U.S. "Special Warfare" Goes Bankrupt in S. Viet Nam

Chinese government statement denounces sending of U.S. ground forces to south Viet Nam (p. 5).

Strong Protest Over Soviet Persecution Of Anti-U.S. Student Demonstrators

1. Foreign Ministry's note (p. 7).
2. Four seriously injured students brought back from Moscow by Chinese Government for medical treatment (p. 8).

Technical Co-operation Boosts Production

Report from Liaoning Province (p. 16).
Comrade Mao Tse-tung
On "Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers"

Included in this pamphlet are excerpts from the articles, speeches and talks of Mao Tse-tung on the thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." It provides the answer to the question of how to correctly assess the forces of revolution and the forces of counter-revolution.

Mao Tse-tung often uses the old saying "A single spark can start a prairie fire" to describe the new-born forces growing up day by day in the course of revolution. He uses the term "paper tiger" to describe imperialism and all reactionary forces which appear to be powerful but are actually weak. On the basis of this estimation, he points out that the revolutionary people have good reason to despise them, but take them seriously in each and every concrete struggle.

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK

ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS

Support People of Viet Nam and Indo-China, Fight U.S. Aggression to the End — Chinese Government Statement 5

Protest Against Soviet Suppression of Demonstration and Persecution of Chinese Students 7

Persecuted Chinese Students Return From Moscow 8

Greatest Indignation and Strong Protest — Renmin Ribao Commentator 9

China Backs Arab People's Just Struggle — Renmin Ribao Commentator 11

Modern Revisionists Cover Up U.S. Imperialist Aggression — Akahata Article 12

On the Struggle for a Principled Marxist Stand — Australian Communist Article 14

Technical Co-operation 16

Thou Shalt Kill... (Pen Probes) 18

ROUND THE WORLD 19

DRAMA, CULTURE 22

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March 19, 1965

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The Chinese Government, in its March 12 statement, condemned U.S. imperialism for dispatching 3,500 marines to south Viet Nam.

- Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi will shortly visit Afghanistan, Pakistan and Nepal.

- A friendship delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic arrived in Peking on March 15.

- The Foreign Ministry, in a note to the Soviet Embassy in Peking on March 16, protested against the Soviet Government's suppression of the anti-U.S. demonstration in Moscow on March 4 and its subsequent persecution of Chinese students.

- The Chinese press published the Soviet Foreign Ministry's note of March 12 to the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. This note distorted what had happened at the demonstration and called black white.

- Renmin Ribao published an article by Commentator on March 14 denouncing Bonn's decision, taken with the support of the United States, to establish diplomatic relations with Israel.

- The Chinese press published:


  — "U.S. Imperialist Aggression Against Viet Nam and the Disillusionment of the Modern Revisionists" which appeared in Akahata on February 25. The article further exposed the modern revisionists for trying to cover up U.S. imperialist aggression.

  — "On the Struggle for a Principled Marxist Stand" which appeared in issue No. 9 (December 1964) of the Australian Communist, theoretical journal of the Australian Communist Party (M-L). The article repudiated Sharkey's opportunist ideas.

Chairman Mao Meets Fraternal Party Leaders

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on March 14 met V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand; M.H. Williams, Chairman of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and his wife; E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist); and Vida Little and N. Gallagher, members of the Australian C.P. (M-L) delegation led by Comrade Hill.

Chairman Mao had a cordial talk with the comrades from New Zealand and Australia, and later gave a banquet in their honour.

Chen Yi to Visit Asian Countries

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi will shortly pay visits of friendship to the Kingdom of Afghanistan, the Islamic Repub-
Premier Chou Hails Success of Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference

PREMIER Chou En-lai on March 13 hailed the successful conclusion of the recent Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference in Phnom Penh, capital of Cambodia. In his message to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and to the Permanent Secretariat of the Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference, Premier Chou, in the name of the Chinese Government and people, warmly congratulated Prince Sihanouk, the initiator of the conference, all the delegations and all the Indo-Chinese peoples.

Premier Chou said: "The Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference, holding high the militant banner of anti-U.S. imperialism, has correctly shown that the origin of the tension in this region is the violation of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements by U.S. imperialism and its armed aggression against the Indo-Chinese countries. The conference resolutions justly demand that the armed forces of U.S. imperialism and its satellites quit this region so that the Indo-Chinese peoples can settle their problems by themselves. The conference has consolidated the solidarity of the Indo-Chinese peoples and strengthened their common struggle against U.S. imperialism, thus making a great contribution to safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia."

Referring to the intensified U.S. aggressive actions in Indo-China and the sending of U.S. ground forces to south Viet Nam, Premier Chou noted that, as the conference had pointed out, the Indo-Chinese peoples, awakened and relying on their own united strength, were able to thoroughly smash the aggression of U.S. imperialism and drive it out of this region.

Premier Chou concluded by pledging that the 650 million Chinese people would always stand by the Indo-Chinese peoples in their great struggle against U.S. imperialism and would not spare any effort in supporting them until final victory.

Friendship Delegation From Syria

A 12-member friendship delegation from the Syrian Arab Republic, led by Foreign Minister Dr. Hassan Muraywid, arrived in Peking on March 15. Greeting the guests at Peking Airport were Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Lu Ting-yi and thousands of the capital's citizens.

In the evening Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave a banquet for Dr. Hassan Muraywid and his delegation. Extending his hearty welcome on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, the Vice-Premier paid tribute to the people of Syria and other Arab countries for their just struggle against imperialism. He spoke of U.S. collusion with West Germany in sending large quantities of weapons to Israel, and pointed out that this was for aggression against the Arab countries. "At the bidding of U.S. imperialism," he said, "Israel frequently creates provocations against you and the people of other Arab countries. This is a serious threat to your security. You have recently uncovered a U.S. embassy spy ring, and you have expelled U.S. diplomats engaged in espionage, executed spies in the service of the United States and exposed to the whole world the crimes of U.S. imperialism. This is a courageous action. You have done well and done the right thing. The Chinese people and the people of the whole world support you."

Referring to Asian-African solidarity, Vice-Premier Chen said that both China and Syria had contributed to this cause. He pledged that China would work jointly with Syria and other countries to make the Second Asian-African Conference a success.

In his speech, Dr. Hassan Muraywid praised China's support for the Arab people's struggle against imperialism, for the cause of unity of Arab nations and for the Palestinian people's struggle. He said: "If everyone who loves peace and freedom takes such a stand, imperialism will become less arrogant than it is now."

The Syrian Foreign Minister denounced U.S. imperialism for making use of Israel to encroach upon the freedom of the Arab people. "Israel," he said, "is a military base of Western imperialism and a poisonous thorn thrust into the body of the Asian and African peoples." He stressed that the fight between the Arab countries and Israel was in fact a fight between the Arab people and world imperialism. "It is by no means a fight between Arabs and Jews, as it is described by the imperialists," he declared.

Sino-Albanian Friendship

The China-Albanian Friendship Association gave a reception on March 13 in honour of two visiting Albanian delegations, one led by Vice-Minister of Communications Milo Qirko and the other by Vice-Minister of Education and Culture Kadri Baboci. Premier Chou En-lai attended.

Extending welcome to the delegations, Chiang Nan-hsiang, president of the association, said that their visit would contribute to Sino-Albanian solidarity and economic and cultural co-operation. He stressed that the people of China and Albania had always supported and learnt from each other in the common cause of building socialism, in the struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace, and in the struggle against modern revisionism.

Speaking on behalf of the delegations, Kadri Baboci warmly hailed the friendship between the Albanian and Chinese peoples which was based on Marxism-Leninism. "In storm or in stress," he declared, "our two peoples will stand together in the struggle against imperialism and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism."
Support People of Viet Nam and Indo-China, Fight U.S. Aggression To the End

- By dispatching its ground forces to south Viet Nam, the United States has torn to shreds the Geneva agreements, declared the bankruptcy of its "special warfare," embarked willy-nilly on the path of a war of the Korean type and further blocked the way to a political settlement of the Viet Nam question.

The only channel for a political settlement of the Viet Nam question is that U.S. armed forces must be completely withdrawn from Viet Nam.

- The Chinese people have never built their security on U.S. benevolence — that it might forgo aggression. The Chinese people are prepared. Anyhow, the U.S. imperialists have only so much armed strength at their disposal, and for all their clamouring, the means at their disposal are limited. The final outcome of the struggle can only be the ousting of the U.S. aggressors from Viet Nam, from Indo-China and from the whole of Southeast Asia.

