marine Corps divisions. . . ." The Rockefeller Fund report also notes that "the United States must at whatever costs maintain its military capacity to fight either general or local wars if force is necessary to preserve its vital interest." Again, "the United States must not only preserve its power of nuclear retaliation as a deterrent to Soviet power but must also have sufficient forces to deal with non-nuclear wars." The Stanford Research Institute's study makes the point that aside from strengthening its present armed forces, the United States should "institute an adequate civil-defense program and a limited-war program." In other words, even if it is not possible for the United States to fight a big war, it will fight medium or small wars, and if it is compelled to refrain from waging a nuclear war, it will wage wars with conventional weapons. The Johns Hopkins University report even advocates the use of nuclear weapons in "local wars." It advises that: "Foreseeable progress in nuclear engineering will make possible a reduction in

the costs, and consequent increase in the availability, of fissile materials. Such achievements can be expected to facilitate the nuclearizing of small wars. . . ." The U.S. imperialists consider the strategy of carrying on local wars on the basis of active preparation for world war most advantageous to them. They are aware that lagging far behind the Soviet Union in military science and technology, they will suffer extremely serious consequences if they venture to start a world war. Nevertheless, they are neither willing nor able to abandon their policy of war. That is why in the hope of step by step realizing their imperialist objectives they have adopted the strategy of "limited wars" (i.e., "local wars") short of world war.

The U.S. policy of "local wars" is a kind of conclusion drawn from historical experience in pursuance of its policy of aggressive wars. U.S. control over the Western Hemisphere was effected by resorting to this tactic of "local wars." The era of imperialism has a history replete with "local wars," besides the two world wars. World War II began with a series of local wars. From the end of World War II until today, there have been an uninterrupted series of local wars started by the imperialists: wars of imperialist intervention against the revolutions of other countries, wars of imperialist suppression of the national liberation movements and wars of imperialist aggression against the socialist countries. Though the imperialist powers have not yet fought directly among themselves, there is a serious latent danger of war. Wars of the kind noted above are precisely the products of the fundamental contradictions inherent in imperialism and the continuation of the basic policies of

U.S. imperialism. Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has adopted a policy most aggressive and hostile to the peoples of the world. Assuming the role of self-styled "international gendarme," it has taken upon itself the task of suppressing national and democratic revolutions in all colonies and semi-colonies and the people's revolutions in all capitalist countries; it insists on carrying out a policy of "Western unity" so as to compel the other imperialist nations to bow to U.S. dictates. It even dreams of wiping out the socialist camp in order to realize its ambitions for world domination. It is just because U.S. imperialism adheres to this reactionary policy that the world has been subjected to the actual calamity of the various U.S.-created "local wars" and the danger of world war still exists.

Facts show clearly that today, just as Lenin pointed out more than forty years ago, the danger of war still lies in the imperialist system. Imperialism is by nature predatory. The policies of the imperialist countries in times of "peace" serve the purpose of plunder. When this policy of plunder meets with obstacles which cannot be surmounted by "peace" tactics, imperialism resorts to war to remove them in order once more to get on with its policy of plunder. The imperialist policy of plunder is bound to lead to war. There has been no change whatever in this fundamental nature of imperialism since the end of World War II. It is absolutely impermissible for us to mistake certain tactical changes on the part of imperialism for changes in the very nature of imperialism. Imperialism may adopt this or that tactic at different periods, but it will not change its nature, nor will it alter its basic policies. As long as imperialism lasts, it will

exert itself to the full to realize its object of plunder by alternately relying principally either on methods of war or "peace." Thus, only by perceiving clearly the enemy of world peace, can we keep our eye on the concrete targets in the defence of peace and opposition to war.

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Although there has been no change in the nature of imperialism, there has been a great change since World War II in the situation in which imperialism finds itself. Following World War I the capitalist world still experienced a period of relative stability. With the exception of the victorious socialist revolution in the Soviet Union, the revolutions in other countries failed. The imperialist colonial system had not yet disintegrated. But following World War II, there emerged a powerful socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and embracing 12 nations, and a series of nationally independent countries. At the same time the old imperialist colonial system is in process of disintegration. With the appearance of the socialist world resulting in a greatly contracted capitalist world, the struggles between imperialism on the one hand and the colonial and semi-colonial countries and their peoples on the other, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat within the imperialist countries, and among the imperialist powers themselves over sources of raw materials and markets have become much more acute, complex and intense than during the post World War I period. But this changing situation by no means warrants the conclusion that imperialism will no longer make war or that the root cause of modern war has been eradicated.

According to the Leninist theory, the contradictions between imperialism on the one hand and the colonies and semi-colonies on the other are irreconcilable and antagonistic in nature. They constitute one of the root causes of modern wars. Lenin said that the domination of the imperialist powers "over hundreds of millions of inhabitants of the colonies was maintained only by constant, uninterrupted, never-ending wars. . . ."1 "The history of the 20th century, this century of 'unbridled imperialism,' is," he said, "replete with colonial wars. . . . One of the main features of imperialism is that it accelerates the development of capitalism in the most backward countries, and thereby widens and intensifies the struggle against national oppression. This is a fact. It inevitably follows from this that imperialism must often give rise to national wars."2 Lenin also said, "National wars waged by colonial and semi-colonial countries are not only possible but *inevitable* in the epoch of imperialism. . . . The national liberation politics of the colonies will *inevitably* be continued by national wars of the colonies against imperialism."3 Are these principles of Lenin's no longer applicable to present conditions? Does the process of the disintegration of the old imperialist colonial system signify the end of their colonialist policy? Will imperialism voluntarily relinquish its plunder and domination of the colonies and semi-colonies making it

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1 "War and Revolution," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 365.

2 "The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 570.

3 "The Pamphlet by Junius," *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. XIX, p. 204.

unnecessary for the latter to wage national liberation wars?

Post World War II history confirms with increased clarity the brilliance of Lenin's scientific thesis cited above. The disintegration of the old imperialist colonial system does not mean that imperialism has given up its basic policy of colonialism. With the support of the powerful socialist camp, the struggles for national independence waged by many former colonies of the imperialist countries have compelled imperialism to make concessions of varying degrees. This is a victory of our time. However, it should not be overlooked that imperialism's life line is sustained by the acquisition of stable sources of raw materials and markets. The old imperialist powers are leaving no stone unturned in their effort to maintain their interests in the former colonial and semi-colonial countries and, wherever possible, U.S. imperialism is trying desperately to get a foothold in their spheres under the pretext of "filling the vacuum." West Germany and Japan hankering after raw materials and markets are with U.S. backing once more injecting themselves into the picture. Compared with pre-war years plunder of the colonies by the imperialist powers through trade has intensified and such trade now constitutes a greater proportion of the total volume than before. There has been no decline in the percentage of Britain's trade with the "sterling area" or that of France with the "franc area." Between 1947 and 1956, new U.S. investments in the "underdeveloped countries" totalled 7,400 million dollars and the United States extracted from them profits up to 13,600 million dollars. "Foreign aid" by U.S. imperialism in the post-war years is a disguised

but most rapacious form of the export of capital. Through these enormous "foreign aid" funds, the United States endeavours to accomplish its objective of enslaving the other capitalist nations and the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Following World War II, imperialist colonial rule, except in the remaining old-type colonies, has largely been maintained under the guise of preserving and extending independence. In form, this can be classified under two headings. Complete political, military, economic and financial domination by one imperialist power is one and the relations between the United States and many Latin American countries are typical examples. Another is the situation in which a country is the object of contention among several imperialist powers as was pre-liberation China. Both forms exhibit the semi-colonial features pointed out by Lenin. In such countries, the struggle between the broad masses of the people (including the national bourgeoisie at certain periods) and imperialism and its lackeys, far from ceasing, has grown sharper and more acute. In fact, three types of wars between the imperialist and colonial and semi-colonial countries characterize post World War II. One is imperialist war of suppression of the colonies. Another is imperialist war of aggression against countries that have gained their national independence. And the third is the war for national liberation which takes the form of civil war and is fought against imperialism and its henchmen. These three types of wars have never ceased but follow each other without end up to this very day.

According to the Leninist theory, the contradictions between the monopoly capitalist class and the broad

masses of the people within an imperialist country are irreconcilable and antagonistic in nature and constitute one of the root causes of modern wars. Lenin said:

Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. The result is reaction all along the line, whatever the political system, and an extreme intensification of existing antagonisms in this domain also.<sup>1</sup>

He also said:

Only the proletarian, socialist revolution can bring mankind out of the blind alley created by imperialism and imperialist wars. Whatever the difficulties of the revolution and its possible temporary setbacks, or whatever waves of counter-revolution may arise, the final victory of the proletariat is inevitable.<sup>2</sup>

Lenin further pointed out:

Civil wars are also wars. Whoever recognizes the class struggle cannot fail to recognize civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions, inevitable continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. All the great revolutions prove this. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, would mean sinking into extreme opportunism and renouncing the socialist revolution.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> "Draft Programme of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXIX, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> "The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 571.

Has there been any relaxation today in the contradictions between the monopoly capitalist class and the broad masses of the people in the imperialist countries? Has the imperialist system been transformed into "people's capitalism" and even reached the point "nearest to the communist ideal of 'prosperity for all'" so that the above-mentioned principles of Lenin no longer hold good as claimed by the imperialists?

Similarly, the history of the 15 post-war years demonstrates even more clearly the brilliance of Lenin's scientific thesis. In the imperialist countries, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production has further sharpened. The imperialist system has become more reactionary all along the line and is developing in the direction of militarization of the national economy, seriously shackling the productive forces of society. Imperialist rule makes it impossible for modern science and technology to serve the interests of the mass of people; instead, it turns them into a burden and menace to the people. The function of the imperialist state has been immeasurably strengthened. This is manifest, in the first place, in the enormous growth of the military apparatus for suppression of the people. The imperialist state has also enhanced its "role as regulator of the economy." This is reflected primarily in the fact that the monopoly capitalists are in direct control of the state apparatus. The financial tycoons themselves take over the highest government posts and have thereby intensified the exploitation of the masses. The cabinet of the Eisenhower administration is a typical millionaires' cabinet. The governments of all imperialist countries are still controlled by the same financial oligarchs as

before World War II. In West Germany, for example, the forces behind the Adenauer government are the same clique of financial magnates that controlled the Hitler regime. The struggle between the various U.S. monopoly capital groups has also intensified. The intervals between economic crises in the imperialist countries have shortened, crises have become more frequent, and new, more profound crises are unavoidable. Certain phenomena of the temporary "boom" are, to a considerable extent, founded on the arms race and other ephemeral factors.

In the United States, for example, monopoly capital has become more concentrated in the post-war period. The share of the 200 biggest manufacturing corporations in total manufacturing sales rose from 37.7 per cent in 1935 to 45.5 per cent in 1955. Net profits before taxes of the U.S. monopoly groups increased from 6,200 million dollars in 1937 to 37,100 million dollars in 1958. The parasitic character and decadence of U.S. monopoly capital have developed further. Three-quarters of the U.S. national budget is to defray past and current military expenditures. More than one-quarter of U.S. industry is producing arms and ammunition. In 1959, each American bore a military expenditure's burden amounting on an average to 291 dollars. U.S. tax revenue has exceeded one-quarter of the national income and the federal debt is approaching the 300,000 million dollar mark. This onerous tax burden falls on the shoulders of the American people and cannot but arouse their dissatisfaction and opposition. The American economy, outwardly strong, is like a skyscraper built on sand in danger of momentary collapse. Although certain phenomena of the

temporary "boom" have reinforced reformist illusions among a section of the workers in capitalist countries, daily sharpening contradictions exist not only between the capitalist and working classes, but also between the monopoly capitalist class and various strata of the people, between the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and people in other capitalist countries — including even the capitalist classes in these countries. As pointed out in the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries in 1957:

The working people of the capitalist countries live in such conditions that, increasingly, they realise that the only way out of their grave situation lies through socialism. Thus, increasingly favourable conditions are being created for bringing them into the active struggle for socialism.

How the various countries will realize the transition from capitalism to socialism is their internal affair and is of course a question which the peoples of these countries have to decide. Socialist countries will never interfere in the internal affairs of other states. Revolutions cannot be exported. But the inevitability of revolutions in the imperialist countries is an objective law of history, independent of human will. In the event of a revolution, no one can guarantee that the counter-revolutionaries will not use violence to suppress it. The Marxist-Leninist parties do not reject peaceful means for carrying out socialist revolution, but when the exploiting class uses violence against the people, the possibility of employing other means has to be considered, namely, the transition to socialism by non-peaceful means. The historical ex-

perience of mankind shows that the ruling class will not give up state power of its own accord. As pointed out in the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries in 1957:

In this case, the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

According to the Leninist theory, the contradictions between the imperialist countries are irreconcilable and antagonistic in nature and constitute one of the root causes of modern wars. Lenin said: "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism."<sup>1</sup> "The more capitalism develops, the more the need for raw materials arises, the more bitter competition becomes, and the more feverishly the hunt for raw materials proceeds all over the world. . . ."<sup>2</sup> "Without a forcible redivision of the colonies the *new* imperialist countries cannot obtain the privileges enjoyed by the older (*and less powerful*) imperialist powers."<sup>3</sup> "Imperialist wars, i.e., wars for obtaining world domination, markets for banking capital and for strangling the small

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<sup>1</sup> "The United States of Europe Slogan," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> "Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement," *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. XIX, pp. 345-346.

and weaker nations, are inevitable.”<sup>1</sup> Are these principles of Lenin’s no longer applicable to present conditions? Can it be said that since the United States attained its pre-eminent position in the imperialist camp after World War II, the other imperialist countries will for ever be satisfied to toe the U.S. line? Is the struggle for sources of raw materials and markets becoming less acute? Does the danger of inter-imperialist wars no longer exist?

Again the 15-year post-war history manifests even more clearly the brilliance of Lenin’s scientific thesis. The imperialist scramble for sources of raw materials and markets, instead of relaxing, has become more intense than ever. This is because, firstly, the capitalist world market has been substantially contracted. Secondly, the semi-colonial form of domination has heightened the rivalry for markets among the imperialist countries. It is well known that the United States accounted for only 11 per cent of the total export of industrial goods of all the imperialist countries in 1899, that that proportion climbed to nearly 20 per cent in 1937 and, during World War II and the few years immediately after, U.S. imperialism practically monopolized industrial exports for the entire capitalist world. But this state of affairs favourable to the United States was short-lived. In the words of Dulles, “the idea of unity of the West remains only an ideal,” and though the United States poured out its dollars in tens of thousands of millions, “the European Recovery Program has not accomplished all that was

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<sup>1</sup>“Draft Programme of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks),” *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXIX, p. 83.

hoped, or even all that might reasonably have been expected." The countries of the imperialist bloc become more divided than ever and fight fiercely among themselves for sources of raw materials and markets. The U.S. share of the total export trade in industrial goods of all imperialist countries dropped to 27 per cent in 1950 and further declined to 22 per cent in the second quarter of 1959. More recently the U.S. Government has been applying pressure to the governments of all the other capitalist countries demanding that they lift import restrictions on U.S. goods.

At the same time, West Germany and France with U.S. support have organized the European Common Market from which Britain has been excluded. As a counter measure, Britain has organized the European Free Trade Area. Year-long negotiations have failed to resolve these sharp conflicts which remain deadlocked. The share of the once dominant British Empire in the total export trade of industrial goods of all imperialist countries declined from one-third in 1899 to 18 per cent in the second quarter of 1959. British imperialism has, of course, tried hard to recoup lost ground and extricate itself from this inferior position. Consequently its share has shown some increase in recent years. What is worthy of particular note is the fact that with U.S. backing, West Germany's share in the total export of industrial goods of all imperialist countries had exceeded that of Britain and reached 18.8 per cent in the second quarter of 1959. This is the third time in history that Germany (West Germany) has surpassed Britain in the export of industrial goods. The first instance was in 1913 on the eve of World War I; the second in 1937 on the eve of World

War II. These facts alone cannot fail to rouse the vigilance of the people. With similar U.S. backing, Japanese imperialism has also regained its competitive position in the world market. In 1937 Japan accounted for some 7 per cent in the total export of industrial goods of the imperialist countries, and by the second quarter of 1959 had restored its share to more than 6 per cent. This by no means satisfies the demands of the Japanese monopoly capitalists. The spearhead of Japan's drive for markets is directed in the first place towards South-east Asia, and Japanese monopoly capital is utilizing every device to export capital, usurp the markets and plunder the resources of that area.

The resurgent imperialist powers of West Germany and Japan are two sources of serious war danger. The inevitable outcome of the U.S. fostering West Germany and Japan will be, as the Chinese saying has it, to lift a rock only to smash its own toes. West Germany and Japan have already developed into formidable rivals of the United States in the battle for markets. Recent news reports on the proposed establishment of West German military bases in Spain and its preparations for conducting nuclear weapons tests are other ominous signs. In fact, West Germany even dares to attempt to establish military bases in England itself with the connivance of the reactionary rulers there. The foothold in the British Isles which the German army failed to achieve during World War II they now hope to secure smoothly and without resort to war. Blinded by their narrow interests, the U.S. monopoly capitalists have long since completely forgotten the lessons of World War II. According to the wishful thinking of the United States, a rearmed West

Germany will serve as a mainstay in an anti-Soviet war in the West and a rearmed Japan in a war against the Soviet Union and China in the East. But did not the United States, Britain and France, prior to World War II, also plan to use Germany and Japan to wage war against the Soviet Union? History, however, followed a course quite independent of their will. Those who seek to commit murder with another's knife are the first to suffer its wounds. In this respect, the situation today differs from that before World War II only in that the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has grown incomparably strong. Whoever dares launch a war against the socialist countries will only be courting his own destruction. In fact the ruling class of those countries know that unless they initiate an attack against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, the latter will firmly adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence and never attack them first. As surely as water seeks its own level, so is it the nature of imperialism to bully the weak and fear the strong. Raw materials and markets are vital to the imperialist powers and they will fight for them by every means available. World War I was a war among the imperialist powers and World War II began in the first place among them. Though West Germany and Japan owe what they are today to U.S. help and support, they will not always bow to U.S. dictates. Who can guarantee that West Germany will not unleash a new war of aggression in Western Europe and Japan in Southeast Asia? And who can guarantee that there will be no repetition of Pearl Harbour or that a new world war will not break out among the imperialist powers?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out as early as 1945 that the real, immediate contradictions in the post-war world are the contradictions within the capitalist world: contradictions between the imperialist reactionaries and their own peoples, contradictions between the imperialist states and the colonies and semi-colonies and contradictions among the imperialist nations. The real, immediate contradictions of this period are not the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet Union and the United States can coexist and are in fact coexisting in peace. The imperialist reactionaries purposely spread the shop-worn anti-Soviet myth that a third world war between the Soviet Union and the United States would flare up at any moment, using this as a smokescreen to cover up their ambitions to dominate the world and oppress their own peoples. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

The propaganda about an anti-Soviet war consists of two aspects. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism is really preparing a war against the Soviet Union; the current talk about an anti-Soviet war and other anti-Soviet propaganda is the political preparation for an anti-Soviet war. On the other hand, this propaganda is a smokescreen put up by the U.S. reactionaries to cover up the many real contradictions U.S. imperialism is now facing. These are the contradictions between the U.S. reactionaries and the American people and those between U.S. imperialism and other capitalist countries and colonial and semi-colonial countries. At present the U.S. slogan of waging an anti-Soviet war actually means the oppression of the American

people and the expansion of its aggressive forces in the capitalist world.<sup>1</sup>

The truth of this great prediction of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is now more apparent than ever.