Following is a translation of the Chinese government statement of March 12, 1965. — Ed.

On March 8 and 9, the Johnson Administration of the United States flagrantly dispatched 3,500 marines to south Viet Nam. After making four air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam within one month, the U.S. imperialists have thrown their ground forces into the war in south Viet Nam. This is a grave move to further expand the war in Indo-China.

The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued statements on March 9 and 10 respectively, strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for this fresh act of aggression and war provocation. The Chinese Government and people give firm and unreserved support to the just stand of the heroic Vietnamese people in defence of their great motherland.

By dispatching its ground forces to south Viet Nam, the United States has torn to shreds the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indo-China, and particularly on Viet Nam. The United States wantonly trampled the Geneva agreements underfoot long ago. Nevertheless, it tried hard previously to pretend that it was not against the Geneva agreements. It sent into south Viet Nam large quantities of military equipment and materiel and tens of thousands of military personnel. But it asserted that these personnel were "advisers" or "instructors," that they did not take part in the combat and that it was the south Vietnamese who were engaged in the fighting. Now all these masks are torn off by its own action. The prohibition of the entry of foreign troops into Viet Nam lies at the very foundation of the Geneva agreements. By marching U.S. combat troops swaggeringly into south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration has done what both the Eisenhower and the Kennedy Administrations had all along wanted to do but dared not. It has completely torn up the Geneva agreements on Viet Nam with its own hands. The facts have once again proved that Lyndon Johnson is in no way a "sensible" man but the most vicious ringleader of the U.S. gangsters.

The dispatch of U.S. ground forces to south Viet Nam is a declaration of the bankruptcy of the so-called special warfare which was so much vaunted by U.S. imperialism over the last few years. Ever since the United States came to grief in the Korean war, the strategists of U.S. imperialism have been racking their brains to seek a way to suppress national-liberation movements without losing American lives. They advanced all sorts of formulas and finally invented the so-called special warfare in which the Americans would provide weapons while local people would provide the cannon-fodder. The United States would have to invest some men too, but not in large numbers, who would mainly serve as "advisers" or "instructors" to the mercenaries. For the last three years and more, it has been experimenting with this so-called special warfare in southern Viet Nam. But the result is that the mercenaries have not lived up
to expectations and casualties among U.S. military personnel have been mounting, while the South Vietnamese Liberation Army is growing stronger and stronger. The United States disclaimed any direct part in the war, but in fact it constantly had to swallow the bitter fruits of war. Why not then simply throw its ground forces directly into the war of aggression? Thus, in a dilemma, the Johnson Administration has made its new decision. Since Da Nang is not safe, 3,500 marines have to be sent there. But neither is Pleiku safe, and reinforcements have to be sent there too. And what about Qui Nhon, Binh Gia, An Lao, Bien Hoa, and other places? Are they safe? No village or town, no forest or road, in the whole of southern Viet Nam is safe for the U.S. aggressors. It is obviously not enough just to throw in 3,500 men. At any rate, the “special warfare” with its main reliance on mercenaries has gone bankrupt. The landing of U.S. marines points to the fact that the United States has embarked willy-nilly on the path of a war of the Korean type.

The entry of U.S. ground forces in the war will never cow the heroic south Vietnamese people. In its statement of March 9, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation declared: “The acts of the U.S. imperialists can in no way hamper the development of the revolutionary movement in south Viet Nam. The south Vietnamese people are resolved to achieve their fundamental aspirations which are independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. They are resolved to drive the U.S. imperialists out of Vietnamese territory, overthrow the puppet regime and set up a national democratic coalition government. The situation in south Viet Nam can stabilize only when the aspirations of the south Vietnamese people are realized.” The U.S. aggressors must get out of south Viet Nam. The U.S.-sponsored puppet regime in south Viet Nam must be overthrown. The Chinese people firmly support this just and revolutionary stand of the south Vietnamese people.

The dispatch of U.S. ground forces to southern Viet Nam will inevitably further educate the south Vietnamese people and the entire Vietnamese people by way of negative example. The south Vietnamese people will see more clearly that the question of south Viet Nam is, in essence, one of U.S. imperialist oppression and aggression. Only a handful of traitors to the Vietnamese nation follow the U.S. aggressors heart and soul. In these circumstances, more people in southern Viet Nam will awake and will take up arms and wage a life-and-death struggle against the U.S. aggressors whose evil doings know no bounds. How can 3,500 men save the aggressors from defeat in the war? The more they send in, the longer will be their death-rolls. The result cannot be otherwise.

The dispatch of U.S. ground forces to south Viet Nam has further blocked the way to a political settlement of the Viet Nam question. The Johnson Administration has the impudence to assert that “political channels are open.” What is the political channel for the settlement of the question of Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China? It is to act in accordance with the Geneva agreements. In its statement of March 10, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam demanded “that the U.S. Government strictly implement the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam, stop immediately the aggressive war in south Viet Nam and all acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, withdraw all U.S. troops and war equipment from south Viet Nam, and let the south Vietnamese people settle their own internal affairs themselves.” The Chinese Government resolutely supports the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The United States must immediately stop its aggression and provocations against Viet Nam. U.S. armed forces must be completely withdrawn from Viet Nam. This is the channel, and the only channel, for a political settlement of the Viet Nam question. The United States will not succeed in its attempt to secure the right of hanging on in Viet Nam by sending reinforcements to south Viet Nam and extending its aggression in Viet Nam. If it has any desire for a political settlement, it should withdraw its troops. Every soldier who has been sent in must get out, and not a single one will be allowed to remain.

The Johnson Administration of the United States must be held responsible for all the serious consequences arising from its expansion of the war in Indo-China. A few U.S. warships, several hundred U.S. planes and some tens of thousands of U.S. ground forces can by no means frighten the Vietnamese people. The expansion of U.S. aggression can only serve to give the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and all countries upholding the Geneva agreements the right to take the initiative in dealing counter-blows. In the last few days, the U.S. press has been loudly clamouring that, in the Vietnamese war, there would no longer be any “sanctuary” such as existed during the Korean war and that the United States would engage in “hot pursuit” of those giving support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people. In plain language, this means that it would bomb China. Let us tell the U.S. aggressors that the Chinese people are not afraid of such stuff. We have never built our security on U.S. benevolence—that it might forgo aggression. We are prepared. The Chinese people will firmly and unswerving take all possible measures to support the people of Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China in carrying the struggle against the U.S. aggressors through to the very end. Anyhow, you have only so much armed strength at your disposal, and for all your clamouring, the means you can resort to are but that many. You may act in your way and we will act in our way. But this much is certain: the course of war will not follow your subjective wishes. And the final outcome of the struggle can only be the ousting of the U.S. aggressors from Viet Nam, from Indo-China and from the whole of Southeast Asia.
Chinese Foreign Ministry's Note

Protest Against Soviet Suppression of Demonstration
And Persecution of Chinese Students

Following is a translation of the March 16 note of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Soviet Embassy in Peking. — Ed.

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China has received the note dated March 12 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union addressed to the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union. In its note, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs tried hard to prove that the Soviet Government did not suppress the March 1 anti-U.S. demonstration in Moscow, and that it was rather the students, particularly Chinese students, who had assaulted Soviet policemen, as if the entire bloody incident and the publicity indignation against the Soviet authorities which it inevitably aroused were provoked by China. This is an utter distortion of the facts, making black white and white black. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the note of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

What after all was the unusual thing that took place in Moscow on March 4? The students' anti-U.S. demonstration that day was similar to those one very often witnesses on other occasions. All they did was to march to the U.S. Embassy, shout slogans, paste up posters and deliver letters of protest. This was nothing unusual even though the students, impelled by their righteous indignation, threw stones and broke some windows of the U.S. Embassy. In Asia, Africa or Latin America, wherever there is a U.S. Embassy or an office of the U.S. Information Agency, such incidents are quite common; they occur almost every month, if not every day. Why was it in Moscow, of all places, that a bloody incident in which police and troops injured more than 130 students from Viet Nam, China, Indonesia, Cuba, Somalia and other countries should have taken place?

The facts are crystal clear. The students did not do anything "wild." It was the Soviet Government that behaved most strangely on this occasion.