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It is precisely because the imperialist system is the root cause of modern wars and the imperialist war forces led by the United States are daily and hourly creating the danger of war that the peoples of the world must take up the task of winning peace. The struggle for peace is an extremely complex and difficult task. When the working class seized state power following the October Revolution, Lenin said:

Now the struggle for peace has started. This is a difficult struggle. Whoever has thought that it is easy to attain peace, that one has only to mention the word peace and the bourgeoisie will present it on a silver platter is a very naive person.<sup>2</sup>

Great differences exist and a fundamental change has taken place in the relationship of forces between ourselves and the enemy since Lenin made this statement. The strength of the socialist camp has exceeded that of imperialism, peace that of war. However, imperialism is after all imperialism and monopoly capital is monopoly capital. Under such conditions, peace for which the people of the whole world thirst cannot be won if we beg it of

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<sup>1</sup> "Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers," Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> "Speech at the First All-Russian Congress of the Navy," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXVI, p. 310.

imperialism instead of rallying all peoples to a struggle to defend world peace and oppose imperialist wars so as to tie the hands of the imperialist war-makers.

We must acquire a correct understanding of the objective law that imperialism breeds war, for the very purpose of using this law to oppose and prevent imperialist war, and even eliminate war altogether. We must acquire a correct understanding of the origin of modern wars precisely in order to adopt a correct policy in the light of this understanding and wage a struggle for world peace and against imperialist wars. We have exposed the predatory nature of imperialism, its policy of plunder, its two-faced tactics of "peace" and war and its preparing and conducting limited wars at the same time that it makes ready for world war, in order to heighten the vigilance of the people, to fight imperialism tooth and nail. As the Chinese saying goes, "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you will win any battle." The more thoroughly we know imperialism, the easier it will be to achieve our aim of shattering its war schemes and defending peace.

The broad masses of the people of every stratum in all the countries of the world, except the monopoly capitalist class and its followers who are only a small minority, are for the defence of world peace and against imperialist war. The struggle for world peace is therefore an extremely broad mass movement. In such a movement it is fully feasible for us to mobilize all who can possibly join the struggle, thus completely isolating the imperialist war forces.

To strive for and realize world peace, resolute struggles must be waged against the imperialist policy of

aggression and plunder. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the masses of the oppressed fighting for complete national independence have battled unswervingly against colonialism, old and new. They form an important and indispensable force in the peace movement. A feature of the period following World War II is the surging wave of national independence movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the continued suppression and use of armed force by imperialism against them. These incessantly burning flames of war have their origin in the imperialist system. U.S. imperialist aggression is directed primarily against these colonial and semi-colonial countries and those which have won national independence. To achieve world peace, people everywhere should give their support to national liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, to the anti-imperialist struggles of countries which have already won national independence and to the righteous wars for national liberation and against imperialist aggression. They should put out the flames of imperialist-kindled war in these areas and in this way link such struggles closely with that for world peace.

In the imperialist countries, the broad masses, with the working class in the lead, are fighting resolutely for peace, for people's democracy and for socialism. They are another important and indispensable force in the peace movement. Having experienced the hardships of two world wars, these people are not willing to fight another. This widespread popular sentiment means that the enemies of world peace inevitably find themselves constantly encircled by the broad masses in their own

countries. The struggle of the people of West Germany against rearmament is deepening with each passing day. The Japanese people's struggle against the "Japan-U.S. Security Treaty" is developing vigorously on a nationwide scale. The peoples of the United States, Britain, France and Italy are making headway against the reactionary rule of the monopoly capitalist class, the militarization of their bourgeois governments and the latter's plans for enslavement. All these struggles, each merging with the other, will play an ever greater part in blocking war preparations and war-making by the imperialist forces.

The consolidation, development and unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the basic guarantee of world peace. The socialist countries are rapidly developing their economic strength. In the advanced branches of science and in military technology, the Soviet Union has far outstripped the United States. Our task is to unite all peace forces in the world around us and to continue to develop the situation in which the East wind prevails over the West wind. If this is done, the imperialists will not lightly dare start a war against the socialist countries and will have misgivings about initiating wars elsewhere.

The fight for world peace is not an isolated one. Only by victory in all these struggles will imperialism be prevented from executing its criminal plans for world war.

Even when the imperialists are not launching a global war, we must still be alert to the possibility of their starting wars of a local character, wherever and whenever they think fit. The experiences of history show that

when the imperialists unleash a "local war," unless the peace forces extinguish the flames in time and frustrate imperialist plans, the fire will inevitably spread. Historical experience also proves that, so long as the masses of the people maintain a high degree of vigilance, steadily expand and develop the forces for the defence of world peace and do not fear to fight heroically against the imperialists when the latter prepare or launch local wars, the imperialists will behave somewhat more carefully and the war flames can be quenched even when they have been kindled. In these years since World War II, the Chinese and Korean peoples, supported by the mighty world peace forces, jointly defeated U.S. imperialist designs for aggression against Korea, and the Egyptian people smashed a plot of imperialist aggression. Ignominious failure was also the outcome of the imperialist scheme to use the counter-revolutionary forces to overthrow the people's democratic system in Hungary. The same end befell the U.S.-British imperialists in their aggression against Lebanon and Jordan, and their plot to suppress the national revolution in Iraq. Confronted by the heroic people of Cuba, who are united as one, the U.S. imperialists dare not rush headlong into a war of aggression against that country. All these facts point up the truth that when resolutely opposed by the mighty forces defending world peace, local wars unleashed by the imperialists can be stopped in time, and any attempt to enlarge them can be thwarted.

As the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting pointed out: "At present, the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting wars." Facts have fully borne out the correctness of this view. For the sake of

peace, it is necessary to reinforce the militant will of the peoples. Peace through struggle—that is the way to fight for peace taught us by the great Lenin.

Together with other socialist countries, the Chinese Government and people stand firmly for peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems. We warmly welcome the trend towards relaxation in the international scene. We steadfastly advocate universal disarmament, prohibition of the testing and use of nuclear weapons, and a treaty of non-aggression between the two camps. The Chinese Government has consistently supported efforts by the Soviet Government and Comrade Khrushchov for the convocation of an East-West summit conference, and other proposals for peace. All these proposals, if realized, will be of great benefit to socialist construction in our country, to the entire socialist camp and to peace-loving countries and peoples the world over.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence was advanced under conditions in which a socialist country had been born, imperialism still existed and some sort of balance of power had been achieved between the two. Of course, in practice a period of peaceful coexistence is still replete with struggles between socialism and imperialism. The socialist countries adhere consistently and faithfully to a policy of peace. They will never invade other countries. But, the imperialist powers are aggressive by nature; they are bound to undermine peaceful coexistence when the opportunity arises. Therefore, even during those times when the policy of peaceful coexistence is accepted by imperialism, as Lenin told us, "We must remember that we are always a hair's breadth from all kinds of attack. We will do everything, if only it is

within our power, to avert this calamity.”<sup>1</sup> Today, socialism no longer faces the question of achieving some sort of balance of power with imperialism. It has won a preponderance in which the East wind prevails over the West wind. It is therefore in a better position to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence. But we must also bear in mind Lenin’s teaching that “We are surrounded by people, classes and governments who openly express the greatest hatred for us.”<sup>2</sup> Today, U.S. imperialism still surrounds us with a network of military bases and guided missiles; we must still maintain the keenest vigilance with regard to the danger of war which it creates. As the Moscow Declaration pointed out: “So long as imperialism exists, there will always be soil for aggressive wars.”

We have full confidence in being able to shatter the war plans of imperialism. But should we be afraid if the war maniacs, defying the will of the people of the world, unleash a war? Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given a Marxist-Leninist reply to this question in his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. He said:

We stand resolutely for peace and oppose war. But if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude towards all disturbances: firstly, we are against it; secondly, we are not afraid of it. The First World War was followed by the

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<sup>1</sup> “The Ninth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets,” *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXXIII, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism; then there will not be much room left in the world for the imperialists, while it is quite likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.

All peace-loving peoples, rally together, be on guard and keep up the struggle. So long as we frustrate all the imperialist schemes of plunder and enslavement, we will certainly be able to continue to prevent imperialist wars, uphold world peace and march forward to the goal of lasting peace.

## WHAT THE MESSAGES OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT SHOW

(*Renmin Ribao* Editorial, January 21, 1960)

The Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security" was signed in Washington on January 19. This presents a serious challenge by the U.S. imperialists in collaboration with Japanese reaction to China, the Soviet Union and the Korean Democratic People's Republic; it is also a serious challenge to all the peoples of the Far Eastern and Asian countries. The fact that the United States has defiantly concluded this treaty in the face of the violent opposition of the peoples of the world, including the Japanese people, is in itself a forceful indication that it is continuing its imperialist policy of arms expansion and war preparations. For the purpose of showing up U.S. imperialism in its true colours, our paper has today published the full text of Eisenhower's 1960 "State of the Union Message" and excerpts from his "Budget Message" to the U.S. Congress. Both documents are worth reading because they quite typically characterize U.S. diplomatic manoeuvres of the moment. These documents divulge the fundamental policy of the United States, what it strives to achieve and the true meaning of its much-vaunted "peaceful intentions."

Of late, Eisenhower and other leading officials of the U.S. Government have spoken much about "peace." In

his "State of the Union Message," Eisenhower again said that the United States is "determined" to work "for the cause of peace," he also tried to convince others "how earnest is our [U.S.] quest for guaranteed peace." Of course, if the United States were able to prove such "peaceful intentions" by deeds, they would deserve to be welcomed. Yet, to this very day, while paying lip-service to peace, the United States is busy stepping up its arms expansion and war preparations, continues to create cold war, to intensify the oppression and exploitation of its own people by means of war preparations, to exercise control over other Western countries by means of military blocs, to carry out aggression against the underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and persists in its hostility towards the socialist countries. All this shows that while the tactics of imperialism may change, its essential nature and fundamental policy are unchangeable. Eisenhower's "State of the Union Message" is the most convincing evidence of the imperialist nature of the United States.

Every year the President of the United States traditionally gives his "State of the Union Message" in which he enunciates the domestic and foreign policies of the government and sets forth the programme and goals for the coming year. If the United States were earnestly seeking for peace, would it not be entirely proper for Eisenhower to point out in his "State of the Union Message" what concrete steps the United States would take towards the relaxation of international tension? But, after going through the full text of the "State of the Union Message," it is not possible to detect even a trace of such things. In regard to the existing major international disputes, that

is, to those questions of substance having an important bearing on world peace, such as disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, etc., Eisenhower made no mention of any measures for their settlement, nor did he make any proposal favourable to peace. What is more, he even avoided mentioning at all the East-West summit conference, the German question and West Berlin question which concern people the whole world over.

What, then, are the things Eisenhower did propose to do? In the "State of the Union Message," he loudly proclaimed that it is necessary to start "from a position of broadly based strength," to "maintain a high degree of military effectiveness," and, moreover, to dedicate "whatever portion of our resources" necessary to provide "a real deterrent." He declared that the United States will step up its "military missile programme" and went into elaborative detail in showing off the so-called "successes" in the testing of the "Atlas" intercontinental ballistic missile. "This year," he added, "growing numbers of nuclear-powered submarines will enter our active forces, some to be armed with Polaris missiles." "We continue to maintain our carrier forces, our many service units abroad, our always ready Army Strategic Force and Marine Corps divisions, and the civilian components" to "steadily add to our strength." He also declared that the United States is "to program our military assistance to these allies [of the U.S.] on a longer range basis" so as to set up "a sounder collective defense system." In an all-out effort to implement the policy of arms expansion and war preparations, Eisenhower disregarded the staggering national debt of the U.S. Government amounting to more than \$290,000 million, the huge financial

deficit of \$12,500 million for the fiscal year 1959, and the inflation in the United States which is comparable to "a fire that imperils our home." His "Budget Message" provides for military expenditures for the fiscal year 1961, under the heading of the so-called "main national security," the sum of \$45,568 million, or 57.1 per cent of the total expenditures. In a word, it can be said that Eisenhower's "State of the Union Message" has included all the components of the "position of strength policy" and the "policy of deterrence" to which it has consistently adhered in the post-war years, as well as the main instruments of carrying out these policies, namely, huge military expenditures, the frantic armaments race, military blocs and bases throughout the world, military aid to its "allied nations" and to the reactionaries in various countries of the world. Only one conclusion can be drawn — that there is no change whatsoever in the fundamental policy of arms expansion and war preparations which the United States has long pursued. It is small wonder then that the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Fulbright, remarked that Eisenhower's "State of the Union Message" merely reiterated what he had said each year. And Sulzberger, a U.S. political commentator, also pointed out that there was no substantive difference between the current and previous foreign policy of the United States and that it would be a mistake to think that the present U.S. policy had replaced the old Dulles policy.

In fact, the United States has done much more in the way of arms expansion and war preparations than what was publicized in Eisenhower's "State of the Union Message." It has been precisely during the last few

months when Eisenhower has talked so loudly about "peace" that the United States has stepped up its war preparations on a huge scale and is adjusting and strengthening its strategic disposition all over the world. First, the United States has reorganized the leading body in charge of the production of missiles and is concentrating on the development of intercontinental missiles. Funds appropriated for this purpose in the fiscal year of 1961 will amount to \$8,000 million which is \$1,000 million more than for the fiscal year of 1960. Secondly, in addition to the four intermediate-range missile bases it has already built in Britain, it is speeding up the construction of two intermediate-range missile bases in Italy. Moreover, agreement has been reached with Turkey for setting up such bases while negotiations are still being conducted with Greece. Preparations are also under way for building missile bases in Iran and Pakistan. Thirdly, in the Far East, the United States continues to prepare for war. Apart from the new treaty of military alliance in preparation for a new war of aggression concluded with Japan, it continues to arm the Kuomintang troops in Taiwan and continuously engages in military provocations and war threats against China. The U.S. Secretary of the Army Brucker recently openly clamoured for the U.S. "to defend the offshore islands of Kuomintang China." In addition, the United States is building new missile bases and expanding the existing ones in Japan, south Korea and China's Taiwan. Fourthly, Eisenhower announced that from this New Year's Day, the United States is free to resume nuclear tests at any time. Fifthly, the United States, through the NATO Council, mapped out in December 1959 a ten-year programme for

strengthening the "military set-up," so that the North Atlantic bloc would have "deterrent power" to carry on large-scale nuclear warfare as well as "flexibility" in conducting local warfare. Sixthly, the United States continues to step up the arming of West German militarism by assisting outright in the nuclear armament of West Germany and placing missiles in its hands. In compliance with U.S. requests, West Germany is putting into effect a programme of armament expansion. By 1963, it will have 12 divisions as compared with the present nine.

All these activities which seriously threaten world peace and add to international tension are being carried out under the guise of "peace." Just recently, when the Soviet Union announced its decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces by 1,200,000 men, the U.S. State Department not only failed to indicate in a statement that the United States would take corresponding measures towards disarmament, but on the contrary slandered the Soviet disarmament move as merely an "intention" which there was no way of checking up on. U.S. Vice-President Nixon went so far as to bluster that "under no circumstances would the United States and its allies reduce their strength." Eisenhower's Budget Message, which allocates 57.1 per cent of the total expenditures for military disbursement, was submitted to the U.S. Congress on January 18 after the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. made its decision on the 15th for unilateral reduction of its armed forces. Eisenhower, speaking in defence of this U.S. policy of armament expansion and war preparation, said: "We should not delude ourselves," "While seeking the true road to peace and disarmament

we must remain strong." He demanded that "our [U.S.] military forces must be capable of contending successfully with any contingencies . . . from limited emergencies to all-out nuclear general warfare." All this gives the lie to Eisenhower's protestations of working "for the cause of peace."

In the past few months, the so-called "peaceful tactics" adopted by U.S. authorities to cover up their arms expansion and war preparation have been a much discussed topic all over the world. During this period, American officials talked most profusely about peace in an effort to disguise themselves as "apostles of peace." Such a change of tactics on the part of the U.S. was, in fact, adopted not just a few months ago, but could already be detected two years earlier, in the period immediately after the Soviet Union launched its first earth-satellite. On January 16, 1958, Dulles said that the struggle between the two big camps had reached a turning point. He was of the opinion that "if we act like a bull in the arena which puts down its head and blindly charges the matador's red cape, that could be our undoing." Therefore he projected a so-called noble strategy to win victory by peace. On March 11, 1959, Eisenhower also said at a press conference: "What I decry is, let's not make everything such a hysterical sort of a proposition — that we go a little bit off half-cooked . . . so I say to you, we just don't want to be fighting battles where we are always at a disadvantage, and I mean battles, whether they are political, economic or military." These words show that the U.S. ruling clique understands that, as a result of the fact that the East wind prevails over the West wind, a basic change in the balance of forces has oc-

curred throughout the world — the forces of socialism and peace have prevailed over the forces of imperialism and war. They realize that the U.S. has fallen behind in rocketry and its "brink of war" policy has gone bankrupt. They understand what catastrophe will war ventures bring upon themselves under these conditions. In the opinion of U.S. policy makers, therefore, the present emphasis of U.S. policy should be on winning time to regain military superiority and making preparations in all respects. A research report published last December by the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, held that the major problem facing the U.S. in the early 60s was to strive to eliminate the anticipated backwardness in the field of missiles. The report further contended that this could not be achieved rapidly even if a shock plan were instituted, time was therefore required. Now Eisenhower babbles of peace while concealing nuclear weapons up his sleeve, and tries to cover up intense preparations for war by moderate gestures of peace. This is an exact and concrete application of what Dulles meant by noble strategy to win victory by peace.

The hypocrisy of the so-called U.S. "peaceful intentions" and the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism manifest themselves especially in the extremely hostile attitude of the U.S. towards the socialist camp. In his "State of the Union Message," Eisenhower used malicious "cold war" language and slanderously referred to the establishment of socialist countries as the "armed conquest of free people," called them "police states," and described the socialist camp as "a system of sullen satellites," and the Soviet Union as "imperialistic com-

munism." Such slanders cannot, of course, damage the socialist countries in the least; on the contrary, they completely expose the true face of the U.S. authorities and enable all the peace-loving peoples of the world, particularly the peoples of the socialist countries, to perceive clearly the unrelenting hatred that Eisenhower, who talks so glibly about peace, bears towards the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp as well as the working people all over the world. These slanders also enable them to see clearly that Eisenhower's so-called "just peace" is in essence a peace against socialism and against the working people. Therefore the people of all countries have learned that they should heighten their vigilance towards U.S. imperialism and not harbour any impractical illusions. Everyone knows that most of the socialist countries won their liberation in the war against fascism. The People's Republic of China was established after the Chinese people had waged decades of hard struggles which were finally crowned with victory over the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek clique strongly supported by U.S. imperialism. After winning complete liberation, the people of all the socialist countries became masters of their own countries; they overthrew the feudal and capitalist classes, eliminated all forms of national and class oppression and are now enjoying genuine democracy and freedom. These are the very reasons why the people of socialist countries have exhibited such great creativeness and completed in a dozen or so years undertakings in national construction which could not have been carried out in several centuries in the past, thereby bringing about a transformation in all aspects of national life. Industry in Czecho-

slovakia was comparatively well developed before liberation, nevertheless its industrial output only increased from 1 to 2 per cent annually. After the establishment of the socialist system, however, its industrial production rose on the average of 10 to 12 per cent annually. The economy in Albania was backward in the past, but registered great advances after liberation; from 1950 to 1958 its industrial production increased on the average of 20.6 per cent annually. After liberation from Japanese colonial rule, the Korean Democratic People's Republic suffered serious destruction at the hands of the U.S. invasion army. Since the Korean Armistice, it has undertaken the reconstruction of the country amidst the ruins of war; and from 1953 to 1958 its industrial production rose on an average of 42.46 per cent annually. In the ten years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, her industrial production increased more than 11-fold, while agricultural production was 2.4 times what it was before. U.S. imperialism evidently does not enjoy seeing the people of the socialist countries become their own masters or construction in their countries move towards ever greater prosperity. What Eisenhower and his kind want is that the Hungarian people be thrown back to the dark years under Horthy, the Polish people subjected again to the reactionary rule of Pilsudsky, the Czechoslovak people trampled underfoot once more under Hitlerite rule, the shackles of Japanese imperialism re-clamped on the peoples of north Korea and north Vietnam, and the criminal rule of the Chiang Kai-shek clique re-established over the Chinese people. This, then, is "freedom" and "liberation" in the eyes of the

U.S. monopoly capitalist groups! And this is Eisenhower's "just peace" and "unity in freedom"!

The imperialists always look at the world through their own wolfish eyes. Accustomed as he is only to the master-servant relationship between the United States and its satellites, Eisenhower slanders the socialist camp as a "system of sullen satellites" and the Soviet Union as "imperialistic communism." The socialist camp formed by the various socialist countries and headed by the Soviet Union is truly a world system, but it is and can only be built on the basis of brotherly alliance of equality, mutual respect, mutual assistance and the common goal of socialism and communism. The various socialist countries are united with each other and at the same time are each independent. The Soviet Union as the most advanced, the most powerful and the first socialist country is naturally the centre of unity of the various socialist states. The imperialists are both unwilling and unable to understand this new type of international relations. They dream of splitting the unity of the socialist countries and disrupting and disintegrating the socialist camp, but their intrigues will get them nowhere.

Eisenhower said: "We live in a sea of semantic disorder." It is Eisenhower himself and the other imperialists like him and no one else who have created this "semantic disorder." Eisenhower turns everything upside down. His slanders against the socialist countries are an exact portrait of U.S. imperialism itself. First of all, it is precisely the U.S. imperialists who resorted to "armed conquest of the free peoples." They used their armed forces in aggression against Korea, and indulged in the most barbarous acts of arson, murder and plunder, it was

here that they even carried on their inhuman germ warfare. It was the U.S. imperialists and no one else who engaged in armed intervention in Lebanon, armed subversion of the Guatemalan Government and armed suppression of the Panamanian people. At this very moment the U.S. imperialists still occupy south Korea, south Vietnam and China's territory of Taiwan by armed force. U.S. armed forces are stationed on the territory of many countries. U.S. monopoly capital infiltrates into every corner of the capitalist world and fleeces the people of many countries. Because of all this, as the Moscow Declaration of the Communist Parties of the twelve countries points out, the U.S. imperialist aggressive bloc has become the centre of world reaction and the most vicious enemy of the masses of the people. It is, furthermore, precisely the United States that is the biggest "police state" in the world. The United States has created huge police and special agent organizations at home to carry out a rule of terror and persecution against the people. The American industrialist Cyrus Eaton once declared that if all the police in the cities, districts, states and government departments are added together, then Hitler in his day did not possess such a huge special agent organization as the United States has today. As to the "system of sullen satellites," the most typical case of this is the NATO bloc rigged up by the United States. Within this "system," the United States rules supreme, and gets others to serve the interests and war policy of the U.S. monopoly capital groups. Internal relationships within this "system" are marked by the most disgraceful bickerings and rivalries. *The New York Times* commented that the various contradictions in the Western

alliance had "come to a nasty head" and that a "downward trend" had appeared in it. Did not Eisenhower himself feel dissatisfied with this "sullen" picture and personally put pressure to bear on the recent Paris meeting?

It is crystal clear that by turning white into black and slandering the socialist countries, Eisenhower intends to see the "liberation" of these "unfree" countries and their becoming a part of the so-called "free world." Proof on this point may also be got from utterances of other influential individuals among the U.S. ruling clique. Andrew Berding, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, once declared that he would not approve of peaceful coexistence with the socialist camp, because "acceptance of peaceful coexistence has the effect of solidifying the status quo, with the Soviet Union dominating the communist bloc. We do not wish to contribute to the perpetuation of this status quo." A research report issued on December 6, 1959, by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund stated that "developing Europe must keep the door open to those nations and peoples which historically have been associated with it and are now drawn into the Soviet orbit. . . . They must be welcomed into its intellectual and cultural life at every opportunity. This European civilization will again be part of a broader Atlantic community." This proves that the United States is not willing to accept the "status quo" of the socialist countries that have liberated themselves from capitalist enslavement. It still refuses to relinquish its so-called "policy of liberation."

However, as a result of past U.S. failures in both its war of aggression in Korea and the counter-revolutionary

rebellion in Hungary and changes in the balance of world forces unfavourable to the United States, it cannot but sense the ever mounting difficulties of using the method of military conquest. That is precisely why Eisenhower's "liberation policy" has now been painted a "peace" colour. As Eisenhower said in his message, one U.S. intention is, through the so-called "widening of communication," to corrupt the people of the socialist countries in a vain hope for the retrogression (or "evolution" as the U.S. politicians call it) of these countries back to capitalism. A research report entitled "Ideology and Diplomacy" issued on January 17 by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee said that in view of the ideological forces operating on the stage of international politics, the foreign policy of the United States must "encourage evolution within the Soviet system and the communist bloc." It said that "we should promote the widest possible contacts with the communist world. Our policy should encourage genuine communication distinct from formal communication." "The United States," said the report, "should make all efforts to develop wide contacts with the intelligentsia of the communist camp, and finally with the political figures of the upper and middle strata in order to influence gradually their ideas and beliefs." George Allen, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, remarked that "the communication of persons is one of the breaches the United States has made on the Iron Curtain; every time we made a breach on the Iron Curtain to let the lights in, we won a victory in the ideological battle." The fancies which are reflected in these words reveal how rabid and reactionary the U.S. rulers are. No matter how "peacefully" the imperialists talk,

there is no basic change in their final purpose — the intent to undermine, subvert and wipe out the socialist countries.

The U.S. double-game of paying lip-service to peace while actually making preparations for war and the utter discrepancy between its words and deeds, have been widely rebuked. In his speech on January 14, Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, pointed out that leaders of the Western countries still had not given up their “position of strength” policy and the “brink of war” policy.

*Rude Pravo* of Czechoslovakia pointed out that Eisenhower’s message made it clear that U.S. policy still had not made a step forward from its present state of standstill.

*Nep Szabadsag*, the Hungarian newspaper, commented that Eisenhower did not forget to talk about peace in every one of his speeches, but all the U.S. Government cared for in the world was military aid programmes, military bases and military blocs.

Public opinion in many Asian, African and Latin American countries has sharply exposed Eisenhower’s sham gestures of peace and sympathy for national independence. The Japanese *Akahata* pointed out that: “In his State of the Union Message, Eisenhower said something that sounds as if he were for peace. But this is not a piece of his real mind . . . (The United States) still persists in its cold war policy; it is strengthening its military system which is designed to launch an attack on the socialist camp, and is dreaming of recovering its military superiority.” The Indonesian *Harian Fadjar* also pointed

out that "Eisenhower says that the United States is desirous of establishing a world in which all countries prosper and are free from harassment. But the United States has all along been building, in various places, guided missile bases, atomic rocket bases and bases for aircraft carrying nuclear warheads." The Cambodian *Prochischon* pointed out that "the leader of the United States indulges in lofty talk of 'peace only to intensify war preparations'." The Lebanese *Beirut al-Masa* said: "When the Arab people see pictures of President Eisenhower shouting peace with his hands raised in Rome, Ankara and Karachi, but at the same time they read of dispatches in the papers about the United States supporting France in its war against the Algerian people, the double dealing policy of the United States which speaks in one way and acts in quite another immediately becomes obvious to them." Pointing to the hypocrisy of U.S. foreign policy, Morocco's *Avant Garde* said that Eisenhower talked of the United States' desire for all countries to be free from any and all oppression, but "in the United Nations, the United States sided with those countries that violate freedom, disregard justice and sabotage peace, and it refused to support the Algerian cause." The Cuban journal *Mella* said that "at the same time as Eisenhower lavishly talks of peace, he caresses Trujillo and Somoza, makes loans to Stroessner, protects anti-Cuban war criminals exiled in Miami and kisses Franco's hand," and described him as a "vicious vulture" in the guise of a "peace dove."

Even in many Western countries, public opinion has disapproved of Eisenhower's way of doing things. Thus

said the *New York Post*: Eisenhower's announcement that the United States is free to renew nuclear tests "is the most unpleasant New Year message to the world." The London *Daily Telegraph* also said that "the more he (Eisenhower) reassures Americans . . . about their strong power, the less convincing sound his hopes of peace-making."

In a word, U.S. double dealing is recognized for what it is by more and more people from East to West. Though it may still deceive some people at present, it cannot fool them for long.

The facts have shown that imperialism has two weapons: real guns and bullets and sugar-coated shells. It has two faces: the real face of a brazen devil and the mask of a fake philanthropist. But it has only one aim, i.e. to preserve imperialism and wipe out socialism; to preserve the reactionary forces and wipe out the progressive forces; to preserve the "free world" of the aggressors and oppressors and exterminate the genuine freedom of the people. The U.S. way of doing things at the present time is a combination of these two weapons and faces. However, the U.S. talk of peace and activities in preparing war are so glaringly inconsistent that it will inevitably expose itself. Eisenhower's "State of the Union Message" and "Budget Message" have already done very valuable work in this direction. One can be sure that so long as the United States persists in its double dealing, it will expose itself in more and more ways.

The task of peace-loving people the world over is to be vigilant and expose all the deceitful peace schemes of the United States, unite and continue the struggle to upset the war forces headed by U.S. imperialism and

extend the victory of the world forces of peace. The forces working energetically for world peace include the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union which is more powerful than ever before, the workers' movement with the Communist Parties of various countries as the core, the national independence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America which is surging higher with each passing day, and the peace movement embracing the broadest social strata. They form the most powerful force of the day that can overwhelm the imperialist forces of war. We are fully confident that if the world peace forces further strengthen their unity and step up the struggle against the imperialist forces of war, a real, further relaxation of world tension will certainly be brought about and a genuine and reliable guarantee provided for the cause of world peace.

## BATTLE CRIES FROM WASHINGTON

WU SZU

Washington was lately the scene of a bitter controversy over the U.S. missile development and outer space exploration programmes. For almost a month, the battle raged within the Eisenhower administration, at congressional committee and sub-committee hearings and in the U.S. press. So heated was the dispute that the magazine *Newsweek* described it as a "great debate" on U.S. military policies, comparable to that which preceded the termination of the Korean war.

The bone of contention was the "missile gap" between the United States and the Soviet Union and whether it accurately reflected a gap in their respective overall military strength.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Gates, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Twining and other military leaders presented an "optimistic estimate" in their testimony at congressional hearings. While forced to concede the amazing achievements of Soviet science and technology and acknowledge Soviet superiority in missile development, they tried to minimize the "missile gap" and denied that the U.S. lag constituted a "deterrent gap."

This "estimate" of the situation had the public support of Eisenhower, Nixon and Herter, but was the target

of a scathing attack by many Congressmen (particularly Democratic Congressmen) and leading U.S. bourgeois commentators. Senator Lyndon Johnson (Dem.) ridiculed Gates' appraisal as "wishful thinking, escape from reality, and avoidance of the hard facts of life." Walter Lippman, in his regular column in the *New York Herald Tribune*, pointed out that the Soviet Union was ahead of the United States in overall military capacity, in outer space exploration, in the rate of economic growth and in education; he lamented the fact that the United States was fast becoming a second-rate power. Even Allen Dulles, Director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, admitted that there was no room for complacency since the Soviet Union far exceeded the United States in missile strength.

Allen Dulles' testimony and the comments of the U.S. press greatly incensed Eisenhower because it revealed to the world the truth of U.S. inferiority in the missile field. To salvage the situation, he inaugurated a nationwide campaign ("Operation Truth") designed to display American strength and "reassure American opinion, U.S. allies and the non-committed nations which are beginning to express serious doubts as to whether the United States could regain the lead in the field of cosmic exploration." (Agence France Presse.) Eisenhower exhibited the most extreme sensitivity when the controversy touched on the question of social systems. At his news conference on February 11, the U.S. President was asked whether the success of the Soviet moon shot did not prove the superiority of communism over capitalism. This question so enraged Eisenhower that he attacked the idea as "crazy." But rant and rave as he may, he

cannot alter the fact that the controversy itself was a reflection of the East wind prevailing over the West wind and the bankruptcy of the U.S. "positions of strength" policy.

Of course, this latest wrangle within U.S. ruling circles is a sham battle. It does not signify any real disagreement on basic principles or policies. While indulging in elaborate peace gestures, Eisenhower disclosed his true colours in his State of the Union Message when he spoke of pursuing U.S. objectives "from a position of broadly based strength" and strengthening the "deterrent."

As for his opponents, including those Democrats who see in the "debate" an opportunity to "make hay" in an election year, they did not in any way challenge current U.S. war preparations. On the contrary, they attacked them as inadequate. While the Democrats and commentators like Walter Lippman favour increased military expenditures and devoting maximum economic power to missile development and cosmic exploration, it should not be supposed that the Eisenhower administration has been lax in this respect. The U.S. President has repeatedly stressed that American government expenditure for missile development "is getting close to the point where money itself will not bring you any speed, any quicker development." *Newsweek* (February 15) pointed out that the "hullabaloo" over the "deterrent" actually involved no fundamental differences in U.S. military strategy. "It was encouraging," the magazine noted approvingly, "that 1960's Great Debate struck close to the very heart of this matter," i.e., how to stay "in a hard

race to maintain the nation's [U.S.] world position" which previously had been "taken for granted."

Current U.S. peace gestures are a device to win time to extricate the United States from the predicament of its inferiority in missile development and space exploration. Washington's bickering exposed the bluff. It showed the "cold war" cavaliers as equally enthusiastic in their demand for intensified arms expansion and war preparations — particularly for stepped-up missile development — in an effort to improve their deteriorated military positions.

Gates in his congressional testimony spoke of eliminating during the next three years the "numerical superiority" which the Soviet Union now enjoys in I.C.B.Ms. Eisenhower in recent news conferences has also emphasized the frantic effort of the United States to develop I.C.B.Ms. He insisted that the country had not been "asleep" and did not intend to remain behind in rocketry and space exploration.

The Eisenhower administration, for whom Gates was chief spokesman in the missile controversy, came under severe fire from Democratic Senators like Lyndon Johnson and Stuart Symington. The latter regarded Gates' estimate based on what the Soviet Union "intended" to do rather than what it was capable of doing as harmful to the chances of a quick elimination of the "gap." As Walter Lippman put it, the assumption of the Eisenhower administration that "although the Soviet Union is now ahead of us [in missile development] . . . we are now moving faster than the Soviet Union" will in itself hinder U.S. efforts to catch up.

Bitter recriminations over the "missile gap" brought to public view the fact that while frantically developing its I.C.B.Ms, the United States is simultaneously enlarging the production and development of I.R.B.Ms and equipping its strategic air force, and submarine and ground forces with these missiles. The proclaimed purpose of this move is to "offset" the gap in I.C.B.Ms. Gates testified as follows: "We are expanding our missile program, putting missiles on our bomber force and bringing into operation Polaris submarines which we believe will offset any so-called missile gap, at least from the point of view of the validity of our deterrent." *The New York Times* (January 17) substantiated this statement with figures: it reported that for the past five years the U.S. Government had distributed its military appropriations in roughly the following percentages — 46 to 48 for the air force, 28 for the navy and marines and 23 to 24 for the army. "When it comes to spending for new equipment," the article says, "the air force is getting a steadily rising portion — reaching 60 per cent." Meanwhile, Washington bigwigs in their testimonies also stressed the need to bolster up the "strength" of U.S. allies and military blocs, to expand U.S. armed forces and military bases abroad, especially its missile bases.

U.S. brasshats and politicians also made no secret of the fact that the present frenzied arms expansion in the United States is in effect preparation for both a global war and "local wars." Before the Senate and House Armed Services Committees Gates testified that the primary objectives of the two-pronged missile development programme were: "First and foremost, to deter the outbreak of a general war by providing and maintaining

the capability to retaliate in case of any major attack made on us. Second, to support U.S. foreign policy and to provide and maintain the capability to apply the degree of force necessary to prevent and contain local wars." Since it is clear that no one is threatening the United States with any "major attack," Gates' "deterrent" in reality comes down to U.S. preparations for a world war, particularly the type of "preventive war" with which Pentagon brasshats have been preoccupied day and night.

As for "prevention" and "containment" of "local wars," this is nothing but a bare-faced justification for "applying the degree of force necessary" to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries in "support of U.S. foreign policy." "Limited wars" are, as the "debate" indicated, a major pillar of U.S. global strategy. Much of the sabre-rattling evident during the "debate" was, in fact, directed against Far Eastern, Middle Eastern and Latin American countries. Gates with consummate arrogance remarked, "I think that the Far East is protected in the same way as the state of Pennsylvania is protected. It is protected by the Strategic Air Command and our other strategic weapons systems wherever they happen to be based." U.S. Secretary of the Army Brucker and Army Chief of Staff General Lemnitzer openly boasted of war plans drafted by U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff for the Southeast Asian region, including plans for military intervention in Laos. During a recent tour of the Far East Brucker launched a furious attack on the Chinese people and raved that Quemoy and Matsu were under U.S. "protection." U.S. Chief of Staff for Naval Operations Burke, urging speed in the production of Polaris sub-

marines, declared that this was required to cope with a situation in which "two world 'hot spots' like the past Formosan Straits and Lebanon crises arise simultaneously."

The hypocrisy of Washington's new "peace look" becomes apparent when viewed in the context of such demands for "limited wars" and against the background of U.S. military manoeuvres in the Far East, the Middle East and the Caribbeans.

The latest quarrel within the ranks of the ruling circles in the United States is a "family" quarrel. It is a reflection of the disquiet and panic which has seized the cold warriors as they see their "positions of strength" slipping from beneath their feet. But even more significant in the eyes of the world is its exposure of the desperate efforts by U.S. imperialism to retrieve its lost positions behind the camouflage of peace, of its scheme to unleash either a sudden onslaught — when the occasion arises — or "limited wars." Although the "battle" in Washington has temporarily subsided, it has provided a useful object lesson: it teaches the peoples of the world that they must never for a moment relax their vigilance.

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**RESOLUTELY CRUSH THE MILITARY ALLIANCE  
BETWEEN THE JAPANESE AND U.S.  
REACTIONARIES!**

Speech at the Rally of People of All Walks of Life  
in Peking Against the Japan-U.S. Military  
Alliance, January 23, 1960

**KUO MO-JO**

*Chairman of the China Peace Committee*

Comrades and Friends,

We meet here today at a rally of the people of all sections of the community in the capital against the Japan-U.S. military alliance. We all know that five days ago, on the 19th of this month, Japanese Prime Minister Kishi and U.S. President Eisenhower, who is peddling a false peace, concluded a new dirty, criminal deal in Washington, namely, the so-called Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security." This deal has been in preparation for the last two years. It has long been widely condemned by people in Asia and throughout the world and has aroused the wrathful opposition of the broad masses of the Japanese people. A nationwide struggle against the Japan-U.S. treaty has recently swept like a tide over the length and breadth of Japan. We, the Chinese people, resolutely oppose the criminal

dealings between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and resolutely support the just struggle of the Japanese people. We send our wholehearted greetings to the Japanese people who are steadfastly and tirelessly carrying on a heroic struggle against the Japan-U.S. military alliance, against the revival of Japanese militarism and for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality.