Earlier, on February 9, students in Moscow staged an anti-U.S. demonstration in which they smashed several hundred windows of the U.S. Embassy. This enraged Lyndon B. Johnson, chieftain of U.S. imperialism, who insisted that the Soviet Government give "adequate protection" to the U.S. Embassy. You were thus put in an awkward position. Were you to ban such demonstrations outright, you would not be able to justify your action before the public. Were you to permit such demonstrations, you would run the risk of offending the United States. So this time, you permitted the students to hold the anti-U.S. demonstration on the one hand, while adopting various extraordinary measures on the other. More than seven hundred soldiers, police and mounted guards and a large number of snow ploughs and fire-engines were rushed to the scene to throw a tight cordon around the U.S. Embassy. They formed four barriers as if they were facing a formidable enemy, and desperate attempts were made to prevent the demonstrating students from getting near the U.S. Embassy. When the demonstrators pressed on, you ordered the police and soldiers to crack down on them. That was how the bloody incident was brought about.

After the incident, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs lost no time in making apologies to the U.S. Ambassador, and on the very next day hastened to send workers to clean the walls and glaze the windows of the U.S. Embassy. How ruthless you were to the demonstrators against U.S. imperialism, and how abjectly subservient you were to the U.S. imperialists!

It is groundless to allege that such demonstrations against the missions of imperialist powers would not be permitted in Peking either. When the people of Peking were holding gigantic demonstrations against Anglo-French aggression in Egypt at the time of the Suez events, their representatives entered the compound of the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking to deliver innumerable letters of protest and plastered the walls of the compound with posters denouncing British imperialism. The Chinese Foreign Ministry did not send anyone to the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires to help clean the walls, and there was no question at all of the Chinese Government apologizing to it.

Greatly indignant upon learning of the Soviet Government's suppression of their comrades, students in Peking held a demonstration and went to the Soviet Embassy to lodge protests. We have not the slightest doubt that the Soviet people who have the glorious tradition of the Great October Revolution behind them would also protest if only they knew the facts.

However, it was after all something disgraceful to have beaten up and injured so many foreign students. So you tried hard to deny it, asserting that no such thing had happened or that in any event the students had not been so badly beaten up as to need hospitalization. The Soviet Government has stopped at nothing to achieve its aim.

Nine seriously injured Chinese students needed hospitalization as proved by the doctors of the Botkin Hospital who examined them. They were hospitalized, but on the following day, seven of them were expelled

March 19, 1965
from the hospital by the Soviet authorities who asserted that they needed no medical treatment and that they should not have been in the hospital at all. And Huang Chao-keng, one of the Chinese students who remained in the Botkin Hospital, was ruthlessly beaten up by Soviet plainclothes men and was tied up hand and foot for as long as seven or eight hours. They beat up and injured people, but flatly denied it. They would not allow the seriously injured to be hospitalized. These already hospitalized were expelled. Those who refused to leave were tortured. This would be something un-thinkable in all revolutionary anti-imperialist countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere, but it did happen in the Soviet Union.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a resolute protest with the Soviet Government against the shameless suppression of the anti-U.S. demonstration and the persecution of Chinese students. The Chinese Government once again demands that the Soviet Government admit its mistakes and make an apology to the students of the various countries who took part in the demonstration.

Persecuted Chinese Students Return From Moscow

FOUR Chinese students, seriously injured by Soviet police and troops during the March 4 Moscow demonstration against U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam, who were later subjected to brutal persecution by the Soviet authorities, have been brought back to China by the Chinese Government for medical treatment.

The students arrived in Peking on March 14 and received an enthusiastic welcome at the airport. Among those present were more than 2,000 students from Peking's universities and other institutions of higher learning; foreign students studying here; ministers of various government departments; Nguyen Minh Phuong, Acting Head of the Permanent Delegation to China of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation; and a staff member of the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The returned students—Huang Chao-keng, Tang Pi-ming, Cheng Chih-tai and Chang Tseng-yu—had either been expelled from the hospital in Moscow or had been subjected to persecution during their hospitalization.

Huang Chao-keng and Cheng Chih-tai were among the nine seriously wounded Chinese students who were taken to Moscow's Botkin Hospital. Not satisfied with having expelled seven of the students from the hospital (see Peking Review, No. 11), the Soviet authorities proceeded to force Huang and Cheng to leave.

At about 9 a.m. on March 10, Huang Chao-keng was locked up in a small room where the Soviet authorities declared they wanted to have a “talk” with him. When Huang explained that he could not leave the hospital because of his serious injuries and expressed his wish to keep in contact with the Chinese Embassy, a plainclothes man struck him. Then another five men in civilian clothes came in and bound Huang's feet. One of the five grabbed him by the hair, banged his head against the side of a sofa, and hit him hard in the loins. Half an hour later, when Huang was still writhing in pain from the beating, six plainclothes men carried him to a car and forcibly took him to the hospital's mental ward. His hands also bound, the student was detained in a small, cold room in the ward for eight hours until after 6 p.m. Then, when he was being untied, a Soviet woman gave him several slaps on

Huang Chao-keng is carried off plane at Peking Airport
the face. In the afternoon when Huang was sent to the mental ward, the hospital refused to admit staff members of the Chinese Embassy and Chinese students' representatives who asked to see him.

Learning of this serious matter, the Chinese Embassy on March 11 sent a representative to lodge a protest with the Soviet hospital authorities over the maltreatment of the injured Chinese students and the denial to them of proper medical care. Pointing out that this was a premeditated political persecution, the representative declared that the Soviet side must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

A few days earlier, student Tang Pi-ming had been the victim of intimidation by two armed Soviet plainclothes men who rushed into his ward in the Pirogov Out-Patient Hospital No. 1 at about 10 a.m. on March 6. Letting him see their pistols, which they wore at their waists, the plainclothes men cross-examined Tang, telling him, "You must know that you are on Soviet territory!" Thrusting a "record of conversation" into Tang's hands, they attempted to force him to sign a confession.

**Chinese Leaders Visit Students**

In Peking, on March 15, Kue Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, together with leaders of various government departments, went to the Peking Union Hospital to offer their most cordial respects to the returnees. Vietnamese Ambassador to China, Tran Tu Binh, also called on them at the hospital. The next day, Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi, other government leaders and Mme. Quinim Pholsena, the widow of the late Foreign Minister of the Laotian National Union Government, were among the visitors who came to see them.

Noted medical specialists in Peking on March 15 held joint consultations on the condition of the four students. The results of their examination were made public the next day. Their diagnoses of the students' injuries were as follows:

- 3. Traumatic depression fracture of the right nasal bone.
- 4. Traumatic fracture of the frontal process of the right maxilla.
- 5. Contusion of the lumbar region.
- 6. Injury to cartilage of the left knee.

- Chang Tseng-yu: 1. Injury to the nose, fracture of nasal bone, deviation of nasal septum. 2. Concussion of the brain. 3. Injury to lower part of costal cartilage over both sides of the sternum.

**Greatest Indignation and Strong Protest**

by COMMENTATOR

Following is a translation of a "Renmin Ribao" commentary published on March 15. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

Four Chinese students studying in the Soviet Union — Huang Chao-keng, Tang Pi-ming, Cheng Chih-tai and Chang Tseng-yu — who were seriously injured when the Soviet Government barbarously suppressed the foreign students' anti-U.S. demonstration in Moscow and who were again subjected to cruel persecution at Soviet hospitals, returned to their motherland yesterday. We welcome their safe return. We extend our most sincere regards and pay great respect to them, to all Asian, African and Latin American students studying in the Soviet Union who took part in the demonstration, and to all those who were injured.

The Chinese students in the Soviet Union suffered persecution in the just cause of supporting the Vietnamese people and opposing U.S. imperialist aggression. In the face of this terrible injustice perpetrated by the Soviet Government which, currying favour with U.S. imperialism, suppressed and manhandled the students, the Chinese people deem it necessary to voice once again their greatest indignation and make a strong protest.

In broad daylight the government of a socialist country has actually used force to put down the just struggle of the masses against U.S. imperialism and, moreover, shamefully indulged in political persecution of the seriously injured students in hospital. This is something unheard of in history. It would not be surprising if this had taken place in tsarist Russia, in old China under Kuomintang rule, in the United States or its satellite countries. To maintain their rule, the reactionaries always resort to violence and political persecution against the just struggles of the masses. Revolutionary people of all lands, too, have had experience in these brutal methods used by the reactionaries. But, when it happens in the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, it is a most grievous thing!