Comrades and friends! What kind of a treaty is this so-called Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security"? This is an out and out aggressive treaty of military alliance. The conclusion of this treaty marks the revival of Japanese militarism under the aegis of U.S. imperialism and its open participation in the aggressive military bloc sponsored by the United States. The aim of this treaty is to prepare for new aggression and war. It is a serious provocation to China, the Soviet Union, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to the peoples of all countries in Asia. It seriously threatens peace in the Far East and throughout the world. By virtue of this treaty, the United States is extending its control over Japan militarily, politically and economically. It is turning Japan into its military base and arsenal for aggressive war in the Far East, and is turning the Japanese people into cannon fodder for aggressive wars. The forces of Japanese militarism represented by Kishi, on the other hand, are trying, by way of collusion with U.S. imperialism, to renew the past dream of Japanese imperialism and strike up its old tune of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," to carry out aggression and expansion against Southeast Asia and other countries and once again bring disaster to the peoples of the Asian countries.

The military collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries is bringing endless disasters to the Japanese people. This treaty runs completely counter to the will of the Japanese people and to that road of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality which the Japanese people demand should be followed. Kishi is taking the road of subordination to U.S. imperialism, selling out Japanese national interests, reviving militarism and strengthening fascist rule, and driving the Japanese people onto the path of war, death and disaster.

This treaty stands ostentatiously for "mutual co-operation" and "security." U.S. and Japanese reactionaries have shamelessly and painstakingly sought out many beautiful words to whitewash the "treaty," declaring that it was drawn up "on the basis of the principles of equal sovereignty," claiming that it was a "purely defensive" and "peaceful" treaty. But the treaty itself and the "attached documents" clearly stipulate that the U.S. army, navy and air force can be stationed for long periods of time in Japan, can establish military bases and use military establishments there. U.S. forces stationed in Japan also enjoy extraterritoriality and various prerogatives. Okinawa is still under U.S. control. These facts alone are sufficient to show that by this treaty the United States is now again guaranteed military control of Japan, while Japan has moved further towards subservience to the United States.

The treaty also provides for mutual co-operation between Japan and the United States in developing the armed forces, alleging that they will "consult" each other in order to meet "threats" and that they will adopt common action to meet "armed attack." These are nothing

more than provisions for armaments drives and preparation for war and armed aggression under the pretext of "defence." This is intended to harness Japan securely to the chariot of U.S. nuclear war.

It is well known that in the dictionary of the imperialists "mutual security" stands for aggressive military alliance and "defence" has long become a synonym for aggression. When the Axis countries of Germany, Japan and Italy unleashed World War II, when Japanese imperialism launched its aggressive war against China and when U.S. imperialism started the aggressive war against Korea, they all used so-called "defence" as their pretext, while the "threat" which they alleged was none other than the favourite trick of a thief shouting "stop thief!" It is a well-known fact that the United States is ten thousand kilometres away from the Far East. What is the reason for it to carry out defence so far from its shores? Far from anybody threatening the United States, it is the United States itself that has crossed oceans to threaten others. Long before the treaty was signed, the Japanese *Asahi Shimbun* said that "no matter what name was given to the new security treaty, it would objectively never have the character of a defensive alliance." Former Japanese Ambassador to Britain Harusiko Nishi likened this treaty of aggressive military alliance to the fascist war alliance concluded between Japan, Germany and Italy in 1940. There is no comparison more apt than this. Let us look at the matter of Japan's security. It is none other than U.S. imperialism that has travelled ten thousand kilometres to establish military bases in Japan, occupy Japanese territory, encroach on Japanese sovereignty, tie Japan to

its war chariot and seriously jeopardize Japanese national interests! Who was it that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atom bombs massacring numberless peaceful inhabitants? Was it not U.S. imperialism? Who is it that has pockmarked Japan with military bases, even turning beautiful Fujiyama into a shooting range? Is it not U.S. imperialism? Who is it that is occupying the Japanese territory of the Ogasawara Islands and Ryukyu Islands? Is it not U.S. imperialism? Who is it that has shipped nuclear weapons into Japan which may lead to Japan's total destruction? Is it not U.S. imperialism? Who was it that carried out nuclear weapons tests in the Pacific, killing Aikichi Kuboyama of *Fukuryu Maru No. 5*? Was it not U.S. imperialism? It is precisely U.S. imperialism that is jeopardizing Japan's security. But Kishi and company go so far as to go in for "mutual co-operation" with U.S. imperialism for "security." What does this signify?

The joint statement which Eisenhower and Kishi issued following the signing of the "treaty" has exposed the aggressive plot of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries against the Asian region. The statement says: "Japan's increasing participation in international discussion of the problems of Asia will be in the interest of the free world." The statement also says that the U.S. "President particularly referred to the increasing role the Japanese people are playing in the economic development of free Asia." Japanese imperialism that has brought endless suffering to Asia will again show its claws under the patronage of U.S. imperialism. Japanese monopoly capitalists who smell strongly of gunpowder are thus bestirring themselves for action. Taizo Ishizaka, Pres-

ident of Japan's Federation of Economic Organizations, has openly declared that they can no longer reconcile themselves to the present situation in which they have no special rights and interests in the various Southeast Asian countries. Itoji Muto, President of the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company, has also said: "After the Japanese-Ching Dynasty and Japanese-Russian wars and World War I, Japan gained new, exclusive markets. . . . This experience in the past must be applied effectively." Are these not self-confessions of robber gangs?

Comrades and friends! The signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance reminds us of that most savage and vicious Japanese imperialism which invaded China and Asia. Every Chinese can clearly recall the suffering Japanese imperialism caused the Chinese people and what a bloody debt it owes them. During the eight years of the Japanese war of aggression against China alone, more than 10 million Chinese people sacrificed their lives, and property valued at 50,000 million U.S. dollars was lost. Just as the ruthless brutalities committed by Japanese imperialism in China remain fresh in the minds of the Chinese people, so every Asian will remember the catastrophe brought to them by Japanese imperialism, nor will they forget the inhuman slaughter and mad plundering which it engaged in. Even the Japanese people will clearly remember who drove them on to the road of war and forced two million Japanese young men to die or face life as cripples, leaving millions of war widows and fatherless children. The Japanese people will not forget that militarism imposed on them the disaster of war and the sanguinary rule of fascism, especially the catastrophe of the atom bomb. However,

under the aegis of U.S. imperialism, the remnant elements of Japanese militarism and the monopolists, represented by Kishi, have now concluded a military alliance with U.S. imperialism, and are preparing for new aggression and war in an attempt to revive the old dreams of Japanese imperialism! Can the Japanese people merely look on at this? Can the Chinese people just look on? Can the people of Asian countries and other countries in the world just look on at this?

U.S. imperialism inherited the tradition of the "Axis Powers" early in the days following World War II. It is doing its best to revive the militarist forces of West Germany in the West and Japanese militarism in the East. Everywhere, it has organized aggressive military blocs and established military bases. U.S. planes carrying nuclear warheads frequently fly over other countries. U.S. imperialism violates the sovereignty of other nations on the pretext of "aid" and plunders their riches to feed its own munitions industry. U.S. imperialism is lording it over others in a way that is unprecedented in history.

In reviving Japanese militarism, U.S. imperialism has undermined a series of international agreements. The conclusion of the present Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance scraps all the international agreements concerned. U.S. imperialism long ago restored many Japanese militarists to the Japanese political stage. Kishi himself is one of these whom U.S. imperialism has painstakingly reared. When U.S. imperialism waged the aggressive war against Korea and carried out war provocations against our country in the Taiwan Straits, Japan acted as a supply base for the operations of U.S. armed forces. Jap-

anese armament monopolies netted bloody profits from the aggressive war against Korea. Japanese militarists, echoing U.S. imperialism, often raise a hostile clamour against the peoples of China, the Soviet Union and other Asian countries, more and more revealing their aims of imperialist aggression. It can be said that this Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance has completely brought to light the latent imperialist ambitions of the Japanese militarists.

We have long been keenly alerted to the revival of Japanese militarism. Ten years ago, it was clearly stated in the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between China and the Soviet Union that the two countries pledged "jointly to prevent the rebirth of Japanese imperialism and the resumption of aggression on the part of Japan or any other state that would unite in any form with Japan in acts of aggression. . . ." Therefore, the revival of Japanese militarism fostered by U.S. imperialism is no novelty to us. We know that since the end of World War II, a struggle has been going on in Japan as to which road the country should take — the road to independence and peace or the road to militarism and imperialism. The Japanese people oppose the latter road and resolutely choose the first one. This is because the first road conforms to the interests of the Japanese people, is welcomed by the peoples of China and Asia and is favourable to world peace.

The Chinese people, therefore, always strictly differentiate between the Japanese people and the Japanese militarists. We are always friendly to the Japanese people. We have made great efforts to develop friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples on

a new basis and promote the restoration of normal relations between the two countries. But the Kishi government of Japan, completely ignoring the ardent desire of the Japanese people to restore Japanese-Chinese relations, has invariably pursued a policy hostile to China and obstructing the normalization of these relations. It tore up the Chinese-Japanese trade agreement, takes an active part in the U.S. imperialist plot to create "two Chinas" and has now entered into an aggressive military alliance with U.S. imperialism. This could not but throw up new and bigger obstacles in the way of better Sino-Japanese relations. Kishi's wild aggressive ambitions have now been exposed completely. But, despite this, he attempts to play new tricks on the question of Chinese-Japanese relations, hoping to strengthen his own position through the military alliance with the United States. We serve this serious warning on Kishi: You have already done enough evil! You had better stop your futile tricks! The Chinese people have consistently opposed threats of war, but have never been scared by threats of war. China is no longer the old China known as "the sick man of East Asia," but a New China, which is united as never before and advancing by leaps and bounds, and where the people have become the masters. Even under the conditions of old China Japanese imperialism met with ignominious defeat in waging its aggressive war. How then can the Japanese militarists' dreams of aggression come true today when China has stood up in Asia and the world as a new socialist country? We dare to say to the world: All the plots and conspiracies of Kishi and U.S. imperialism will not shake in the least the will of the Chinese people in opposing aggres-

sive war. Collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries will only serve to promote the co-operation of the Chinese and Japanese peoples and the peoples of the other Asian countries in opposing the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war and Japan's taking the road of militarism and imperialism.

Comrades and friends! The hurried signing of this treaty of military alliance by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries at the present moment by no means shows that they are strong. On the contrary, it shows that they are conspiring with each other in the face of deepening difficulties. U.S. imperialism has met with increasing opposition from the peoples of the whole world and is becoming more isolated because everywhere it carries out aggression and expansion. Its adventurist war policy has also caused serious uneasiness at home. With its big military expenditure and the burden of so-called "foreign aid," its economic situation has become more and more difficult, accompanied by an unprecedentedly unfavourable balance of international payments. To extricate itself from its plight in a hurry, U.S. imperialism is stepping up its efforts to use West German militarism in the West and Japanese militarism in the East as its instruments of aggression and get them to pull its chestnuts out of the fire. At the same time, it wants to squeeze still more out of the Japanese people through the Japanese reactionaries so as to lighten its own financial burden. The Japanese reactionaries who are dependent upon U.S. imperialism and are pursuing a policy of war and aggression and betraying Japan's national interests, have also met with many political and economic difficulties and aroused strong opposition among the broad

masses of the Japanese people. The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries intend to make use of each other to extricate themselves from their difficulties and to support each other in carrying out expansion. They each have their own plans, but they are completely alike in their thirst for aggression, their bellicosity, their hostility towards China, the Soviet Union and the Korean Democratic People's Republic, and their hostility towards the peace-loving peoples of the Asian countries and all other countries in the world. Theirs is a criminal collusion, a collaboration of warmongers.

This also enables us to see more clearly how false are the peace pretensions of U.S. imperialism. The conclusion of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance has further exposed the criminal character of the U.S. imperialists' pretences about peace while actually preparing for war. The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries originally planned to collude with each other through this treaty of military alliance in order to rid themselves of their difficulties, but because of this treaty, they have more fully exposed their true colours and stirred up indignation throughout the world, causing them ever greater troubles. Eisenhower's statement on the readiness of the United States to resume nuclear tests at any time and the conclusion of the treaty with the Kishi government have proved that U.S. imperialism persists in preparing for a nuclear war. Eisenhower's "State of the Union Message" and his "Budget Message" have also shown clearly how the U.S. imperialists are thirsting for war. U.S. imperialism is trying to gain time to step up its production of guided missiles and is equipping its military

bases in every part of the world, including Japan, with these destructive weapons.

Comrades and friends! I would like to repeat that the revival of militarism in Japan and its open participation in the U.S. imperialist aggressive military bloc have not only confronted the Japanese people with the abyss of the disaster of war, but have turned into a real threat the danger of a resurgent Japanese militarism bringing disaster to Asia. This is firmly opposed by the Japanese people and can never be tolerated by the Chinese people and the peoples of other Asian countries who have suffered enough from the effects of Japanese militarism. This is also strongly condemned by the peace-loving people of the whole world.

The masses of the Japanese people have consistently fought against the revival of militarism, against nuclear weapons and for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. They have taken the correct road. In the past ten years and more, they have strongly demanded freedom from U.S. control, the withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces and military bases from Japan, the abolition of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" that has enslaved their country, the restoration of normal relations with neighbouring China and the establishment of friendly relations with the peoples of all countries. Since 1958, as a result of the further exposure of the schemes of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to step up their military collusion and plot new aggression and war in the name of revising the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the mass struggles against revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and for its abolition have become the central question in the fight of the Japanese people against the revival of mili-

tarism and for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. In less than a year, the Japanese people have formed and developed a broad patriotic democratic united front and launched 11 powerful nationwide united actions against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." More and more people have joined this struggle. Today, throughout Japan, in every prefecture and county, and in many cities and towns, organizations have been set up for joint struggles against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." Japanese workers, peasants, women, professors, students, journalists, writers, actors and actresses, lawyers, religious circles, business people with medium-sized and small enterprises and people of other sections of the community have also formed their own organizations against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." The number of people involved in all forms of struggle against this "Security Treaty" has reached a total of over 10 million. The powerful struggles of the Japanese people have produced tremendous achievements. They have effectively exposed the aggressive plots of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and dealt a telling blow to them. Their struggles have also upset the timetable of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries for the early conclusion of the military alliance, and compelled them to repeatedly postpone the signing of the treaty originally scheduled for last February. Faced with the indignation of the Japanese people, Kishi has become more isolated and his position more difficult. Even within the Liberal Democratic Party itself, some enlightened people have shown a growing dissatisfaction with Kishi's actions. The scale and depth of this struggle of the Japanese people and their strength and perseverance shown in the struggle are unprece-

dented in Japanese history, and are seldom to be found in the world's history. For example, in the course of the latest nationwide united action, rallies, strikes and demonstrations were held in many places throughout Japan, and, moreover, delegations were sent to Tokyo for the national rally there and to express strong opposition and protests to Kishi. They even included delegates from Yamaguchi prefecture — Kishi's own constituency. On the very day before Kishi's departure for the United States, 40,000 people held a demonstration and rally in Tokyo protesting against the signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance. From dawn to dusk, people kept streaming to the Prime Minister's official residence to demonstrate and protest. Kishi had to move his family to his private apartment in the next house to get away from it all. On the following day, he departed 13 hours earlier than scheduled. Thousands of armed policemen and hundreds of armoured cars were put on guard as if they had to deal with an enemy attack. He sneaked into the airport from the backdoor, under the escort of 15 motor cycles and 12 lorries fully loaded with policemen. It was reported that Kishi was still uneasy and nervous on his arrival at Honolulu. Kishi's confusion can also be described as unprecedented in Japanese history and can seldom be found in the world's history.

Kishi has gone to the limits of servility in trying to please the United States. In Honolulu on his way to Washington he said: "Japanese newspapers are unlike your reliable *New York Times* and other U.S. papers; you can't rely on the Japanese press." He added: "Some friends ask me whether I read the Japanese papers. I say, 'Yes, the sports pages.'" Afraid that he was not

sufficiently obsequious to the United States, he said the Communists "are always picking on me because I'm pro-American." Though these are trifles, they provide a vivid self-portrait of Kishi.

Kishi calculates that subservience to the U.S. imperialists will help realize his dream. But as is clear to everybody, U.S. imperialism that appears to Kishi as a rock-firm mountain of support is nothing but a melting iceberg. U.S. imperialism, which has committed many crimes, has become the public enemy of the people of the world and its position is becoming increasingly unfavourable. The much vaunted "strength" of the United States has been left far behind by the powerful Soviet Union. Is it possible that Kishi's dependence on U.S. imperialism will spell a bright future for him?

Frankly speaking, Kishi and his like will no longer be able to molest the increasingly awakening peoples of Southeast Asia and other Asian countries. The Asian countries today are no longer the colonies and semi-colonies of the past, to be carved up and plundered at will by others. The peoples of Southeast Asia and other Asian countries who are safeguarding or struggling for national independence will never allow the Japanese militarists who have brought untold sufferings to them to stage a comeback and play havoc with them again. The criminal plots of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are doomed to the most disastrous defeat.

Despite the fact that the new Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security" has been signed, the Japanese people are fully aware that this does not mean the end of their fight. On the contrary, it means a fur-

ther development and deepening of their struggle. The Japanese people, being even more united, are pressing their struggle forward on the basis of the success already won. A still more powerful movement is being launched by the Japanese people to prevent the Diet from ratifying the Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security" and for the abolition of this treaty. The fight and success of the Japanese people contribute greatly not only to the defence of Japan's national interests and security, but also to the cause of opposing war and upholding peace in Asia and the world. It has won warm acclaim and powerful support from the Chinese people, the peoples of the various Asian countries and all peace-loving people the world over. The struggle of the Japanese people may be a protracted one in which there will be turns and twists as well as difficulties. Nevertheless justice is on their side and the broad masses of the Asian people and all the peace-loving people of the world are also on their side. So long as the Japanese people strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle, they will certainly continue to win still greater victories, and will finally bring about the ignominious end of the Japanese and U.S. warmongers. The Japanese people will undoubtedly win final victory in their heroic, unswerving struggle. Their desire to take the road of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, too, will undoubtedly be realized.

I would like to say once more that the Chinese people have always sincerely sympathized with and resolutely supported the Japanese people's fight for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, and we will continue to

do so. U.S. imperialism is the common and most vicious enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples and the peoples of the various Asian countries and the world. It is not only a task for the Japanese people but also a common task for the peoples of Asia and the whole world to smash the designs of Kishi and U.S. imperialism for new aggression and war in the Far East. The Chinese people, together with the Japanese people, the peoples of the Asian countries and the rest of the world, will exert every effort to thoroughly crush the new plots for aggression and war of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and safeguard peace in Asia and the world.