Let us see what a striking contrast there is in the development of events:

No sooner had the Asian, African and Latin American students started their anti-U.S. demonstration than

March 19, 1965
The Soviet authorities, as if they were dealing with a formidable enemy, rushed more than 700 policemen, soldiers, and mounted police to draw cordon around the U.S. Embassy for fear of any damage however slight to U.S. imperialism. Against the students who, out of righteous indignation, were merely demonstrating to protest at U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Soviet authorities were so ruthless as to call in mounted police to make charges and to require the army and police to brandish truncheons and beat the demonstrators black and blue. This resulted in the tragic bloodshed in Moscow.

The Soviet authorities not only gave no proper medical treatment to the Chinese students who were seriously injured but also maltreated them in a thousand and one ways. Those who prefer to talk about humanitarianism all day long even sent special agents to keep the injured students under surveillance and to subject them to brutal persecution; Huang Chao-keng was beaten up by a group of special agents who had him bound hand and foot and thrown into a "mental ward." The Soviet authorities have truly taken things to the extreme. And they also lost no time in sending people to repair the stoned and broken windows of the U.S. Embassy and to whitewash its ink-stained walls. How considerate and thoughtful they were in this case!


The Soviet Government is so servile and obedient to U.S. imperialism, common enemy of the peoples of the world; at the same time it takes as an enemy and persecutes in a brutal way young students from Asia, Africa and Latin America who firmly oppose imperialism. Can this be those actual deeds of opposing imperialist aggression in which it has been trying to make others believe?

To oppose U.S. imperialism or not to oppose it is a touchstone for all revolutionaries. The present wanton bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by U.S. imperialism is an open and serious provocation to the socialist camp. To oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and support the Vietnamese people is the internationalist duty of the people of the socialist countries and it cannot be shirked. The socialist countries must as a matter of course stand at the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle of the world's people. The Soviet Government has time and again professed its readiness to condemn the U.S. aggression. But when people went to the U.S. Embassy just to show their condemnation and to protest to the aggressors, the Soviet Government trembled with fear lest enemy No. 1 of the world's people should be offended, and its "coexistence" and "coexistence" with U.S. imperialism be wrecked — and did not hesitate to send out large numbers of troops and policemen, resulting in bloodshed. Is it not aware that this is too bare-faced altogether?

The fight against U.S. imperialism has become an irresistible current of our times. We must direct the spearhead of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the most fierce enemy of the people of the world, and never against revolutionary comrades engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle. The use of violence by the Soviet Government to check the surging anti-U.S. tide can only gladden the enemy and cause grief among those near and dear to us. The Soviet Government did what it did completely against the wishes of the great Soviet people and the fundamental interests of the great Soviet Union.

Peoples of all countries in the socialist camp, peoples of China and the Soviet Union, revolutionary peoples of the world, unite in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys!
China Backs Arab People's Just Struggle

by COMMENTATOR

Following is a translation of the article by Commentator which appeared in "Remin Ribao" on March 14. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

U.S. IMPERIALISM'S instigation of the West German government to take a step further in arming Israel by providing it with weapons and munitions has met with strong protests and condemnation from the Arab countries. Not only has the Bonn government refused to put an end to this hostile action against the Arab countries, but with U.S. support has brazenly announced that it will establish diplomatic relations with Israel. This Bonn government attitude has aroused the deep anger of the people of the Arab countries, and many Arab countries have expressed their determination to take concrete steps to retaliate for West Germany's intensified collusion with Israel.

Bonn's decision to establish diplomatic relations with Israel is not only a question of enabling West Germany to claim to be "the sole representative of the German people," as the Bonn authorities and the U.S. Government allege. It is a serious move by U.S. imperialism in intensifying its aggression against the Arab countries.

Israel is a tool of aggression created by U.S. imperialism and a dagger pointed at the heart of the Arab world. It is a special detachment for creating tension in the region and threatening the peace and security of the Arab people. U.S. imperialism has consistently directed Israel to carry out provocations against the Arab countries in an effort to use the situation to perpetrate aggression against and expansion into these countries and to preserve its own colonial interests in the region. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk recently admitted that "we [the U.S.] have a very important interest in the security of Israel." For this reason, the United States has always strongly fostered Israel politically, economically and militarily. West Germany is providing Israel with arms and munitions at U.S. bidding. As the U.S. paper Christian Science Monitor reported, U.S. "pressure" was the "determining factor" in the West German decision.

But U.S. imperialism's hopes are futile. The people of the Arab countries more and more clearly see that it is their most vicious enemy. Recently, Washington's attempt to force the Arab countries to stop supporting the Congolese (Leopoldville) people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism, by threatening to stop "aid" and other shameful measures, was firmly rebuffed by the Arab countries. The giving of arms and munitions to Israel by the United States through West Germany also has been exposed and opposed by the Arab countries. In these circumstances, U.S. imperialism has intensified the use of Israel as a tool to force the Arab countries to submit. In supporting West Germany's further collusion with Israel, the United States wants to openly step up arming Israel by means of West Germany and set up a triple force of aggression consisting of U.S. imperialism, German militarism and Zionism, thus posing a great threat to the independence and security of the Arab states. This, of course, is something that the people of the Arab countries, who are struggling to safeguard their national independence, cannot possibly allow.

As the U.A.R. paper Al Gounhouria pointed out: "Every plot against us was hatched by it [the U.S.] and every danger that threatens us is fostered by the

Statements by Chinese People's Organizations

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the China Islamic Association each issued a statement on March 14 declaring firm support for the Arab people's struggle and resolute opposition to the stepped-up arming of Israel by West Germany under U.S. imperialist instigation.

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity stated that the huge quantity of arms supplied by West German militarists, at the instigation of U.S. imperialism, to speed the arming of Israel seriously threatened the security of the Arab countries and had once again exposed the criminal U.S. imperialist plot of premeditated aggression against the Arab people.

The Chinese people, the statement said, resolutely opposed the further arming of Israel by West German militarism at U.S. imperialism's instigation, and firmly supported the Arab people in their struggle in defence of their independence and sovereignty against U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention.

The China Islamic Association solemnly declared that the Chinese Muslims and all the people of China stood together with the Arab people in resolutely opposing the criminal aggression and interference by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Its statement pointed out that U.S. imperialism had a long history of aggression against and interference in the Arab countries and had long nurtured Israel as a tool for purposes of aggression.

The Chinese Muslims, the statement concluded, strongly believed that the Arab people, with a long and glorious tradition in anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle, would win final victory.
United States.” The struggle of the Arab countries to oppose West Germany giving arms to Israel and to the two ganging up is in fact a struggle against the U.S. imperialist plot of aggression against the Arab states. In this struggle the people of the Arab countries can count on the firm support of all the people in the world who oppose imperialism and love peace.

The Chinese people have consistently supported the people of the Arab countries in their struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, resolutely supported the just demands of the Arab states on the Palestine question and supported the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homeland. The Chinese people firmly oppose U.S. imperialist efforts to make Israel a tool of aggression against the Arab countries. Therefore, we have had nothing to do with Israel and neither will we have anything to do with it in the future. We resolutely support the struggle of the Arab countries against the continued arming of Israel by West Germany at the instigation of U.S. imperialism. We firmly believe that the stepping up of collusion between the Bonn government and Israel cannot frighten the heroic people of the Arab countries. If Bonn is willing to pull Washington's chestnuts out of the fire, it will suffer for it. In the face of the solid unity of the Arab countries and people, any U.S. imperialist scheme of aggression will meet with shameful defeat.

International Communist Movement

Modern Revisionists Cover Up U.S. Imperialist Aggression


The modern revisionists “have not only prettified U.S. imperialism but also have consistently played the role of covering up the imperialists' acts of aggression.” However, the fact that U.S. imperialism is escalating its aggressive war in Viet Nam shows up the bankruptcy of the modern revisionists’ fallacy which is aimed at whitewashing the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism.

The article stresses: “We must not be taken in by the unprincipled policy of ‘peaceful coexistence’ through ‘U.S.-U.S.S.R. co-operation’ which the modern revisionists have advocated. We must defeat this modern revisionist policy and close our ranks to strengthen the fight against U.S. imperialism. Undoubtedly, the growth of the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam and the world will bring about complete failure for modern revisionism.”

The Akahata article says: U.S. imperialism violates the 1954 Geneva agreements and continues its aggression in south Viet Nam. Recently it has repeatedly bombed the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and has blatantly and outrageously expanded the war of aggression in Indo-China.

In order to justify its action, U.S. imperialism, which is in a more and more difficult position as a result of the struggle of the people who rally round the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, has the cheek to tell the world that the brigandage it has carried out was “retaliatory bombing” against “incursions” by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

U.S. imperialism has also forced the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea, the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan and the Philippines which it controls to join the war of aggression against Viet Nam and organize aggressive combined forces in an attempt to expand the south Vietnamese war. This has aroused worldwide protest.

The fact that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism is revealed in all its nakedness has once again brought into sharp focus the true features of the modern revisionists at home and abroad who regard the political representatives of U.S. imperialism as “peaceable” persons.

According to the modern revisionists represented by Khrushchov, Kennedy belonged to the “sensible group” of U.S. imperialism, and to pursue a line of “friendship” with the government led by this “sensible group” is to pursue the policy of “peaceful coexistence.”

The U.S. plan to launch another invasion of Cuba should have shattered this illusion long ago. However, this illusion continues to haunt the revisionists. Not only that. After the death of Kennedy, they again extolled his successor, Johnson, as one of the “sensible group” and pinned their hopes of “peace” on him.

A characteristic feature of this line of the modern revisionists, which is clearly refuted by the Akahata commentator’s article “Kennedy and U.S. Imperialism,” consists of their alleged discovery of two essentially different groups among the ranks of the U.S. imperialists, the ultra-Rightist warlike group and the “sensible” group.

In this way revisionists decked out the President of the United States, who represents monopoly capital,
as a person who tried to hold down the "warlike group" and strove to preserve peace. They contended that so long as the "sensible group" kept the "warlike group" under control, imperialism itself could be "peaceful." This is nothing but an attempt to embellish imperialism.

But facts speak louder than words. Despite the eagerness of the modern revisionists to palm off the political representatives of U.S. imperialism as "sensible persons," the fact remains that these people have engaged in aggression against Cuba and Viet Nam and have persisted in their policy of "containing China."

However, the revisionists, instead of examining their own errors in the light of these facts, resorted to even more deceptive tactics. They went so far as to deny the fundamental difference between imperialism and socialism and to compare Marxist-Leninists to the "warlike forces." In doing so, they wanted to provide proof for their own illusion—"peaceful" imperialism—and to shift the responsibility of the imperialists for committing aggression on to others.

Furthermore, the moment President Johnson declared his intention to continue executing Kennedy's policy, the modern revisionists chanted their approval in unison. Later, they supported Johnson against Goldwater in the U.S. presidential elections. The revisionists had lost sight of the fact that both the Democratic and Republican Parties are parties of U.S. monopoly capital. On the contrary, they concluded that the theory that no difference exists between the two parties was already outmoded. Their aim was to use this argument to "justify" their apology for imperialism.

"There is no other argument that more seriously distorts the essence of the issue. As a matter of fact, at a time when U.S. imperialism—which is the main bulwark of world reaction, an international gendarme and an enemy of the peoples of the whole world (Moscow Statement)—led by President Johnson is engaging in a war of aggression, it is shameless sophistry to contend that there are other forces clamoring for a more naked policy of war, and that it is therefore necessary to concentrate one's fire on those forces, thus helping to whitewash the criminal responsibility of the imperialist government engaging in a war of aggression.... In fact, U.S. imperialism is adopting the ideas of the 'warlike group,' and is formulating and pursuing policies of war and aggression.

"It can therefore be said that the revisionists have not only prettified U.S. imperialism, but have consistently played the role of covering up the imperialists' acts of aggression."

In contrast with the arguments of the modern revisionists at home and abroad, U.S. imperialism has made Lyndon Johnson its political representative and has been engaging in war and aggression.

The United States, led by Johnson, is waiting for an opportunity to unleash aggression against Cuba. In Africa, it is pressing ahead with a policy of aggression in the Congo. In Asia, in particular, it has been intensifying military aggression and provocations against south Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. It flagrantly launched a military attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam last August in the Gulf of Tonkin and repeatedly bombed that country recently.

U.S. imperialism is also vigorously pushing its policy of "containing China." Everywhere in Asia, it continues to prepare for nuclear war and pursue the policy of nuclear blackmail. The United States is trying to make Japan a member of an anti-communist military alliance and further involve it in aggressive acts in Asia. The stationing of U.S. nuclear submarines twice at Sasebo, the conclusion of the "Japan-South Korea Basic Treaty" and the increases of "aid" to south Viet Nam have been undertaken as part of the U.S. imperialists' system of nuclear aggression.

Moreover, in his State of the Union Message, Johnson, who has been intensifying U.S. imperialist aggressive acts, has reaffirmed the shopworn "two-faced tactics" of Kennedy (the policy of intensifying aggression under the cloak of peace), and at the same time, he has declared his intention to continue U.S. aggression against Viet Nam. Such is the performance by U.S. imperialism represented by Johnson, who is lauded to the skies by the modern revisionists as a member of the "sensible group."

However, in the face of U.S. imperialism's expansion of its war of aggression in Indo-China, the modern revisionists still unrepentantly cherish illusions about U.S. imperialism. Instead of regarding such aggressive actions as originating in the nature of imperialism, they describe it as an action taken by Johnson under the pressure of the "diehards."

This is obviously a replica of the apology for imperialism that Johnson was originally "peaceful" but is compelled to take aggressive actions under the pressure of the ultra-Rightists.

In fact, this assertion has been ingeniously used to blunt the struggle against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression. It has been stated in the U.S. press that "a comparatively small group of Americans.... is doing its best to multiply the perils and frustrations of the war in Southeast Asia." (New York Times.) This statement coincides with the assertion of the revisionists that Johnson is a "sensible" man who has been compelled to take aggressive actions.

Clearly, this argument objectively helps U.S. imperialism to find a theoretical justification for the two-faced tactics which are its basic tactics.

"The fact that U.S. imperialism is stepping up its aggressive war in Viet Nam and the fact that the Vietnamese people are waging a liberation struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression prove once again that the assertions of the modern revisionists are illusions and are fallacies to gloss over the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. These facts also testify to the bankruptcy of the theories of modern revisionism."
On the Struggle for a Principled Marxist Stand

An article stressing the need to repudiate thoroughly the reformist ideas and fuse the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teachings with the workers' movement in Australia in order to build up a new-type Marxist party which integrates theory with practice was carried in the No. 9 (December 1964) issue of "The Australian Communist," theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). Excerpts from the article follow. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

THE article says: "True, the development of capitalism in Australia together with the successful socialist revolution in the Soviet Union did result in the formation of a Communist Party in Australia in 1920—a formal step was taken in the direction of acquiring rational knowledge and the development of revolutionary activity.

"However, although here and there efforts were made to break through the economism which was a feature of the Australian labour movement, in fact it was never achieved within the framework of this old Communist Party.

"To understand fully the final abandonment of Marxism by the leadership of this Party in 1962, and their complete conversion to revisionist positions, we need to look further than the pressures and manoeuvrings of the 1960s. We need to go back over the whole period of the 40 years existence of the old C.P. of A. to appreciate that despite the desires and wishes of a big majority of its members to embrace the ideology of Marxism, it failed to do thorough, consistent battle with the ideas of reformism."

The article points out that it is necessary to make further study of Sharkey’s "Trade Unions," "The History of the Australian Labour Movement" and "Socialism in Australia" to see whether or not they bear the imprint of that approach which Lenin devoted so much of his time to combating—the imprint of economism.

For example—Sharkey wrote "Socialism in Australia" in the middle 50s. It was a reply to G.D.H. Cole's "World Socialism Restated" and Dr. Burton's "Labour in Transition." Sharkey takes Professor Cole to task on questions of interpretation of Marxist political economy. Ironically enough, many of these propositions of Cole are now being used by Sharkey's colleagues to justify their claims about the "exceptional" character of Australian capitalist economy, the relative "prosperity" of the Australian workers, the absence of "misery" in Australia, etc.

The article says: "Sharkey then proceeds to discuss these Labour Party proposals with which he disagrees in the light of 'Marxism.' On page 46 of the same pamphlet, he says: 'our Party Programme commits us to the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, that is, without armed insurrection.' In other words, in the name of the Communist Party, he commits the Communist Party to parliamentarism."

Quoting a passage from Lenin's letter to the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolshevik) the article points out that the above-mentioned proposal of Sharkey completely runs counter to Lenin's viewpoints. Lenin pointed out in this letter that where the conditions for revolution exist, 'it would be a betrayal of Marxism and of the revolution to refuse to consider insurrection as an art.'