Comrades and friends! Today we live in the 60s of the 20th century. This is a time in which the East wind continues to prevail over the West wind and the forces of peace continue to prevail over the forces of war; a time in which the forces of socialism headed by the Soviet Union are incomparably strong whereas imperialism is like the setting sun. The great Soviet Union has entered the historic period of extensive building of communism. Following the successful launching of three giant space rockets last year, it successfully launched a multi-stage ballistic rocket into the Pacific, as previously planned, on the 20th of this month — the very day after the signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance. This has further demonstrated that Soviet science and technology have taken the lead in the world. This also means that the happiness of mankind and peace in the world are further guaranteed. We Chinese people cannot but hail the achievements of the Soviet Union and the all-round development of the socialist countries as well as our own

achievements. Having fulfilled the main targets of the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule and on the basis of the brilliant success of the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes, the whole nation is continuing the great task of socialist construction with burning zeal. We hail, too, the growth of the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These national and democratic movements which enjoy the support of the forces of socialism are surging ahead on a bigger scale and with greater strength. They constitute a strong force for opposing imperialism and defending world peace. In the face of the powerful fight for peace launched by the people of the whole world, U.S. imperialism is becoming increasingly isolated. Its policy for aggression and war has met with a series of defeats, each bigger than the last. Its peace disguise is being seen through by more and more people. The Chinese saying "he who does much evil to others is certain to kill himself" points to the doom of the U.S. imperialists and all reactionaries. We warn the U.S. imperialists and all warmongers: If you dare to defy the opinion of the whole world and unleash aggressive war, you will only be speeding up your own destruction. The people of the whole world will make aggressive wars and imperialism mere historical terms!

Comrades and friends! Whether imperialism likes it or not, the current world situation is very favourable to peace, not to war; favourable to the world's people, not to imperialism. The people of the world will further strengthen their solidarity, maintain their full vigilance

and continue to expose the plots of U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries, and carry out unremitting struggles to develop the current situation along lines ever more favourable to peace. The fight for peace and against war will certainly win ever broader, greater and more thorough victories!

## U.S. IMPERIALISM — THE WIRE-PULLER BEHIND WEST GERMANY

CHIEN OU

The present chain of frenzied activities by reactionaries in West Germany shows that, with the increasing support of the U.S. imperialists, German militarism has revived there. Early this year, under the unified command of Francis W. Farrell, Commander of the U.S. Seventh Army, 60,000 troops of the U.S. Army and West German Bundeswehr held joint atomic warfare exercises in Bavaria. In these, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic were the hypothetical enemy. Then we must add the recent extensive anti-Semitic campaign launched by the West German reactionaries, and the negotiations of the Bonn government with Spain and Greece for the establishment of West German military bases on their soil. All this is the fruit of U.S. imperialist instigation and support, of the obstinate refusal of the United States to sign a peace treaty with Germany, of its insistent policy of long-term division of Germany and intensified revival of West German militarism.

German militarism engineered two world wars in the first half of the 20th century. Its resurrection not only creates an increasingly serious menace to European security. It also endangers world peace.

Everybody can now see that the unchanging policy of the United States towards Germany during the 14 post-war years has been to maintain the long-term division of that country and foster West German militarism as a police dog in the West against the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Both Eisenhower and the late U.S. Secretary of State Dulles had a hand in devising this policy. Dulles, in his book *War or Peace*, which typifies the global strategy of the United States, dwelt at great length on the post-war U.S. policy towards Western Europe. He held that West Germany should be its basis. "A revived Germany can also be a great asset to the West," he pointed out. "By attracting Eastern Germany into its orbit the West can gain an advanced strategic position in Central Europe which will undermine the Soviet Communist military and political positions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and other neighboring countries."

As early as April 1952, Eisenhower, then still Supreme Allied Commander of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, gave an unmistakably clear explanation of why the United States was fostering West Germany. "As the geographic center of Europe," he said, "Western Germany is of great strategic importance in the defense of the Continent. . . . With Western Germany in our orbit, NATO forces would form a strong and unbroken line in central Europe from the Baltic to the Alps."

Obviously such a U.S. policy has been very much to the liking of Konrad Adenauer and his ilk, who represent the monopoly capitalist circles in West Germany. During the dozen and more years since the war, they have never for a day given up the plan of redeploying their forces

to expand the territory of their "Deutsches Reich." Speaking at an Evangelical Conference in March 1952, Adenauer said, "The rearmament of West Germany should be the preparation for a new order in Eastern Europe." On December 5 of the same year, discussing the West's strategic plans before the West German parliament, he declared that these plans were "to defend as near as possible to the Iron Curtain and if possible, offensively against the East. We are helping this thesis forward to success."<sup>1</sup> And for years, the clericalist Adenauer has advocated the setting up of what he calls a "Carolingian empire,"<sup>2</sup> stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Elbe and from the North Sea to the Adriatic, as a Catholic world power.

The United States takes a particular interest in Adenauer because he is a most capable police dog for its war policy. This view of the U.S. ruling circles was reflected by *U.S. News & World Report* which said in its issue of August 30, 1957: "In Washington, Dr. Adenauer is considered a granite block on which U.S. 'cold war' strategy is based. . . . President Eisenhower listens to his views with respect." One of the reasons, the magazine added, was that Adenauer's "contempt for Russia is vast." So it is no wonder that the United States gave Adenauer its active back-stage support last year when he fought, in his own party, to continue as chancellor. *The Washington Star* said that Adenauer should keep on in this job because, after the death of Dulles, his role as the spokesman

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<sup>1</sup> *Federal Parliamentary Report*, 460.

<sup>2</sup> An empire set up in mediaeval times by Charlemagne (768-814), which stretched, at its zenith, to Italy and Spain in the west and the Elbe and the Saale in the east.

for the "tough" tactics against the communist world had become all the more important.

Most of Germany's industry, especially its heavy industry, is concentrated in the western part of the country. Hence the U.S. imperialists have tried their best to utilize the economic resources of West Germany for their war policy, and for their own enrichment. As far back as 1950, John J. McCloy, former U.S. High Commissioner for West Germany, reported to his government, "The bulk of the German pre-war heavy industry capacity which is necessary for a defense contribution lies within the area of the Federal Republic. This industrial capacity, which was once mobilised against Europe, can today contribute greatly to the needs of the defense both of Germany and of the Atlantic powers."

In fact, the United States began to openly violate the economic provisions of the Potsdam Agreement very soon after the war. It did so by lifting the restrictions on West Germany's production of iron, steel, chemicals and other materials connected with the arms industry, and by giving West Germany active economic aid. According to a statistical report in the May 1959 issue of the U.S. *Congressional Digest*, post-war U.S. "aid" and loans to West Germany had reached 3,578,900,000 U.S. dollars by June 1958. Though this is not a very big sum compared with investments made by the West German monopolies in post-war years (which totalled about 300,000 million marks, or 70,000 million U.S. dollars, by the end of 1958), it nevertheless played an enormous role in the restoration of West Germany's economy in the early post-war period. In particular, it provided favourable conditions for the swift growth of her arms industry. Today, egged on by the

United States, the munitions merchants of Nazi times are staging a comeback. In the West German armament industry, 80 per cent of the capital is now controlled by 17 monopoly capitalist groups, including those of the war criminals Thyssen, Krupp, Flick and Mannesmann.

Private U.S. capital has also massively infiltrated West Germany's economy since the war. It is mainly concentrated in the oil, power equipment, chemical and other strategically important sectors, and has served to stimulate their expansion. A natural oil industry, almost non-existent before the war, has been set up. By 1956, the United States controlled over 50 per cent of West Germany's oil production, and 30 per cent of her automobile industry. Her chemical and electric-power industries long ago began to produce military supplies for the United States.

At the same time, the U.S. imperialists have taken a number of steps to foster the West German monopolies. Shortly after the war, they released the Cologne financier Pferdmenges (one of the financial tycoons who helped Hitler seize power), Alfried Krupp and the chairman of the Farben trust, all of whom were on the list of the 42 top war criminals. On top of this, U.S. monopoly capitalist circles gave such men support through investments, loans, patent agreements and technical co-operation arrangements. Max Ilgner, who made poison gas for use in the Nazi concentration camp in Oswiecim, and who was once leader of the industrial espionage network affiliated with I. G. Farben, is now director of the Deutsche Uberseebank. J. H. Stein, who financed Hitler's rise to power, is now inspector of 15 corporations with an aggregate capital of more than 200 million marks. Revived

with U.S. blessings, West German militarism is stronger economically than was Hitler's Third Reich. The gross output of West German industry in 1959 was 2.475 times that of 1936, or 48.3 per cent over the industrial level of the whole of Germany in 1936.

U.S. finance capital has again entered into close collusion with big German banks, taking advantage of historical links with them. The Deutsche Bank, one of the three biggest, handled all the credit business of the U.S. financial groups in West Germany after the war. Its director was then none other than Konrad Adenauer, the disciple of militarism who is now chancellor in Bonn.

Why have the U.S. capitalist monopolies shown such great interest in fostering West German militarism? Because, as the Chinese saying goes, "A rich man's heart is as virulent as a scorpion's tail; the enemies of the common people are the close associates of wealth." It was to make the maximum profit that the U.S. monopolists gave repeated blood transfusions to the German militarists, the twice defeated enemies of the peace-loving peoples of the world. Long ago, before World War II, John Foster Dulles, the darling of the U.S. monopoly capitalists who was then in charge of the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, took part in the drafting of the Dawes Plan and Young Plan, both designed to revive Germany's industrial war potential and provide a framework for joint operations by the German and U.S. trusts. Seven months before the surrender of Nazi Germany, Senator Claude Pepper (Democrat), a political opponent of Dulles, demanded that the U.S. Congress investigate the latter's relationship with the bankers. Pepper charged that Dulles had colluded with some bankers to extricate

Hitler from his financial difficulties and, for the sake of profit, helped him to set up the Nazi party.

Another important aim pursued by the United States in intensively fostering West Germany is to use her to restrict Britain and France. For years, the United States has been taking advantage of contradictions arising from the multi-faceted relations among Britain, France and West Germany, and has done its utmost to sow discord between them in order to fish in troubled waters and maintain, to the maximum possible degree, its hold on Western Europe. In the post-war years, as is well known, the United States has consistently and actively supported moves for the "integration" of Western Europe, which benefit West-German expansionism. It gave its backing first to the organization of the European Coal and Steel Community, then of the Common Market and Euratom. When the presidents of these three international cartels visited the United States by invitation in June last year, Eisenhower said openly that, the United States, for its own political, economic and "security" reasons, would actively support the Common Market and efforts to strengthen the "European community."

Enjoying U.S. support and relying on its own economic might, and utilizing the sharp Anglo-French contradictions in Europe and Africa, West Germany has gained a decisive position in both the Common Market and the European Coal and Steel Community. This fits the intentions of U.S. imperialism which are to use West Germany as a war-industry base for its anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaigns, and at the same time as a means to counteract Britain and France and ensure its own predominant position.

That the United States supports and works hand in glove with West Germany can also be seen from their joint fight to seize the colonies and traditional markets of Britain and France. The swift post-war growth of West German economic strength has brought more and more open expansionist efforts in its train. In recent years, the government leaders of West Germany, including Adenauer and Ludwig Erhard, have journeyed to a number of Asian and African countries with which her trade and contacts have increased steadily. West German private investments abroad registered with and endorsed by the Bonn authorities had reached 2,200 million marks by the end of 1958. If foreign loans and other important forms of West Germany's capital exports are included, the total adds up to 28,000 million marks. The United States has further used West Germany for the joint conquest of the colonial markets of Britain and France, thus expanding both the U.S. and West German sphere of influence.

After the defeat of the Anglo-French war of aggression against Egypt and the advent of the "Eisenhower Doctrine," there was a further growth of collusion between the United States and West Germany. In 1957, Washington sent an economic delegation headed by Benjamin F. Fairless, President of the United States Steel Corporation, to West Germany for talks on common expansion abroad. In March 1958, Ludwig Erhard, West Germany's Minister of Economic Affairs, visited the United States to discuss investments to be made in common in foreign countries. At the World Bank conference in New Delhi the same year, the United States backed West Germany as one of the "five powers" in

the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These facts show that West Germany, with back-stage support and assistance from her U.S. patrons, has emerged as an important contender in the economic struggle in the capitalist world. She has become a major partner of the U.S. ruling circles in their scheme to restrict Britain and France and win over the nationalist countries, whose policies of peace and neutrality they seek to destroy.

What country is most useful as a mercenary for U.S. imperialism on the Western front? This is an extremely important question for its new war plans.

In his *War or Peace*, Dulles wrote that the U.S. military authorities "have always appraised the Germans highly because of their military prowess. Some of our military advisers seemed to feel that, because the Germans had defeated the French, our post-war policy should be based primarily upon Germany rather than France." Fully grasping the intentions of their U.S. masters, and perceiving that the U.S. policy of stepping up West German rearmament coincided exactly with their own ambitions of renewed hegemony in Europe, the ruling circles of West Germany have willingly assumed the role of an active vanguard in the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist campaign carried on by U.S. imperialism. They have become firm executors of its cold war policy.

Guided by this basic policy, the United States, shortly after the war, rushed the release of large numbers of Nazi war criminals. In 1950, it railroaded a resolution for the rearming of West Germany through the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the United States, Britain and France in New York. First a plan was worked out

for the organization of an army for West Germany, which set up a regular military force in the guise of the so-called "motorized police troops." Adenauer then suggested, in a memorandum to the United States, that West Germany would be ready to contribute troops towards the formation of a "Western European army." But the United States feared that this would stimulate opposition and hatred for their past and present sufferings among the peoples of the European countries. Therefore the U.S. imperialists had to rearm West Germany in a roundabout way, by allowing it to join the "European Defence Community (EDC)." On May 26, 1952, Britain and France, instigated by U.S. imperialism, signed the "Bonn Treaty" with West Germany. On the following day the "EDC Treaty" was concluded.

But these two treaties later went simultaneously into the discard, being vetoed by the French National Assembly. The U.S. imperialists then spurred their Western partners to hold a series of meetings in London and Paris, where the "Paris Agreements" were worked out for rearming West Germany and admitting her to the Western European Union and the NATO. In May 1955, they came into effect, which was how the rearmament of West Germany was "legalized."

The agreements allow West Germany to set up, by stages, an army of 12 divisions with a total force of 350,000. By the end of 1959, her actual forces were 240,000 strong, or two-thirds of the total planned for 1963. Today, she already boasts of over 1,000 military aeroplanes and 160 warships. The ground troops she has put at the disposal of the NATO number eight divisions. These

not only make up about half of all NATO's ground troops in Western Europe but are to become the area's biggest land force, serving as the main element in any new war launched by the United States.

It is particularly to be noted that U.S. imperialism, despite the opposition of peace-loving peoples throughout the world, is actively helping West Germany to step up atomic armament. Even before the Paris NATO Council meeting (December 1957) decided to equip the armies of the alliance with U.S.-made atomic weapons, the United States had begun to train West German personnel in the use of "Matador" missiles and was preparing to equip the West German army with tactical atomic weapons. This was an important measure in the intensive fostering of West German militarism by the U.S. imperialists.

West Germany has stepped up measures for atomic armament since a bill dealing with it was approved by the Bundestag in March 1958. As revealed by the West German press on February 9 this year, the new Bundeswehr in 1960 will be basically equipped with atomic weapons and guided missiles. By the end of 1960, West Germany plans to set up four guided missile battalions with 276 missile-launching ramps. She has decided to purchase "Matador," "Honest John" and "Nike" missiles from the United States, and to include an "Honest John" missile battalion in every division in her army.

The agreement signed on July 25, 1959, by which the U.S. undertook to supply West Germany with atomic rocket vehicles and information on their effectiveness, has now come into force. The United States, moreover, is intensifying its training of the West German officers

and men in the use of missiles. Its spokesmen have admitted openly that German officers so schooled would be made responsible for training the West German army for nuclear war, and directing it in any such war.

All these things prove to the hilt that U.S. imperialism is the wire-puller behind the West German ruling circles in politics, economics and military affairs. The two sets of reactionaries may, of course, differ with regard to some practical measures, take different attitudes on certain matters and even have contradictions in some respects and on a number of specific questions; and these contradictions will develop. But the facts cited above show that we would only obscure our understanding of U.S. imperialism as the most vicious present enemy of the world's peace-loving peoples if we were to exaggerate these differences and contradictions at the present. For that would be to overlook the main essential, the oneness of the United States and West Germany in their policy of war and the fact that U.S. imperialism plays the leading role and West Germany the secondary one in their joint criminal activities.

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The Soviet Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic have on many occasions put forward reasonable proposals for the solution of the German question. But all were rejected by the United States and West Germany. The Chinese people have given unswerving support to the basic stand of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic in this regard, and to the German people's struggle for the

reunification of their motherland on the basis of peace and democracy.

The criminal activities of the U.S. imperialists in reviving West German militarism have not only been indignantly condemned by the socialist countries; they have also aroused the strong opposition of the world's peace-loving peoples, including the German people. In the recent period, demonstrations against the U.S. rearming of West Germany, and against the instigation of anti-Semitic campaigns by the Nazi elements, have spread widely in various parts of the world. In West Germany itself, the people have firmly demanded that the present Minister for Refugees of the Bonn regime Theodor Oberlander, a former Nazi, be removed from the government. All this points clearly to the direction in which world opinion has turned. Under the pressure of the strong demand of the peoples of different countries for peace, and confronted with the international situation in which the East wind is gathering momentum while the West wind is on the wane, the ruling circles of the United States cannot help making certain peace gestures. Nevertheless, all honest and well-intentioned people must maintain their vigilance. For the U.S. imperialists are continuing to encourage the West German militarists in the West and the Japanese militarists in the East to create tension, and are preparing to spur these police dogs of theirs sooner or later to break into the garden of the socialist camp.

But will the events really develop along the path desired by the masters of Wall Street? Even Dulles had to ask himself, "Can we be sure that they (the Germans) will shoot in what we (the Americans) think is the right

direction?" (*War or Peace.*) There is not the least shadow of doubt that history will show convincingly the fact that, provided the peoples in the whole world sharpen their vigilance a hundredfold against the new U.S. imperialist schemes of active preparations for war under the cloak of peace, provided they expose these schemes constantly and effectively, enlarge their ranks and strive actively for peace with united efforts, and at the same time stand ready to deal a fatal blow to the war-makers, the new schemes of the U.S. imperialists will certainly end in utter bankruptcy.

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## UNDER THE CLOAK OF "GOODWILL"

A Commentary on Eisenhower's  
South American Visit

SHIH KUNG

As Eisenhower commences his tour of the South American countries of Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, Washington is turning its propaganda machine on full blast. It is bedecking the U.S. President in the garb of a "friend" of the Latin American peoples and calling his visit a "goodwill mission." But, to borrow a Latin American proverb, wine is wine and bread is bread. A ferocious wolf doesn't become a gentle-hearted granny when it dons a cloak.

The simple truth is: ruling circles in the United States have never harboured any "friendship" for the Latin American peoples. Over the past century and more, the United States on more than a hundred different occasions committed armed aggression and intervention against its southern neighbours. From Mexico it wrested and annexed some 2.4 million square kilometres of territory — an area larger than the Mexico of today. At the turn of the century, 9 Caribbean countries suffered armed U.S. incursions, including the dispatch of U.S. troops to Cuba on four occasions and the occupation of Haiti for 19 years.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has done much to oust British and other imperialist influences in Latin America. It has tightened its grip over the South American continent politically, militarily and economically. By means of multi-lateral and bilateral military treaties, the allocating of 44 military missions and the establishment of a chain of bases stretching from the Caribbean to Argentina, U.S. imperialism has succeeded in lashing the Latin American countries to its racing war chariot.