This passage has been included for the purpose of showing that the views of Sharkey had nothing in common with Marx and Lenin on this question. It has been included to show that Sharkey was refuting Labour Party reformist theories in the name of Communism—of Marxism—with a statement which is non-Marxist!

Moreover, Sharkey shows in all of this concluding section of his pamphlet that this is no accidental matter—no small slip on his part. The concluding section discusses loosely a "genuine, socialist, people's government" and "in a socialist society, parliament would remain as the organ of government."

Sharkey, in the name of Marxism, rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat but no word of protest was heard from any of us about these or any other words. So the criticism must be one which is not only levelled against Sharkey, but must point to a general absence of theoretical clarity in the old Communist Party.

Much has already been written in recent times about Sharkey's incorrect analysis of the A.L.P. itself—his designation of that party as a "two class Party" instead of a party of capitalism enjoying the support of the working class.

The article points out, "Opportunist tendencies, present for a long time, developed into full-fledged revisionism in most of the leaders of the old C.P. of A. But it also had its other side. It brought the realization to a number of the full import and pending disaster for the Australian working class movement when opportunist tendencies were allowed to run unchecked. For the first time in the history of the revolutionary movement in Australia, the ground was set for a qualitative leap forward in the struggle to acquire rational knowledge, to understand the revolutionary import of Marx and Lenin's teachings—to integrate these with Australian
conditions — to fuse socialist theory with the Australian working-class movement.

"It still requires much effort — possibly painful effort — to master theory more effectively and in the process of practice to examine the inroads of U.S. imperialism into Australia — to carry out the fundamental task of criticism of the ideology of reformism — the ideology which acts as a brake upon the working-class movement. But unquestionably the first steps have been taken.

"It follows from all this that if one wishes to avoid the mistakes of the past, a firm Marxist ideology must at all times take up a principled revolutionary stand — it must unceasingly wage war upon opportunism — upon the ideas of the ruling class in the working-class movement."

The article then criticizes the wrong stand taken by the Australian revisionist group in the senate elections held in December, last year. The group printed a statement in the Guardian of November 18, in connection with the senate election, making its starting point the extraordinary view that "world tension has eased!"

"This, in face of stepped-up U.S. imperialist action in south Viet Nam — U.S. threats against Laos and Cambodia — increased tension between Indonesia and neo-colonialist Malaysia — to say nothing of Menzies' bellicose threats against Indonesia — the war going on in the Congo — the proposal to issue NATO with nuclear weapons. In fact, even in their own statement they cannot avoid making some mention of these things — directly refuting their own conclusion that 'world tension has eased.'"

"But instead of a clear warning on the plans of U.S. imperialism these things are glossed over and Menzies' proposals for conscription and increased 'defence' expenditure are presented rather as a stunt in connection with the senate elections.

"How can this be? It stems, initially, from revisionist estimates on a world scale that U.S. imperialism in general is no longer a militarist, violent character. There are supposedly progressive U.S. imperialists (Johnson and the late President Kennedy) and reactionary U.S. imperialists (Goldwater). Therefore, every effort is made to overlook the facts — the acts of aggression for which this supposedly progressive section of U.S. imperialism is responsible no longer mean aggression — tension is relaxed.

"The theory reaches its fulfilment with the attitude to the Labour Party. If one opposes U.S. imperialist aggression, it follows one must oppose the policy and activity of the Labour Party leaders because these leaders are fully committed to support of U.S. imperialism.

"Crawling on their hands and knees, begging for some unity with these A.L.P. leaders (leaders who have betrayed the working class again and again), the revisionist leaders of the C.P. will not criticize from a fundamental class standpoint but will gloss over unpleasant truths and fasten upon something around which they can call for 'unified action.' They fail to see, or in fact have never understood, that the masses will rise in struggle any way, against those measures which would oppress them."

The article stresses that hand-in-hand with the battle for a firm Marxist ideology is the effort to build up a Marxist party of a new type. "Again here too, much of value can be learnt from the mistakes of the old party — what not to do can be seen much more clearly.

"One of the most outstanding errors of the old C.P. was the separation of theory from practice. On the one hand were what was termed the 'practical workers' — on the other hand 'the theoreticians.' The practical workers were usually lost in the mass movement because without a firm revolutionary theory they lost course — had no idea how to participate in struggle and fuse socialist theory with this mass movement. They simply had no theory.

"The 'theoreticians' in the main consisted of the full-time workers who were far removed from the actual struggle — who spent most of their days and nights, too, discussing things amongst themselves or directing the mass worker on how to carry out the work of which they themselves had had no experience.

"This method of work completely violates the fundamental connection between knowing and doing — the process of study — applying the limited knowledge we acquire to social practice, to the field of class struggle — returning enriched to our study again — back to social practice on a higher level and so on. Always with the final objective in mind — the creation of a revolutionary organization to carry out its revolutionary tasks.

"This in no way suggests that one must directly experience everything. That in itself is an impossibility. A great deal is also learnt from the experience of social practice of others — but it can only be properly learnt, it can only become real knowledge, if one is also participating directly in the mass struggle, if one has roots deep among the masses.

"So that a really revolutionary organization must end the separation of theory and practice. Every member must understand the unbreakable connection between knowing and doing. Only thus will the organization consist of people of a 'new mould' — people steeped in revolutionary theory and practice — putting an end to the diffuse, undisciplined groping of people who would follow their own particular bent or idea — creating an 'organization that will be ready at any moment to support every protest and every outbreak and to utilize these for the purpose of increasing and strengthening the military forces fit for the decisive battle.' (Lenin)

"So the Marxist party is created in life, in a struggle. Neither its formal setting-up or the building of its
branches, is a matter of making a pronouncement, of declaring ourselves to be in existence."

The article concludes by saying: "Already we have many things in our favour.

"We have a core of enthusiastic people who have emerged from the first real battle against deep-seated opportunist ideas and organization. . . .

Report From Liaoning

Technical Co-operation

Solves Problems—Improves Technology—Increases Production

LIAONING Province, one of the country's major heavy industrial centres in the northeast, reports good results from a new form of technical co-operation initiated by the workers in 1961.

In this movement outstanding workers and technicians, teachers and scientific research personnel pool their knowledge to solve pressing technical problems. They sum up and popularize the best technical experience, improve equipment and technology and try out new methods. This form of technical co-operation and mutual instruction has been most effective in raising scientific and technical standards.

Now four years old, the movement has 130,000 activists in over 1,500 enterprises in nine major industrial and mining cities and two railway centres of Liaoning Province. In the first half of 1964 alone they solved more than 18,000 industrial problems, introduced 36,000 technical innovations and popularized over 13,000 improved methods of work. This gave a big boost to production and provided excellent education in the socialist spirit of mutual aid.

Those taking part have been widely commended for their initiative and sense of responsibility. Their achievements have been highly appraised as an effective way of putting into practice the spirit of the general line for socialist construction put forward by the Communist Party—"to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism."

Started by Advanced Workers

These activities were initiated in Liaoning by a group of model workers of Shenyang, a centre of the engineering industry, in the summer of 1961. At that time, China's national economy was facing a number of temporary difficulties as a result of three successive years of natural calamities and other factors. To cope with the situation, the Central Committee of the Party proposed the Eight-Character* principle for readjusting the national economy and also posed the new tasks of improving the quality and increasing the variety of industrial products. In June, a conference of outstanding workers was convened in Shenyang and it concluded with a call to all advanced workers to take the lead in working hard and creatively to make the country prosperous and self-reliant.

It was in answer to this call that Wu Chia-chu, an engineer in the Shenyang Air Compressor Factory, went into action. Wu was born in a poor-peasant family and had been a beggar in the old society before he became a worker and then an engineer. He now made the rounds of neighbouring factories canvassing support for a special effort. He told his colleagues: "We workers who worked hard when things were going well should show even greater energy and initiative in time of difficulty." He and his colleagues decided to boost industrial production by popularizing the advanced experience accumulated since 1958 and pooling their efforts to solve urgent technical problems.

As a first step, they began by organizing technical co-operation among themselves. Wu helped a neighbouring tractor plant build a vibration lapping machine which he had himself successfully developed. In their turn, the workers of the tractor plant made hard-alloy grinding wheels for Wu's factory to replace those using emery. This gave great economies and increased efficiency.