This is the same Eisenhower — the “emissary of goodwill” — who in 1954, the second year of his presidency, stage-managed the overthrow of the democratic Arbenz government of Guatemala because it dared to initiate a land reform programme. While openly dispatching warships to blockade Guatemala, Washington financed mercenary troops to attack that country from without. Eisenhower later publicly expressed his satisfaction with the overthrow of the Arbenz government, and commended U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala John E. Puerifoy, kingpin in the subversive U.S. plot, for having done an excellent job! Following the Guatemala incident, the Eisenhower administration went on within the period of a year or so to engineer two coups in Brazil when the latter moved to prohibit exploitation of petroleum by foreign capital and planned measures to safeguard its national interests. The first coup forced the then Brazilian President Vargas to suicide, the second sought to prevent President Kubitschek and Vice-President Goulart from assuming office. The latter was frustrated only because the Brazilian people put up a fight against it and patriotic officers opposed it.

When economic crisis developed in the United States in 1957, U.S. monopoly capital, shifting the burden onto the Latin American countries, clamped stringent restrictions on the import of Latin American raw materials and ganged up to slash their prices. As a result, the price of coffee dropped by 8.7 per cent in one year alone; sugar, by 35 per cent; and copper, by 21 per cent. Since U.S. industrial goods sold to the Latin American countries retained their high prices, the Latin American countries in 1957 suffered an unfavourable balance of trade close to U.S.\$600 million. This situation naturally strengthened anti-U.S. sentiments among the Latin American peoples and stimulated the national independence movement on that vast continent. Eisenhower, however, sought to maintain U.S. control over Latin America by beguiling the people. In April and May 1958 he sent his lieutenant Vice-President Nixon on a "goodwill mission" to eight South American countries. The sweet talk of the aggressors, however, failed to charm and Nixon was greeted by Latin America with rotten eggs, tomatoes, stones and angry cries. Eisenhower ordered Dulles to apply diplomatic pressure to these countries and dispatched U.S. marines and paratroopers to Caribbean bases in an open show of force against Venezuela and other Latin American peoples. In 1958 alone the Eisenhower administration engineered three successive coups in Venezuela in an effort to restore the Jimenez dictatorship.

U.S. military intervention and political subversion in Latin America serves a sinister purpose: to intensify the exploitation of the Latin American people. More than U.S.\$7,000 million in goods, about half of Latin America's annual foreign trade transactions, are under U.S. control.

By means of unequal exchanges, U.S. monopoly capital robs the Latin American countries of U.S.\$2,000 million every year (roughly equivalent to Cuba's total annual national income). For the United States, direct private investments constitute a means of ruthless plunder. In 1955, such investments in Latin America amounted to U.S.\$6,600 million. New U.S. investments in that year totalled only U.S.\$140 million but profits were up to U.S.\$730 million. In 1956, profits derived from U.S. investments in Latin America increased to U.S.\$1,050 million. Half of all private U.S. investment flowed to the petroleum and mineral areas, fleecing the Latin American people of the benefits of these rich resources. By 1958, direct private U.S. investments in Latin America amounted to U.S.\$8,700 million and the United States controlled the economic lifelines of the Latin American countries, including 95 per cent of copper production in Chile, 80 per cent of the mining industries in Mexico and fruit production in practically the whole of Central America.

Even this partial record of United States intervention and exploitation in Latin America suffices to show that Eisenhower is carrying out the aggressive policy of U.S. ruling circles, and, despite the vaunted grin, is no friend of the Latin American peoples.

The "Inter-American system" or "Pan-Americanism" is a major device for U.S. imperialist domination over its southern neighbours.

Once the colonies of Spain, Portugal and other European countries, the Latin American states required unity in a common effort to rid themselves of colonial rule. This has long been understood by the Latin American

peoples. It was in the days of Bolivar that the slogan of Pan-American unity was first coined.

U.S. imperialism, however, has plagiarized this slogan and distorted it for its own purposes. Thus the U.S. brand of Pan-Americanism is not a slogan to rally the Latin American peoples for the defence of their national interests, but a device through which to manipulate them according to U.S. dictates — in short, a means to make Latin America an adjunct of the United States. U.S. imperialism has set up a host of organizations to “handle” the Latin American countries under the protective sign-board of Pan-Americanism. These include the Commercial Bureau of American States (organized in 1889), the former Pan-American Union, and the present-day Organization of the American States. In 1945, the United States forced on its southern neighbours the “Clayton Plan” — euphemistically described as the “economic charter” for the Americas. This was a plan which paved the way for intensified U.S. economic exploitation of Latin America under the guise of “free trade,” “free investment,” and “free enterprise.” In 1947, the United States saddled Latin America with the so-called “Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance” to tighten its military control over these countries. This was followed by the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist Caracas Declaration of 1954. Two months after adoption, Washington made full use of it for the armed subversion of the democratic government in Guatemala.

At the conference of the presidents of the Americas in 1956, Eisenhower declared: “. . . That those who demonstrate the capacity for self-government thereby win the right to self-government; that sovereign states

shall be free from foreign interference in the orderly development of their internal affairs." In practice this "pronunciamento" was used to turn a country into a U.S. colony by the simple expedient of labelling it as one lacking the capacity for self-rule. A clear example is Puerto Rico. By the same token, the United States can claim at will that a certain sovereign state is not developing its internal affairs "in an orderly way" and use it as a pretext for interference. Thus, following the victory of the Cuban revolution, Washington has on three separate occasions sent official notes to the Cuban Government slandering the Cuban revolutionary movement and declaring that the Cuban land reform did not have the concurrence of the U.S. property holders in Cuba. Washington also applied pressure to the Inter-American Foreign Ministers' Conference to extend the powers of the "Inter-American Peace Committee" and entrust it with the assignment of "studying" the tense situation in the Caribbeans. This was in effect part of the plot for intervention against Cuba.

Spokesmen for U.S. imperialism never weary of harping on the threadbare theme that the spirit of Pan-Americanism requires that all major events in the Americas be discussed and handled by the OAS. This is actually a ruse which gives Washington a free hand in using the OAS for intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries and in their mutual relations. Thus, when the United States wanted to overthrow the democratic Guatemalan Government, it did so by instigating the rebel forces under Armas to launch an attack against Guatemala from Honduras and Nicaragua. The Guatemalan Government's request that the U.N.

Security Council take measures to stop the aggression was sidetracked by U.S. manoeuvres designed to refer the question to the OAS. Since U.S. manipulation prevented any effective measures by the OAS, the democratic Guatemalan Government was overthrown without much ado.

These are some of the well-known facts. They show the unvarnished reality of the U.S. brand of Pan-Americanism. Yet the purpose of Eisenhower's South American trip, as the January 6 White House statement emphasized, was "to encourage further development of the Inter-American system, not only as a means of meeting the aspirations of the peoples of the Americas, but also as a further example of the way all peoples may live in peaceful co-operation." The real intent of this statement can only be interpreted to mean that the rulers of the United States have not the slightest intention of changing their aggressive policies.

The peoples of Latin America have no use for the U.S. brand of Pan-Americanism, which is nothing but a cover for Pan-United-States-ism. What they need is solidarity and mutual co-operation to put an early end to U.S. imperialist aggression and oppression.

One of the stock pretexts employed by U.S. imperialism in Latin America is its "opposition" to the so-called "international communist menace" and "communist intrigues."

Since the end of World War II, Washington has imposed further U.S.-controlled dictatorships on the Latin American peoples. This has been accomplished behind the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist smokescreen. Without exception these dictatorships all serve the interests of

Wall Street. Take Batista as an example. During his rule tens of thousands of Cuban patriots were murdered in cold blood; this was done at the instigation of the United States and carried out according to specific plans of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Batista turned over to U.S. monopoly capital practically in *toto* Cuba's industrial and communications enterprises as well as other national resources, subjecting the Cuban people to brutal exploitation. When the Cuban people, driven to desperation, took up arms against the lackeys of U.S. imperialism, drove them out and set up their own democratic regime to free themselves from U.S. imperialist oppression and plunder, Eisenhower issued statement after statement, meddling in Cuba's internal affairs. He described the overthrow of the reactionary Batista regime by the Cuban people and the establishment of their own democratic government as the destruction of the "democratic system" and the victory of the Cuban people's revolution won at the cost of several years' sanguinary struggle as "international communist conspiracy."

Under the same anti-Soviet and anti-Communist pretext the United States applied economic and political pressure compelling 12 Latin American countries to conclude bilateral military agreements with it; established and maintained 15 major military bases on their territories; made five Latin American countries break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and 16 countries ban their Communist Parties.

The results are all too obvious. Quite a number of Latin American countries do not have their own independent national defence; many cannot trade freely with other countries of the world and are consequently eco-

nomically at the mercy of U.S. monopoly capital. And in many Latin American countries the people were deprived of all democratic rights.

It is as plain as a pikestaff that "international communism" does not threaten the Latin American countries; nor do the Soviet Union, China, or any other socialist country. It is U.S. imperialism which is occupying the Panama Canal Zone and shoring up the Trujillo dictatorship. It is U.S. monopoly capital and Washington which are creating increasing difficulties for the economies of the Latin American countries and impoverishing their peoples. In its conspiracy against the Cuban revolution, the United States openly sends aircraft to bomb Cuba's sugar-cane plantations and threatens Cuba with cuts in her share of the U.S. sugar import quota. In contrast, the Soviet Union is buying substantial quantities of Cuban sugar and granting loans at low-rate interest.

As to the Communist Parties of Latin America, they fight unswervingly in the interest of their people, standing in the front lines of the battle against U.S. imperialist aggression and the national and democratic struggles against dictatorial rule. For this they have been persecuted by the notorious F.B.I. and the reactionaries in their own countries.

The cry of "communist infiltration" and the general anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hullabaloo raised by U.S. imperialism is the barrage behind which it attempts to conceal its moves for the enslavement of the Latin American peoples. But the people have come to understand ever more clearly that behind this hue and cry, it is they and their national interests which are being attacked. U.S. imperialism relies on this anti-Soviet, anti-

Communist uproar to intimidate and frighten the Latin American peoples who are fighting to preserve their national independence and win people's democracy. What it is actually doing, however, is unwittingly playing the role of a teacher by negative example.

United States imperialism uses another deceptive argument: it claims that Latin America cannot live without the United States, that in order to develop their economies and shed their backwardness, the Latin American countries must rely on U.S. capital, technical aid, etc.

The present economic situation in Latin American countries is the result of prolonged colonial rule. In Latin America only those fields of production most profitable to foreign capital are developed. Growth of the national economies is arrested because U.S. monopoly capital which controls Latin America's economic lifeline makes industrial and agricultural production there serve its own needs. The reason why Latin American countries are poor, backward and economically dependent on the United States is precisely because U.S. imperialist policy is dedicated to turning Latin America into its semi-colony.

U.S. investments in and "aid" to Latin America bring huge profits to Wall Street and untold suffering to the Latin American peoples. Venezuela is an example. The United States owns 3/4 of Venezuelan oil from which it derives a profit of U.S.\$600 million every year whereas the daily wage of a Venezuelan worker is equivalent to only 1/24 of the value he produces.

Since 1950 twenty Latin American countries have been forced to accept U.S. "technical assistance" originally introduced as the "Point 4 Program." While U.S.

“technical personnel” infiltrated the economic departments of various Latin American countries, no real help was given them to develop their industry. Up to the present day, oil-rich Venezuela still cannot refine oil within its territory nor can Chile smelt its own copper. The Latin American states remain agricultural countries exporting raw materials and importing industrial products. Although countries like Argentina and Brazil exerted considerable effort to develop their national industry in recent years, they could not attain normal growth due to the manifold U.S. obstructions.

These facts show that U.S. monopoly capital did not help Latin American economic development but that the Latin American national economies suffered at the hands of the United States; that far from providing a livelihood for the Latin American peoples the U.S. capitalists actually batted on the latter; that instead of providing capital for Latin American economic development, the blood and toil of the Latin American peoples have been turned into capital reinvested to further exploit them. Milton Eisenhower, the U.S. President's brother and advisor on Latin American affairs, put it bluntly: “. . . The time has arrived for us (the United States) to take a more positive approach in using credit as an effective means of forwarding American foreign policy.” U.S. Representative Kilgore also minced no words declaring that “Latin America is very valuable for the free world as a source of economic power.” “Not only does the United States have investments in Latin America twice as large as in Western Europe,” he added, “but the republics of Latin America provide 30 out of 77 strategic materials necessary for United States stockpiling.” It is just be-

cause Latin America is a "source of economic power" for the United States that Eisenhower shows such "deep interest" in it. As the Chinese saying goes: "When the weasel greets the chicken, you can be sure he has something up his sleeve."

In recent years, the national and democratic movements of the Latin American peoples have been on the rise and the traitorous dictatorships propped up by U.S. imperialism are toppling one after the other. The Cuban revolution has given great impetus to the Latin American peoples' struggle against U.S. imperialism. The remaining dictatorships are on their last legs. The contradictions between the Latin American countries and the United States are deepening with each passing day. U.S. imperialism's own "backyard" is rapidly becoming the front line in the struggle against it.

It is obvious that U.S. imperialism is facing increasing difficulties in its control and plunder of Latin America. Certain tendencies towards relaxation have emerged in the present international situation. Under powerful pressure for peace from the peoples of the world, U.S. ruling circles have been obliged to make certain peace gestures and have found it expedient to costume Eisenhower as a "messenger of peace." This is an attempt to blunt the vigilance of the people with a sham peace behind which to continue its aggression. It was in the guise of a "messenger of peace" that Eisenhower made his "goodwill visit" to 11 countries in Europe, Asia and Africa last December.

Now, a little more than two months later, Eisenhower has once more taken up his journeys as an "emissary of peace" and rushed off to South America. But only re-

cently U.S. planes have been bombing Cuban sugar-cane plantations and U.S. military manoeuvres of three months' duration have been conducted in Caribbean waters. With the United States daily creating tension in that part of the world, how can the Latin American peoples be made to believe that Eisenhower is indeed an "emissary of goodwill"?

The peoples of Latin America have awakened. They are waging a heroic struggle to preserve their national independence and sovereignty and to win freedom and democracy. No plots of the U.S. imperialists, whether of the big stick or carrot variety, can block their triumphant advance. Eisenhower's bag of tricks which combines friendship in appearance with aggression in reality is bound to fail.

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## PARSONS' BLIND ALLEY

"RENMIN RIBAO" OBSERVER

(March 4, 1960)

During the past few months, there have been quite a few comments in the foreign press on the trend of U.S. policy towards China. Certain Western journals claim that U.S. policy towards China has changed. In this, the Yugoslav press has gone the furthest. It even tries to blame China for the present state of Sino-American relations. The *Slobodni Dom* wrote on January 28: "The change in the U.S. Government's policy towards the Peking government has taken a path where hopes have arisen for establishment of state relations in the not distant future. . . . China's stand is being awaited."

But what is the reality of U.S. policy towards China? A clear answer to this was given in a speech by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State J. Graham Parsons on February 19.

For all the carefully picked words and phrases in his speech, Parsons made no secret at all of the deep-rooted enmity of U.S. imperialism towards the Chinese people. Parsons said: "We do not ignore Communist China's growth into a strong economic and political force. As a matter of prudence we must accept this fact." But

this did not at all mean that the United States would now abandon its policy of hostility to China. Proving otherwise, Parsons immediately went on to proclaim that U.S. policy "seeks to deal with this fact." He blatantly admitted that the United States still "expected" China's "collapse from within," but "the point is that our China policy is not grounded on an expectation of collapse." Instead, Parsons continued, the United States is implementing a "policy which seeks to offset such growth [of China]" and is "adhering to measures designed to cope with that strength." In other words, U.S. imperialism will not sit idly by in its den merely cursing and shouting that China will "collapse," but will persist in hostile activities against China.

In pursuit of this policy, Parsons repeated that the United States is determined to continue its occupation of China's territory of Taiwan and to intervene with armed force against the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people — which is China's internal affair. He said in a threatening tone: "We will not tolerate the solution of the problem by force." Meanwhile, he did not hide the fact that "the military preoccupation of the United States in East and Southeast Asia" was to maintain a "deterrent force" against China. He described as a "protective shield" the military encirclement and aggressive bases set up by the United States in the Western Pacific area, which have China as their target. And he ranted: "We cannot afford to put it down."

What is the sole conclusion to be drawn from Parsons' entire speech? It is that the U.S. policy of hostility towards China, of aggression and threats against China, has undergone no change whatsoever.

While admitting Washington's continued adherence to the policy of hostility towards China, Parsons however tried to shift the responsibility to the Chinese people. He has arrived at the strange logic that U.S. hostility to China is the result of Chinese hostility to the United States. He thus tries to turn the entire history of U.S. imperialist aggression against China upside down. But the fact is: no one can change history.

True, the Chinese people have seen clearly that U.S. imperialism is their Enemy No. 1. This conclusion is drawn from a century of U.S. imperialist aggression against China. We must point out that it is the U.S. imperialists who, with numerous naked facts, sanguinary facts, "educated" the Chinese people to understand this truth. We will not refer to the remote past. In the post-World War II years alone, the United States has "taught" the Chinese people more than enough lessons. By its naked deeds of aggression, U.S. imperialism has proved itself the deadly foe of the Chinese people. It was the United States which gave several thousand million dollars in aid to the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries for launching a large-scale civil war against the Chinese people. It tried to take the place of Japanese imperialism and turn China into a U.S. colony. It was the United States which, only eight months after the birth of New China, started the war of aggression against Korea. It extended the flames of war up to the Yalu River, declaring that the boundary line between China and Korea did not lie at the Yalu! It was again the United States which, simultaneous with unleashing the war of aggression against Korea in 1950, seized China's territory of Taiwan and Penghu Islands, turning both

into U.S. military bases. Moreover, the United States interfered in China's internal affairs by attempting to encroach on China's sovereignty over the Tibet Region. U.S. Secretary of State Herter, in his recent letter to the Dalai Lama, openly announced the U.S. plot to split off Tibet in the name of supporting Tibet's "self-determination." It is the United States too which, with the aim of overthrowing New China, constantly threatens and provokes the Chinese people and attempts to suffocate and strangle their liberation and construction, both from within and without, politically, militarily, economically and in other ways.

But the Chinese people can no longer be wilfully bullied. In the face of the frenzied U.S. aggressors, the Chinese people have neither given in nor retreated in fear. Instead they have waged resolute, stubborn struggles and dealt repeated heavy blows to the U.S. imperialists. So it is none other than the United States itself with its aggression against China that has hardened the fighting will of the Chinese people to struggle against imperialism.

The Chinese people have always loved peace and from first to last have been friendly to the American people. No matter how hard Parsons tries to counterfeit history, he just cannot name a time or place in which China has ever sent one soldier, warship or aeroplane to intrude on U.S. territory by land, sea or air. China and the United States are far apart, separated by a vast ocean. If the United States had not extended its aggressive designs to the Western Pacific, invaded China and threatened it, any tension between the two countries would be simply impossible. The Chinese people are constant

advocates of peaceful coexistence with the people of all lands, of non-aggression and peaceful settlement as international disputes arise.

Long ago, at the Bandung Conference in 1955, Premier Chou En-lai of our country declared that the Chinese people did not want war with the United States; that they were willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States to discuss the question of relaxing and eliminating the tension in the area of the Taiwan Straits. Later, at the Sino-American talks held in Geneva, the Chinese side proposed time and again that the two countries make a joint statement that disputes between them should be settled through peaceful negotiations without resorting to threats or force. But the United States rejected all these proposals. Right up to the present, it still refuses to pledge not to use force in Sino-American relations and stubbornly persists in armed aggression against China's territory of Taiwan and in military threats against China. The grave U.S. military provocation against the Chinese people in the Taiwan Straits area in the summer of 1958 was one instance of this. These facts show that the tension between China and the United States was not a result of the so-called Chinese "challenge" to the United States; on the contrary, it was brought about by U.S. persistence in enmity towards China, in invading and threatening China.