Wu then thought: the greater the number of workers taking part in this technical co-operation, the more effective it would be. He and his friends visited 24 factories and within a month had recruited another 80 workers. The Shenyang Federation of Trade Unions now took a hand and sent out cadres to mobilize more workers for the movement. Soon the first meeting to share technical experience was convened under the sponsorship of the federation. Here advanced workers exhibited their new innovations and inventions and described their improved methods of work. The growing movement began yielding good results and was warmly welcomed by the administrations, staffs and workers of the various enterprises. Shortly afterwards.

*The eight Chinese characters mean in English "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards."

We have publications which can analyse not only the breadth of revolutionary struggle on a world scale but can apply this to our own reality in Australia. . . .

"Finally, we have a vast reservoir of support among the masses, who contrary to the revisionists' views, respond eagerly to the truth of Marxist-Leninist ideas. It is our job to make this truth available."

Peking Review, No. 12
with the support of the leading authorities of Shenyang, a committee for mass technical co-operation was set up and activities were put on an organized and planned basis.

Old Workers Reveal Trade Secrets

Later, as the scheme became better known, more and more enterprises began sending in technical problems for solution and these became increasingly complex. Finding that they could not be tackled solely through exchange of experience among the advanced workers alone, veteran workers and technicians with special lines of knowledge were invited to join in puzzling them out.

The first veteran worker in the welding trade to join these activities was Lu Teh-shun. In the past, he had devoted most of his leisure to fishing. But after going in for technical co-operation, he became as enthusiastic about it as he had previously been about bait. He in turn persuaded Yang Chen-meng, a veteran welder with over thirty years experience, to join in. Old Yang has a rare knowledge of his trade. Some of it he had learnt from his old master as an apprentice before liberation. When telling the youngster his trade secrets the old master had admonished him: "It is because you always help and respect me that I am passing on this technique to you. With this skill, you can be sure of a livelihood. But never tell others about it!" Yang followed this advice until liberation. The old society had a saying: "Teaching the apprentice starves the master!" That has gone for good. Learning that in the socialist era "all are for the collective and the collective is for all," Yang gave his trade secrets to the people. Now an eager participant in technical co-operation, he passes on to all who want to learn the more than 40 welding methods he mastered with so much difficulty in the old days. His example has been an impressive proof of the fact that the "new society has emancipated not only man but technique."

Following his example, thousands of other skilled veterans have actively joined in technical co-operation and unreservedly pass on their "secrets" to the younger generation either at technical forums or demonstrations or by taking on apprentices.

Three in One

With the encouragement of the Communist Party organizations and the trade union, college teachers and scientific research personnel have also joined the movement. Such joint "three-in-one" efforts with college teachers, scientific research personnel and workers working in close co-operation can be particularly effective. To take one example: With the help of the metallurgist Wu Ting-ming, one veteran worker of the air compressor factory has written a summary of his special technique for cutting thick steel sections. He has given a full description of improved cutting tools which can slice through a steel section with a diameter of 600 mm. The two have also jointly written a monograph entitled "On Designing Cutting Tools for Thick Steel Sections," and the new cutting torch they designed has been put into production. Several score such monographs and summaries of experience have been done jointly by workers and specialists.

These joint activities with their worker colleagues have enabled teaching and research staff to increase their knowledge of operational techniques. By combining theory and practice better, they have been able to improve teaching texts greatly and also make new advances in scientific research.

With increasing experience, technical co-operation is being better organized and planned. It is developing on an ever larger scale and in new directions. The municipal departments in charge of industry are taking a bigger hand in it. With an eye to the key problems and long-term industrial programme of Shenyang, they give the co-operative groups special assignments and on occasions organize specialized groups to solve particularly important and urgent technical problems. In this way technical co-operation is testing and developing new techniques.

Among the many notable results of this large-scale co-operation is a high-voltage mercury lamp which gives a bright light even when the temperature is as low as 40°C. This lamp was successfully produced after repeated studies and experiments by one such specialized group formed by the factories, scientific research
departments, technical co-operation activists and veteran workers.

The specialized technical research groups set up in Shenyang developed about one thousand new techniques and new processes in 1964 alone. They successfully trial-manufactured hundreds of new products including a high-grade lubricant for precision machine tools, the first of its kind ever made in China.

This extensive technical co-operation between factories and scientific research institutions in experimental work and production has widened the outlook of participants and made them bolder in searching out new techniques.

Fostering the Communist Style of Work

These outstanding workers, who cheerfully took on extra burdens at a time when the country was facing difficulties and on their own initiative took the lead in fostering technical co-operation, are not the sort of people who hanker after fame and rewards. Their aim is to serve socialism wholeheartedly. They look on other's difficulties as their own and take an immense pride in their work. Once they get to grips with a problem, they do not rest until they get a solution. Their activities recall Lenin's words in his article on Communist Subbotniks: "Communism begins when the rank-and-file-workers begin to display a self-sacrificing concern that is undaunted by arduous toil for increasing productivity of labour, for husbanding every pood of grain, coal, iron and other products, which do not accrue to the workers personally or to their 'close' kith and kin, but to their 'distant' kith and kin. I.e., to society as a whole..."

Through these activities of technical co-operation the advanced working people of Liaoning have spread abroad a knowledge both of up-to-date techniques and of advanced ideas. They learn from and help each other technically and at the same time speed the general political advance.

Technical co-operation stimulates the broad mass of workers and staff to work hard to accelerate progress and create a prosperous country; it fosters the noble ideals and way of life of socialism. Mutual aid in study has become general among Liaoning's workers and staff. In off-hours or at weekends, young and veteran workers, technicians, experts and professors and administrative personnel can be seen together pooling ideas on technical problems. Under the enthusiastic instruction of the veteran workers, the younger generation is throwing itself heart and soul into mastering techniques and improving their skills. The intellectuals from scientific and technical circles who join in these activities have developed a great admiration for the rich experience of the advanced and veteran workers: they are also deeply impressed by their fine qualities of selflessness, helpfulness and frankness.

Inspired by the example of Liaoning, workers and staff and teaching and scientific research personnel in other provinces are taking up technical co-operation on a big scale.

—SHIH MING

Pen Probes

Thou Shalt Kill....

EVEN if men, women and children come running to you... begging for mercy, don't hesitate. Just shoot. To kill. Thus were the imperialist hired killers given their orders during last November's "humanitarian operation" in the Congo (L).

At the United Nations chief U.S. delegate Stevenson rose to the occasion on behalf of "the white man's burden" and manfully mumbled the high-sounding platitudes his bosses felt were needed. It seems that Washington "provided air transport for a mission of mercy"; Brussels provided the paratroopers to take part in this "moral, legal, humanitarian action"; and London allowed the use of airfield facilities on Ascension Island "in the light of the humanitarian objective of this action."

Some details of just how nauseating these imperialist protestations of humanitarianism were are to be found in a recent series appearing in the British newspaper News of the World. The author, Geoff Munn, served with African quisling Moise Tshombe's American-paid mercenary forces.

A familiar command. "In charge of our party," wrote Munn, "was a young English lieutenant" who ordered them to move on the nearest village and "take it apart. "It was a familiar enough command... We would turn up unexpectedly, open fire without warning and then race through the place, burning every pathetic shanty and shack to the ground, regardless of who might be inside."

"It was just before dusk when we came up to the place. Unsuspecting women were hustling around... children were playing in the dust.... "We paused for a few moments... then came the order: 'Fire.'"

"There was a great crackle of shots from machine-guns and our deadly new Belgian F.N. rifles. Women screamed and fell. Little children just stood there dazed, or cart-wheeled hideously as bullets slammed into them.

"Then, as usual, we raced into the place, still firing as we went. Some of us pitched cans of petrol on to the homes before putting a match to them... For a while, as we raced along, there was bedlam. Shrieks, moans, shrill cries for mercy. And above all the throaty, half-crazed bellowing of those Commandos among us who quite obviously dearly loved this sort of thing...."
ROUND THE WORLD

In the Land of Jim-Crowism

Coast-to-Coast Civil Rights Demonstrations

For the seventh successive day American Negroes and sympathetic whites demonstrated in Washington to protest against the bloody suppression of civil rights demonstrators in Selma and other parts of racist Alabama. On this second Sunday in March more than 15,000 people went on the streets, and 1,500 of them assembled, as on the previous few days, before the White House to voice their protests against the rampant racialism in the rural south. A make-believe coffin carried by demonstrators in nearby Lafayette Square where a rally heard anti-segregationist speeches for two hours had three words inscribed on it: Law, Order, Justice.