Parsons even regarded the strength of New China as a justification for U.S. hostility, aggression and threats against China. Since China has become a great power and the "free nations" around China are weak, he said, it is the "first task [of the United States] to assist the survival of these countries" so as to maintain a "balance"

in the Far East. Parsons also cited the demand of the Chinese people that U.S. forces of aggression vacate the Western Pacific area as proof of the need for the United States to maintain a system of "joint defence" and "bases and sea power" in this region. Parsons' logic is the epitome of confusion. If it is true that the United States is hostile towards China because China is too powerful, then why did the United States seize China's Taiwan when the Chinese people were not so powerful as they are today? If the United States is hostile towards a country because it is too powerful, why does it commit armed aggression, subversion and intervention against countries like Guatemala, Lebanon, Cuba and Cambodia even though they are not so powerful? If this U.S. theory of "balance" were valid, since those countries surrounding the United States could also be considered weak in comparison, would not the nations of Asia and Europe be justified, on the same ground, in sending fleets to stage provocations along U.S. coasts, in occupying U.S. territory, establishing military bases around it and lining up its neighbours in a "protective shield" to threaten it?

Proceeding from such logic, wouldn't any country in the world feel justified in encroaching on and threatening any other country? It is crystal clear that this logic is nothing but the gangster's logic for world domination. It does not add an iota of reason to U.S. acts of aggression, but on the contrary exposes it in its true colours. It is under these very slogans of "assisting the survival," "forming a joint defence" and "establishing a balance" that the United States is corralling many countries in the Asian and Western Pacific region, subjecting them

to its control and enslavement and making them at once the objects and tools of its aggression.

It is however a fact, as Parsons said, that there are certain "nations" which owe their survival to U.S. protection. The most corrupt, dark, brutal and reactionary forces in Asia — such as the Syngman Rhee and Ngo Dinh Diem cliques — could not indeed exist for a single day without the United States. However, these reactionary cliques, instead of "growing" under U.S. patronage as Parsons has claimed, are daily rotting away and are on their last legs. Because the aggressive actions of the United States have harmed the interests of the Asian peoples and threatened their peace, the Chinese people, the Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese, Filipino and all other Asian peoples suffering from U.S. aggression, including those in south Korea and south Vietnam, have demanded that U.S. imperialism get out of the Western Pacific. The U.S. aggressors must go back where they came from! The Western Pacific belongs to the peoples of this region. No matter what pretexts they advance in self-justification, they will not be able to stay. Sooner or later, they will be driven out.

Parsons' speech is nothing but a collection of worn-out clichés. But it is not without reason that he chose this time to expatiate on the logic of the deceased Dulles. He conceded to his audience that "you may point out that no real solutions of our problems are in sight. Communist China exists and is growing stronger. We cannot afford to ignore or turn our backs on 600 million Chinese. You may suggest we must therefore have a new policy." In other words, U.S. policy towards China is in a blind alley and cannot find a way out. This

policy has drawn so much criticism that it has become necessary for Mr. Parsons to painfully try to justify it.

In his speech Parsons emphatically "refuted" the arguments for creating "two Chinas" advanced by certain bourgeois political figures in the United States. This proposal is, in essence, an "offer of recognition" to New China in exchange for the legalization of the U.S. occupation of Taiwan so as to ensure continued manipulation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique as a counterpoise to New China while awaiting an opportunity to stage a comeback. This proposal has something in common with the present policy towards China pursued by the U.S. Government: both insist on the continued occupation of Taiwan. They differ only in the refusal of the U.S. Government to recognize New China. Parsons found it necessary to "refute" this "two Chinas" proposal simply because the U.S. Government fears that the mounting pressure of public opinion might sweep away the whole policy of "non-recognition" of New China and that this would not be advantageous to its cold war policy of creating tension, especially to its intensified aggression and war preparations in the Far East.

In his speech Parsons unequivocally denied that the U.S. Government had been carrying on activities to create "two Chinas." This statement is equivalent to that of a thief posting a marker saying "the missing treasure is not buried here." In recent years, particularly after the talks between Chiang Kai-shek and Dulles in 1958, U.S. intrigues for creating "two Chinas" and putting Taiwan under "trusteeship" have come to light with each passing day. A statement issued by the U.S. State Department on October 8, 1959, publicly denied that the

Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan was "a country or part of a country," but labelled it as some anomaly having neither territory nor yet being a government in exile. This was followed by a State Department pamphlet on Taiwan, giving details on the "geography" and "history" of Taiwan, praising its capacity for "independent development," and describing Taiwan as an independent political unit. In his news conference on October 22, 1959, Eisenhower deliberately stated that many countries in the United Nations "recognize the independence of Formosa." As to the report prepared by the Conlon Association and made public by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee last November, it openly advocated the establishment of a "Formosan Republic." All this is not merely the prattling of some bourgeois politicians, but represents the statements and actions of the U.S. Government itself. All this shows that the U.S. Government calculates, on the one hand, to persist in its policy of "non-recognition" of New China and, on the other, maintain its occupation of Taiwan; it seeks to evolve a theory of Taiwan's "independence" in order to legalize the seizure while at the same time using the Chiang Kai-shek clique as a counterpoise to New China in international activities. This, too, is essentially a trick to create "two Chinas" and will deceive no one. "Two Chinas," whether in the form opposed by Parsons or in the form practised by him — in whatever form or on whatever occasion — is absolutely intolerable to the Chinese people and will be firmly opposed by them. The attempt of U.S. imperialism to take this way out of the blind alley of its policy towards China has led it into the realm of pure fantasy.

China has consistently adhered to a peaceful foreign policy. We shall not encroach upon any country, but we firmly oppose U.S. imperialism's aggression against us. It is as clear as day that as long as the United States continues to occupy our territory Taiwan, insists on meddling in our internal affairs and clings to its policy of hostility towards the Chinese people, the Chinese people have no alternative but to struggle to the very end to safeguard their territorial integrity, sovereignty and national dignity. This is the solemn stand which anybody having national self-respect will take. U.S. imperialism is unwilling to renounce its aggression against China. Well then, let it cling to its policy of enmity towards and non-recognition of China, for a century or even ten centuries for that matter. What difference will it make? Isn't it true that in the past decade the Chinese people lived better with each passing day — without the "say-so" of the U.S. "overlords"?

Even Parsons had to admit this. The vain efforts of the United States for the past decade to "contain" and strangle New China have resulted in the very opposite — New China has become increasingly powerful. Parsons said: "Indeed, it is imperative that all Americans understand" that "in this new decade of the 60s, Communist China may well grow yet stronger." He went on to say that "we [U.S.] cannot prevent Communist China from increasing its power in absolute terms." It would not be a bad thing if U.S. imperialism drew a lesson from its dismal failure. But the U.S. ruling clique could not reconcile itself to admitting failure, let alone mending its ways. In his speech, Parsons expressed agreement with the conclusions of the Rockefeller Broth-

ers Fund report on U.S. foreign policy, i.e., with regard to People's China "the alternative policies [for the U.S.] are, for the short run, lacking in creative possibilities." This is the inevitable result of the U.S. monopoly clique placing itself in a position hostile to the 650 million Chinese people. What can other people do if U.S. imperialism is determined to get itself into a blind alley? Be it the so-called "two Chinas" or the "non-recognition of China" insisted upon by Parsons, it can no more "prevent" or "offset" China's prosperity and might than could the U.S. policy towards China of the past ten years.

The Chinese people long ago perceived the reactionary essence of U.S. imperialism. They entertain no illusions whatsoever. In the eyes of the Chinese people, there is nothing unusual at all about Parsons' speech. If that speech serves any purpose, it is that it has placed in a very awkward position those who enthusiastically spread the "theory" that the United States has "changed" its policy towards China—particularly the Yugoslav revisionists who maliciously slander our country as creating tension in Asia. As for the Chinese people, we shall continue to treat the hue and cry of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys with the contempt and disdain they deserve and march forward in great strides with heads high and full of confidence in our own way.

## **PROVOCATION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION IS PROVOCATION AGAINST THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST CAMP**

*(Renmin Ribao Editorial, May 9, 1960)*

The fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union has ended. At the session, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, delivered a report on the abolition of taxes on the workers and employees, other measures for increasing the people's welfare and the international situation. After animated discussion, the session approved Comrade Khrushchov's report. The Chinese people are overjoyed at the measures taken by the Soviet Government to further raise the people's living standards and they firmly support the Soviet Government's solemn and just stand on the international situation as enunciated by Comrade Khrushchov.

The Soviet Government has decided on measures to step by step abolish the tax on wages of workers and employees, issue a new currency and complete the transition to a 6-7 hour workday for all workers and employees in the country in 1960. This reflects the tremendous upsurge in the national economy of the Soviet Union and shows the boundless concern of the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union for the wellbeing

of the people. Further rises in the Soviet people's living standards on the basis of continued growth of production is ensured by the fact that, in 1959, first year of the Soviet 7-Year Plan for the development of the national economy, goals in industrial production were greatly exceeded and tremendous achievements were registered in agricultural production. Measures are being introduced by the Soviet Government launching a nationwide movement to develop production still further, raise labour productivity, reduce costs, make full use of existing potential and increase accumulation of the socialist economy. The Soviet Government's decision to step by step abolish the taxes on the people is primarily aimed at increasing the wage income of workers and employees in the low income brackets. At the same time, the Government is also taking measures to raise the minimum wage level so that the broad masses of workers and employees with comparatively low incomes will be the first to improve their livelihood and to a greater degree, while the wage gap between workers and employees in the low and high income brackets will be narrowed.

All these advantages enjoyed by the Soviet people are unthinkable in capitalist countries where taxation mounts without limit and the working people are heavily taxed. In many capitalist countries, as a result of the policy of arms expansion and war preparations, the tax burden of the broad masses grows more and more onerous. The total tax revenue of the United States has, for instance, increased eightfold in the last twenty years. During the fiscal year 1960, the average annual tax burden on every American is 63 dollars more than the previous

year. In contrast with the Soviet currency the prestige of which is being daily consolidated, monetary inflation and devaluation have become a commonplace in the capitalist world. Today one U.S. dollar has the equivalent value of 48 cents in 1940. In his report, Comrade Khrushchov, citing an abundance of material in various fields, vividly demonstrated the unrivalled superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. The socialist system ensures that social production will develop at a high speed making it possible for the Soviet Union to shortly outstrip all capitalist countries in labour productivity, and catch up with and surpass the United States in average per capita output of the major industrial and agricultural products; at the same time, it also ensures that the living standard of the working people is constantly raised and working hours gradually reduced. As a result, socialism is becoming increasingly attractive to the people of various capitalist countries.

In his report, Comrade Khrushchov made clear the solemn and just stand of the Soviet Government on the current international situation. He spoke about the forthcoming summit conference between the East and West and the attitude of the Soviet Government towards the conference, reaffirmed that the Soviet Union would continue to work for the relaxation of international tension and for an agreement on matured issues at the summit conference. In his report, Comrade Khrushchov strongly condemned the U.S. imperialists for persisting in the cold war and arms race and for even directly provoking the Soviet Union. He announced that on April 9 and May 1, U.S. planes on missions of military reconnaissance repeatedly intruded into the territorial air of

the Soviet Union. The U.S. plane which intruded into the Soviet Union on May 1 had been brought down by Soviet anti-aircraft forces. Comrade Khrushchov pointed out, "... The aggressive activities which the U.S.A. has again undertaken against the Soviet Union have been timed for the meeting of the heads of governments. This is done in order to put pressure on us in an attempt to frighten us with their supposed military superiority." He pointed out that on the eve of World War II Hitler's planes repeatedly intruded into the Soviet Union and later an attack on the Soviet Union was started but in the end Hitler personally experienced the might of the Soviet Union. Here is what Khrushchov said to the ruling clique in the United States: "The Soviet Union is well able to repulse all who wish by means of pressure to obtain a decision favourable to the aggressor."

This brazen act of aggression committed by the United States against the Soviet Union has aroused deepest indignation not only among all the Soviet people but among the Chinese people and the people of various countries in the socialist camp as well. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is a great, unbreakable entity. The U.S. imperialist provocation against the Soviet Union is a provocation against the entire socialist camp and also a provocation against the 650 million Chinese people. We fully support the Soviet Government and people in their protest to, and condemnation of, the U.S. authorities.

Such U.S. military provocations against the Soviet Union are by no means accidental; they are the continuation of the policy of aggression and war pursued consist-

ently over a long period of time by the ruling clique in the United States. Such a policy reflects the very nature of U.S. imperialism. In the circumstances where the East wind continues to prevail over the West wind and the forces of peace surpass the forces of war, the U.S. ruling clique has been compelled to make certain "peace" gestures. But its policy of aggression and war remains intact; its imperialist nature has not changed and will never change. Behind its peace facade, U.S. imperialism continues to increase its military strength and prepare for a new war at a faster tempo. During the recent period when U.S. planes twice intruded into the territorial air of the Soviet Union, the United States has been aggravating international tension in diverse ways in various parts of the world and carrying out aggressive activities.

The United States has never for a day ceased its arms expansion and war preparations. On April 6, after a meeting with officials of the Defense Department, Eisenhower decided to speed up the development of "Atlas" intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarines for launching "Polaris" missiles. The United States is also stepping up the development of "Skybolt" missiles to be launched by aircraft and, beginning in 1965, will build successively 23 air squadrons carrying such missiles. In April alone, it carried out 17 tests for launching various kinds of guided missiles. At home, starting May 3, it conducted a three-day "civil defense" atomic war exercise.

The United States continues to strengthen its military blocs while stepping up deployment of its war forces and carrying out military manoeuvres. On April 28, the

United States held a conference with the member states of CENTO in Teheran, Iran, making plans to set up a joint command for that aggressive bloc. This was followed by the conference of the council of ministers of the NATO bloc in early May at which U.S. Secretary of State Herter asked the North Atlantic countries to work for a "ten-year plan" for arms expansion and war preparations with all their resources. In early May, the United States shipped large quantities of artillery, rocket guns and other weapons to Guantanamo, its naval base in Cuba. It was announced by the U.S. Defense Department that an airborne "pentomic division" would be dispatched to Okinawa in June. On May 5, the U.S. House of Representatives approved the establishment of "Mace" missile bases in Okinawa and West Germany. Between March 28 and April 8, the United States together with Thailand, the Philippines, south Korea and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, conducted a so-called U.S.-Asia air weapons annual exercise at U.S. military bases in the Philippines. On April 28, it conducted military exercises known as "Sea Lion" with the naval and air forces of the seven SEATO member states on the seas off Bangkok and Manila. On May 4, atomic war exercises were staged by U.S. occupation forces in West Berlin.

The United States also continues to exert itself greatly in promoting the militarist forces in West Germany and Japan, two hotbeds of war. Following the U.S. announcement that West Germany would this year be supplied with atomic rocket weapons valued at 800 million marks as a measure to speed up its atomic armament, West Germany planned to set up 33 atomic missile battalions within the year. On April 15, a formal agreement was

reached between Washington and Tokyo to assist Japan in the manufacture of 200 "Lockheed" jet fighters. With U.S. support, the Kishi government, in defiance of the Japanese people, is forcing the Japanese Diet to ratify the new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." U.S. imperialism, working hand in glove with the Japanese reactionaries to revive the militarist forces in Japan, poses an ever more serious threat to peace in the Far East.

The ruling clique in the United States is, as usual, pursuing a policy of reckless interference in the internal affairs of other countries. U.S. activities against the Cuban revolution have not ceased but are on the increase. On April 29, the Cuban Government made public the fact that a counter-revolutionary organization receiving U.S. instructions and aid had been uncovered. At the end of that month the United States instigated the Guatemalan Government to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba and request the Organization of American States to investigate the so-called incident of Cuban "intrusion" into Guatemala, in an attempt to create pretexts for armed U.S. intervention in Cuba. On April 20, together with Trujillo, the dictator in the Dominican Republic whom it supports, the United States contrived an armed rebellion in Venezuela in the hope of subverting the Venezuelan Government. Recently, when the south Korean people rose against the reactionary rule of Syngman Rhee, the United States first supported Rhee in his sanguinary suppression of the people, but when popular pressure forced him to resign it trundled up a new puppet, Huh Chung, to replace the old one, all the while continuing to call Syngman Rhee, public enemy of the south Korean people, "the father of his

country." Towards the patriotic struggle of the Turkish people against the U.S.-backed dictator Menderes, Washington is also playing the two-faced game of simultaneously acting tough and talking soft, giving continued support to the sanguinary rule of the Turkish reactionaries in the hope of quenching the flames of the Turkish people's wrath.

United States' attacks and provocations against the socialist countries are growing more frequent with each passing day. On May 4, U.S. Secretary of State Herter openly slandered the Soviet Union as engaged in a "struggle for domination under the guise of . . . peaceful coexistence." On April 15, U.S. Under Secretary of State Dillon wildly calumniated the Soviet Union, saying that it was becoming "increasingly anxious to realize their expansionist ambitions." On May 2, the U.S. House of Representatives went so far as to adopt a resolution urging Eisenhower at the forthcoming summit conference between the East and West to raise what they called the question of restoring "fundamental freedoms" to the East European socialist countries. Brucker, U.S. Secretary of the Army, on May 3 slanderously labelled China the "rampant Chinese tiger." The United States is carrying on its military provocations and war threats against China. Its Pacific commander-in-chief, Felt, even declared threateningly in the latter part of April that "there is always a danger" of a "limited war with Red Chinese over Taiwan." U.S. planes and warships constantly intrude into our territorial air and waters. Between September 7, 1958, and April 28 of this year, such provocations took place on 94 occasions. U.S. planes also

continuously harass our country via the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Indian borders.

Such activities by the U.S. imperialists aggravating international tension on the very eve of the summit conference cannot but arouse people's vigilance. The U.S. Government headed by Eisenhower was originally opposed to the convocation of the summit conference. It was only after the U.S. policy of aggression and war was everywhere driven to the wall and it had lost its military superiority that the U.S. Government reluctantly agreed to convene the summit conference. But from the series of actions mentioned above, it is evident that the U.S. Government does not approach the summit conference with sincerity. Responsible officials of the U.S. Government have of late made repeated "cold war" utterances and clamoured for a "policy of strength" and against agreement on major current international issues. Both U.S. Secretary of State Herter and U.S. Vice-President Nixon flatly rejected the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament on April 4 and 25 respectively. Herter stressed the point that "the military strength of NATO and our other collectives arrangements will remain a cornerstone of this country's policy." Eaton, leader of the U.S. delegation to the conference of the ten-nation disarmament committee, declared on April 29 that "we shall maintain those forces, those arms, those weapons, which we deem necessary to the protection of ourselves and those countries which care to associate themselves with us as allies." Under Secretary of State Dillon on April 20 even raised the cry to "relegate" the whole idea of peaceful coexistence "to the scrapheap," declaring that the

United States "will not accept any arrangement which might become a first step toward the abandonment of West Berlin. . . ." He further insisted that "free election" was the only feasible way of settling the German question. Since responsible officials of the U.S. Government adhere to such an intransigent view, they have been doing their utmost to disseminate pessimism on the summit conference. Herter, for instance, said on April 4 that "if anyone looks for dramatic achievements at the summit he may be disappointed"; on May 6 he again declared that "exaggerated hopes for agreement (at the summit conference) should not be entertained."

The stand against peace and the challenge to the people of the world presented by Herter, Nixon, Dillon and the like is not the stand of Nixon, Herter and their kind alone but is also the stand of U.S. President Eisenhower who disguised himself as a "man of peace." At a press conference on April 27, Eisenhower openly avowed that in their talks Herter and the others had enunciated the principles of the foreign policy of the U.S. Government. And it was none other than Eisenhower himself who on May 7 ordered that underground nuclear tests be resumed. He even declared that his participation in the summit conference could not exceed seven days and that if the talks extended beyond that limit, Vice-President Nixon would attend in his place. Just as Comrade Khrushchov said, there is very little reason to hope that the U.S. Government is really seeking concrete means of settlement. Obviously, the guiding principle of the foreign policy of the ruling clique in the United States, represented by Eisenhower, is not to seek a relaxation of international tension but to persist in the cold war

and arms race and even direct provocations. Such a foreign policy is an exact reflection of the interests of U.S. monopoly capital.

All this is proof positive that the inherently aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism has not changed and will never change. Although now there has been a fundamental shift in the relation of world forces and superiority no longer rests with imperialism, but with socialism, with the people of all lands who oppose imperialism and the forces defending world peace, and although imperialism can no longer carry out its plans of aggression, plunder and war with impunity as before, imperialism is after all imperialism and a wolf remains a wolf. Sometimes a wolf may put on a sheep's clothing but it does so only to swallow the sheep. While people the world over long for a relaxation of international tension and world peace, the U.S. imperialists are intent on aggravating the "cold war," arms expansion and war preparations. In the past period, the Soviet Government has made a series of efforts to bring about relaxation of international tension. Assuming a patient, conciliatory and accommodating attitude towards the West Berlin question, at the disarmament conference, at the conference for the prohibition of nuclear tests and on other occasions, it has done its utmost to create a favourable atmosphere for the summit conference. But all these efforts have been interpreted by U.S. imperialists, whose nature is as the wolf's, as signs of Soviet weakness. Responsible officials of the U.S. Government headed by Eisenhower, instead of displaying a similarly conciliatory attitude, have brought the cold war machine into full operation, stepping up arms expansion and war prepara-

tions and even repeatedly sending aircraft to intrude into the Soviet Union in direct provocations. As Comrade Khrushchov said, "The Soviet people and our Government have always shown and show their peace-loving and friendly relations with the United States. However, in answer to this we received black ingratitude."

Since the aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism have become ever more frenzied, peace-loving people the world over must redouble their vigilance to safeguard world peace. The ultimate aim of U.S. imperialism is to dominate the world and enslave the people of various countries. To this end, it inevitably suppresses the national and democratic movements in various countries and all progressive and peaceful forces, expands its aggressive influence everywhere and inevitably regards the socialist camp, mighty bulwark of world peace headed by the Soviet Union, as a thorn in its side. To this end, U.S. imperialism pursues its "position of strength" and "brinkmanship" policies and even openly launches wars of aggression. When its war policy encounters obstacles, it turns to talk of "peaceful evolution" and "victory by peaceful means" to gain time to accelerate its arms expansion and war preparations. People the world over, therefore, should neither be alarmed or discouraged by U.S. imperialism's armed threats and attacks, nor allow themselves to be deceived or lulled by its sweet words.

Marxism-Leninism maintains that aggression and war is the very nature of imperialism. Recognition of this irrefutable and never outdated truth has particularly great and practical significance in the current struggle to defend world peace. To relax international tension and preserve world peace, all people in the world who

love peace must redouble their efforts to expose and fight all activities of aggression and arms expansion and war preparations by the imperialist bloc headed by the United States and its "peace" conspiracy. World peace is currently the most important international issue of vital interest to the people of all countries. The Soviet Union, China and all other socialist countries consistently adhere to a peaceful foreign policy and strive to preserve world peace. Today, in view of the unparalleled strength of the world forces in defence of peace, first of all, that of the socialist camp, there exists the possibility of preventing world war. As Comrade Khrushchov pointed out, "We want peace. But to strive for peace doesn't mean to beg for peace." It should be noted that imperialism has never desired peaceful coexistence and will, as always, never miss an opportunity for expansion and aggression and to bully and intimidate the people of all countries. Isn't the U.S. planes' provocation against the Soviet Union fresh evidence of that? It is necessary to expose and repulse the imperialists' designs for aggression unless one is prepared to submit to their bullying and allow them to do as they please. The more thoroughly imperialist activities for aggression and war preparations are exposed, the firmer the struggle and the more isolated imperialism becomes, the greater the guarantee for winning relaxation of international tension and safeguarding world peace. On the other hand, to fight shy of the struggle can only add to the imperialists' arrogance and give rein to their aggressive activities. And to conceal crimes for imperialism can only lull the vigilance of the people of all countries and increase the danger of an imperialist

war of aggression to the detriment of the people of all countries. That U.S. imperialism now finds it increasingly difficult to carry out its plans for aggression and war is precisely because more and more people in all countries of the world have gradually seen through the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and are waging a more determined struggle against it.

When we point out the aggressive nature of imperialism and the leading role of U.S. imperialism in arms expansion and war preparations throughout the world, this by no means signifies that the U.S. imperialist plan of aggression and war will succeed or that our stand on and confidence in the preservation of peace will be shaken. On the contrary, we are firmly convinced that the struggle waged by the people of all lands against U.S. imperialism, against the policies of aggression and war and for world peace has unlimited, bright prospects. This is due primarily to the existence of the powerful socialist camp, the unbreakable unity of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and the unity and solidarity of socialist countries with the oppressed nations, the exploited people and peace-loving people throughout the world. The imperialists and their lackeys have left no stone unturned in their efforts to undermine the unity of the socialist countries and the unity between socialist countries and the people in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. But their shameless, despicable tricks will never succeed. The Chinese people, standing firmly with the people of all fraternal countries, are constantly on guard against the aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism and are ever ready to strike back resolutely. We have on many occasions declared that we

cherish a warm love of world peace but do not fear war. If U.S. imperialism thinks that we can be bullied and dares invade the socialist countries, it would certainly come to grief. Today is the 15th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite Germany. Should U.S. imperialism go so far along the path of Hitler as to start a war of aggression, it would end in a failure more miserable than Hitler's. We are firmly convinced that the great socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, together with the workers' movement, movements for national independence and peace in various countries and all peace-loving forces, will certainly be able to shatter the aggressive designs and war plans of the imperialist bloc headed by the United States and uphold world peace.

## EISENHOWER'S SELF-EXPOSURE

(*Renmin Ribao* Editorial, May 13, 1960)

On May 11 U.S. President Eisenhower exposed his vicious face to the people of the whole world. In a statement issued at a press conference, he said, "Since the beginning of my administration I have issued directives to gather, in every feasible way, the information required to protect the United States and the free world against surprise attack and to enable them to make effective preparations for defense." This means that the U.S. plane that violated Soviet air space to collect military information did so in accordance with Eisenhower's directives.

Eisenhower's statement fully confirms the criminal responsibility for U.S. air intrusion into the Soviet Union. As is generally known, Eisenhower has tried his best recently to pass himself off as a "messenger of peace." While the United States recently stepped up arms expansion, war preparations and aggressive activities, Eisenhower pretended to be innocent by indulging continually in empty talks about peace. Even after the recent exposure of the criminal violation of Soviet air space by the U.S. plane, the authorities in Washington tried their best to describe it as something of which Eisenhower was quite unaware. The U.S. State Depart-

ment even stated openly that the White House did not "authorize" such flights.

But these are self-deceptive lies, they do not in the least absolve Eisenhower and his government of their responsibility. In the face of condemnation by world public opinion Eisenhower had to come out personally with a statement to justify the U.S. crime of aggression, but the more he tried to justify them by lame arguments, the more he revealed his true colours as an imperialist.

One of the arguments Eisenhower advanced to defend his own and his government's crimes of aggression was that "in the Soviet Union there is a fetish of secrecy and concealment." He also alleged that this was "a major cause of international tension and uneasiness today." What sort of an "argument" is this? Because you keep certain things secret, I have the right to intrude into your air space! One would like to ask: Does not the United States keep its own secrets! Has not Eisenhower himself said that the U.S. activities of collecting information are "secret" and "must be kept under strict control in every detail"? Surely this is also "a fetish of secrecy and concealment." Moreover, the United States Government carried the "fetish" to such a degree that after it was announced that a U.S. plane intruding into Soviet air space had been shot down, it still believed that the secret would not be exposed. The State Department went so far as to issue a statement declaring that it was a meteorological reconnaissance plane which went out only for the purpose of collecting "ozone"!

Such being the case, will not another country also have the right to send planes over the United States and other countries for the purpose of espionage? If all

countries do this, will this not bring about utter chaos in the world and the danger that war will break out at any time? Since Eisenhower admitted that the Soviet Union does not do this, then by what right does the United States send aircraft to intrude into the air space of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries?

It is indeed fantastic to say that "the fetish of secrecy and concealment" is "a major cause of international tension and uneasiness today," and coming from the President of the United States, it is more than ludicrous. It is known to all that international tension and uneasiness arise chiefly from the policy of aggression and war pursued by the United States. It is none other than the United States which has hemmed in the socialist countries with more than 250 military bases. It is none other than the United States which has stationed more than one million troops in over 70 countries and territories all over the world. It is none other than the United States which is gravely menacing world peace.

All these root causes of international tension have nothing to do with the "fetish of secrecy and concealment." The fact remains that it is U.S. aggression, arms expansion and war preparations, carried out in such an unscrupulous and overt manner, that has revealed even more fully the frenzy of U.S. imperialism and has aroused even greater opposition among the broad masses of people throughout the world.

Another argument advanced by Eisenhower is that the U.S. "deterrent must never be placed in jeopardy. The security of the whole free world demands this." Now, this is slightly different from Eisenhower's old song. It may be recalled that in the past Eisenhower and

his government officials had invariably boasted about how powerful the "deterrent" of the United States was and that it was fully capable of ensuring the "security of the free world." How is it that such a powerful "deterrent" now suddenly finds itself "in jeopardy"? What kind of a "deterrent" is it if it is "in jeopardy"?

Obviously, Eisenhower would not agree with the view that the "deterrent" has been "placed in jeopardy" and has become useless. Nevertheless, he still chooses to put forward this as an argument for his crime of aggression. If every nation starts to invade the territorial air of another on the grounds of its own "security" being jeopardized, will that not bring about utter chaos in the world, making it possible for war to break out at any time?

In fact, it is the United States and none other that is threatening the security of the nations of the world. The U.S. military bases which dot the world, especially those for U.S. bombers carrying nuclear weapons, for guided missiles and for the U-2 jet aircraft, all pose a threat to the security of the nations where they are situated. This is because if war is unleashed by the United States, those countries having U.S. bases on their soil will be the first victims. It is for this reason that the Japanese people have been opposing the U.S.-Japan treaty of military alliance with such vigour and the people of all those countries with U.S. military bases on their territories bear such bitter hatred for U.S. imperialism. It is the U.S. policy of aggression and war that constitutes the worst menace to world peace and the security of all nations.

The above is by no means intended for argument with Eisenhower. Its only purpose is to show that Eisenhower's

statement is that of an aggressor and his logic is that of a gangster.

It should be pointed out that all along Eisenhower has been carrying out the imperialist policy of aggression and war; it was only recently that he made some peace gestures for the sake of camouflage. It is not difficult to see through all this. While Eisenhower indulged in empty talk about peace, he and his government did not stop menacing peace by their actions for a single day. This discrepancy between words and deeds long ago demonstrated the double-barrelled tactics Eisenhower was using. How can people believe that as head of the U.S. Government, Eisenhower has nothing to do with the intensified war preparations and aggressive activities of the United States? Furthermore, has not Eisenhower himself clamoured about the "need for steadfast, undramatic, and patient persistence in our efforts to maintain our mutual defenses (should read: arms expansion and war preparations)"? In what respect does he resemble a "peace lover"? If Eisenhower's peace tricks do deceive some people, it is only for the time being and it is never difficult to see through them. Since Eisenhower is committed to a policy of arms expansion and war preparations, in the end he cannot but reveal thoroughly his true colours as an imperialist. Now people can see that the same Eisenhower who feigned willingness to improve East-West relations and relax international tension, on the eve of the summit conference, ordered U.S. aircraft to intrude into Soviet air space as a provocation. This poor "juggler" has thus been thoroughly exposed. The wolf has been stripped of its sheepskin.

The open U.S. air provocations against the Soviet Union and Eisenhower's self-exposure have further shown to the people of the world the truth that no illusions of any kind should be entertained about Eisenhower and U.S. imperialism. The aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism represented by Eisenhower has not changed at all and will never change. Although today the forces of peace and socialism have greatly surpassed the forces of war and imperialism and the United States has lost its military superiority, it does not follow that U.S. imperialism will give up its plans for aggression or its war plots against the socialist countries.

Eisenhower is not unaware of the fact that the Soviet Union possesses the most advanced rocket weapons, capable of repulsing any aggressors, but all the same he dispatched aircraft to intrude into the territorial air of the Soviet Union to carry out provocations. This shows that U.S. imperialism will never, of its own accord, abandon its aggressive war plans because of the superior power of the socialist camp. After the defeat of this provocation against the Soviet Union, Eisenhower still indicated that such provocations would be continued. This proves all the more clearly that to disrupt and fail, disrupt again and fail again till their doom, is indeed the law of imperialism, especially that of U.S. imperialism. Whenever there is a chance U.S. imperialism will always try to carry out aggression and expansion. This of course does not mean that the people of various countries need not continue to work for world peace. Not at all! On the contrary, we must persist in making untiring efforts for the preservation of world peace and must make even greater efforts towards this goal. The point is that world

peace can be won only by the struggle of the masses of people throughout the world, by the resolute, thorough and utter exposure of all the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists, by the general awakening of the masses in various countries and by the strengthening of their unity. Only by mobilizing the people of all countries to wage a resolute struggle can the U.S. imperialists' plans of aggression and war be smashed and world peace preserved.

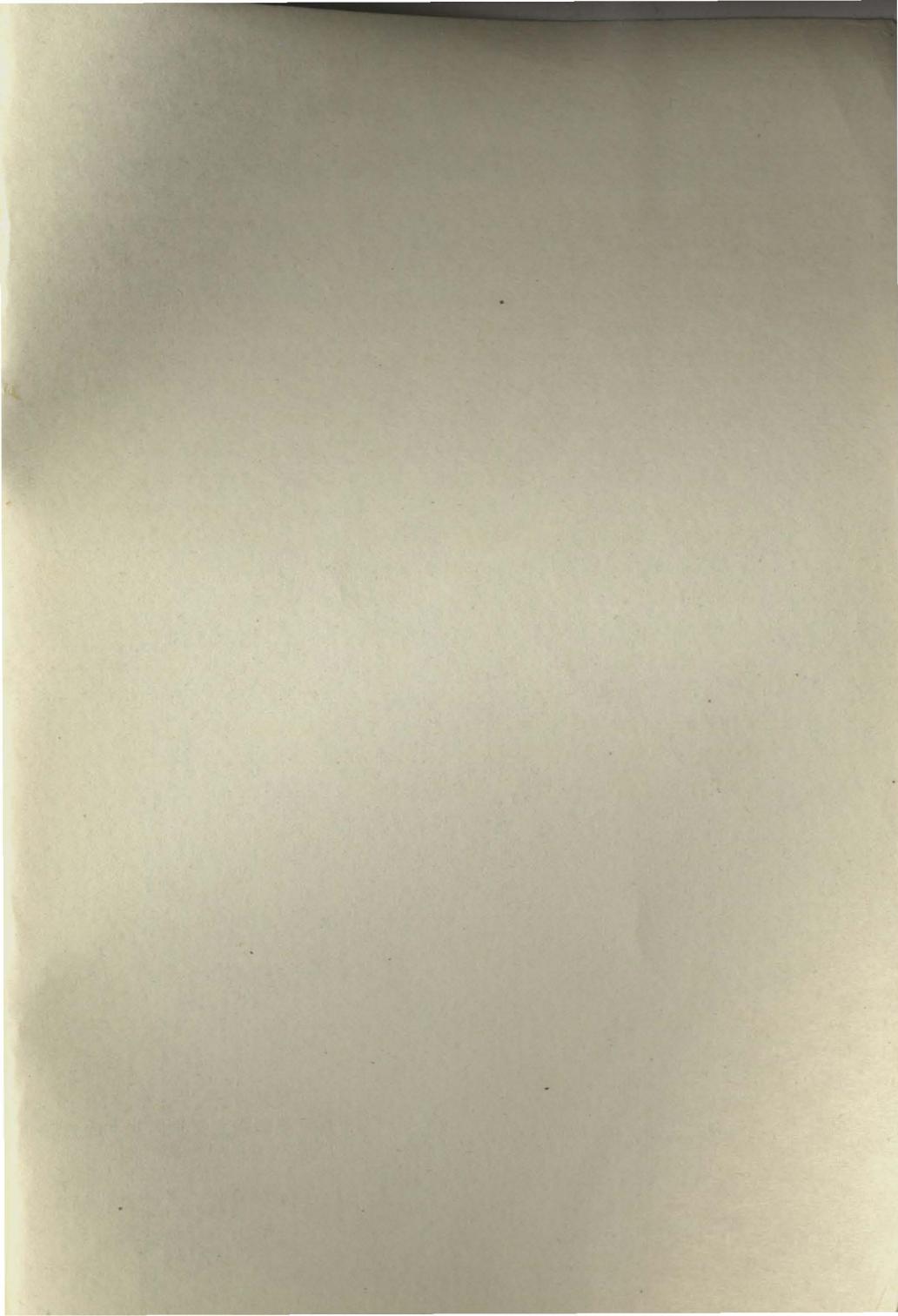
From their protracted revolutionary struggles the Chinese people have long since clearly realized that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Chinese people and those of the whole world. The Chinese people have never entertained any illusions about U.S. imperialism. For the past ten years and more, U.S. imperialism has consistently pursued a policy of hostility towards the Chinese people and has vainly attempted to strangle our new-born people's republic by force, subversive activities and economic blockade.

The United States is still occupying China's territory of Taiwan and the offshore islands. Eisenhower said at his press conference on May 11: "If you go back to the Formosa (that is, China's Taiwan) doctrine, you will find that the responsibility is placed upon the President to determine whether in the event of any attack upon Quemoy and Matsu, whether this is in fact a preliminary to or part of an attack against the Pescadores (that is, China's Penghu Islands) and Taiwan. If that is true, then he must participate because then it will be the defense of Formosa, one of our allies."

Eisenhower has once again exposed the vicious face of the United States in refusing to withdraw from our ter-

ritory of Taiwan and the offshore islands and in persisting in hostility to the Chinese people.

Furthermore, U.S. warships and aircraft are still making repeated intrusions into China's territorial waters and air completely disregarding our warnings. On May 11, U.S. aircraft again intruded into China's air space over the Sisha Islands. This is the 95th occasion since September 1958 when U.S. bandits have committed the crime of aggression against China. On this occasion, the U.S. imperialists even openly attempted to deny China's sovereignty over the Sisha Islands and claimed that the U.S. Seventh Fleet had "a security responsibility in the South China Sea." Let the U.S. imperialists understand clearly: Every violation of China's territorial integrity and sovereignty you commit will only arouse greater indignation among the Chinese people and further strengthen their will to struggle. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu! The Chinese people will never forgive the monstrous crimes committed by U.S. aggressors against China. Every debt of blood owed by the U.S. aggressors to the Chinese people must be repaid!



两套手法、一个目的  
——揭穿美帝国主义玩弄和平的阴谋——

中国人民外交学会编

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