This protest action in the American capital is just one instance of the many and swiftly growing demonstrations now spreading from one end of the United States to the other.

From hundreds the number of people taking part in the demonstrations has swollen to thousands and tens of thousands. Not only are the big cities from New York to San Francisco, from Chicago to Montgomery, marching with Selma. Small cities are being drawn into the movement for Negro civil rights, too.

The current series of demonstrations erupted early this year in Selma, a city of some 30,000 souls in what is known as the Black Belt of the southern United States. Of the 15,000 Negro population in Selma less than one per cent has been allowed to register as voters. Serious obstacles, including physical violence, prevent them from exercising their minimum rights under the American Constitution. Negroes who wish to vote are given a so-called literacy test, a tangle of legal technicalities which the American press agrees even Chief Justice Earl Warren of the Federal Supreme Court could not pass. So on one early January day the Negroes in Selma began to fight for their voting rights, which are also supposedly guaranteed to them by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Alabama state authorities led by the racial supremacist governor turned the police and state troopers loose on the Selma demonstrators. These latter included in their ranks, here as in other cities, just-minded whites who abhor Jim-Crow practices and injustice to the Negroes. Truncheons, cattle prods and tear gas and worse were used against the demonstrators who kept up the struggle. There were deaths and many arrests. By the end of February nearly one quarter of the Negro population in Selma alone had been arrested for attempting to register or for protesting against discrimination in voter registration.

The struggle waged by the Negroes in Selma and other cities of Alabama, and the solidarity demonstrations staged elsewhere in the United States have served to dramatize the fraudulent character of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

March 19, 1965
Rights Act so loudly paraded by the Johnson Administration as an act of benevolence towards the Negro people. High-falutin' language is used in the Act, but the provisions have no practical value when it comes to enforcement. On February 4 President Johnson declared sanctimoniously that the Federal Government would apply the measures set forth in the Act to safeguard voting rights to the Negroes. But what action did the Johnson Administration take to apply these measures? None at all. Instead it asked the Negroes to keep “calm” and promised them more legislation while they were being hounded, hacked and gunned down.

Robert Williams, the exiled Negro freedom fighter, denounced the Johnson Administration for unleashing unmitigated terror against black women and children in America. “In Alabama,” he said, “the savagery of the American social system, the conscience of her jungle society, her concept of law, order, justice, morality and human rights, stand bare and naked before the entire world.”

Yes, all this stands bare and naked before the continent of Africa, the home of the ancestors of today's American Negroes, where the feeling has always been strong against the brutal oppression of Afro-Americans in the United States. More and more the people of Africa have come to see the difference between what the U.S. Government preaches and what it practises, both at home and abroad. A typical comment appears in the Ghanaian Evening News (March 13) under the title *Imperialism Should Be Crushed*: “Americans cannot hate black men in the United States and love them in Africa.”

The article also points out that “racism in the United States is first and foremost an instrument of exploitation.” That is true indeed. The Negro struggle in the United States today cannot stop at the winning of illusive “civil rights.” It must go to the root of the question—to the class nature of racial discrimination and all it stands for. In the final analysis, the struggle is one between exploiters and the exploited. For the Negro demonstrators of Selma and elsewhere in the United States, real freedom lies in keeping up the struggle and carrying it forward till the system that enslaves them body and mind is finally eliminated.

*International Commission*

**U.S. Tool in Viet Nam**

When the International Commission on Viet Nam was set up in 1954, it was given the specific task of controlling and supervising the implementation of the Geneva agreements. The record of its performance is an atrocious one. In the past ten years it has utterly failed to discharge its duties, and conspicuously so since the United States last August chose to embark upon open aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

On February 7 the United States began mounting large-scale air attacks on the D.R.V. in flagrant violation of the Geneva agreements. Despite the worldwide roar of condemnation, the commission saw fit to remain deaf and dumb. A week passed before it presented on February 13 a curious “special report” to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference.

First of all, this special report deliberately avoids making any distinction between right and wrong, between the aggressor and the victim. While it mentions “violations of the Geneva agreement,” it does not identify the violator nor draw the conclusion that U.S. imperialism is responsible. It merely asks the Co-Chairmen to consider issuing an “urgent appeal to all parties concerned” to prevent a deterioration in the situation. By mentioning the D.R.V. in the same breath as the U.S. aggressor and so tarring it with the same brush, the International Commission has slandered the D.R.V. in the interests of U.S. imperialism.

Secondly, the Indian chairman of the International Commission did yeoman service for the Johnson Administration by speaking for it and whitewashing its crimes. That the Indian member should do so is not strange. The Shastri Administration has no intention of offending its American patrons who are taking heavy punishment at the hands of the people's forces in south Viet Nam. Time and again the Indian Prime Minister, who is at one with the International Commission in muddying the issue, plugs for a cessation of hostilities and the “convening of a Geneva-type conference to find a peaceful solution.”

Thirdly, even the absurdities of the special report do not satisfy the Canadian member of the commission. Echoing Washington, he issued a separate statement in which he repeats the U.S. State Department's charges about “aggression by the north.” The D.R.V. Ministry of Foreign Affairs has shown how the Canadian delegate has distorted the facts in his vain attempt to absolve the U.S. from its crime.

This is not the first time that the International Commission has served
as a tool of U.S. aggression. In all the ten years of its existence the commission, manipulated by India and Canada, two of the three members (the third being Poland), has winked at the violations of the Geneva agreements by the United States, whether open or concealed. It has spared no effort to blacken the D.R.V. But in issuing the “special report” the International Commission has blackened not the D.R.V. but itself.

Washington at Bay

Tito Holds Brief From Johnson

Yugoslav President Tito who seldom fails to put himself at the disposal of his American paymasters has again endeared himself to Washington. The United States, bogged down in south Viet Nam, finds this climactic the war leading to the danger of greater fiascos. At this hour Tito has come forward with ideas on how to get the United States out of its impossible position in south Viet Nam.

For some time Tito and the Yugoslav press have been peddling a proposal for a “political settlement” through “peaceful negotiations.” As keen as Shastri and Co. in coming to Washington’s rescue, and actually working closely with New Delhi on the job, the Titonite clique has said not a word to condemn U.S. aggression or to demand the withdrawal of U.S. forces from south Viet Nam. Instead, it advocates a political settlement “without prerequisites from any party,” a fraud wrapped up in a cloak of pseudo-impartiality. This was made pretty clear by Tito himself whose letter of March 2 to the U.S. President said that the scheme would “directly benefit” the U.S. Government.

Lyndon Johnson was naturally indebted to Tito, and said so in his reply on March 13, a mark of appreciation which Tanjug, the Yugoslav news agency, gleefully stressed. Johnson also praised Tito for his “understanding” of the American position and expressed the hope that he would reflect this understanding when he communicated with the leaders of other countries. In plain language, what the American President has asked of Tito is that he speaks in defence of U.S. aggression in Viet Nam.

Bonn Gangs Up With Tel Aviv

Arab Ambassadors Recalled

The Foreign Ministers of the Arab countries who concluded a two-day special conference in Cairo on March 15 have decided to “sever diplomatic relations with West Germany if she exchanges diplomatic representation with Israel.” A communiqué issued after the meeting outlines the common stand the Arab countries will take to deal with Bonn’s open provocation and its intrigues with the United States to give diplomatic status to Israel.

Apart from the immediate withdrawal of all Arab ambassadors from Bonn, the measures include support for the United Arab Republic in its stand against West Germany and, if necessary, breaking off economic relations with West Germany. The Political Committee of the Arab League and Arab Economic Ministers, the communiqué says, will meet, if necessary, to decide on an economic boycott, its extent and the means to implement it.

The communiqué draws attention to what lies behind the plan to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. It says Bonn’s decision is “a challenge to the Arab countries and shows that the West German Government is in the Middle East at the service of an imperialist and Zionist plan and to strengthen Israel’s acts of aggression against the Arab states.”

The move taken by the Erhard government following consultations with Washington has aroused strong opposition in the Arab countries. A rally of several thousand was held in Khartoum (Sudan) the day Israel announced that it would exchange diplomatic representation with West Germany. U.S. imperialism was recognized as the enemy of all Arab people and denounced. The demonstrators shouted: “Down with the dollar!” “U.S. aid cannot hold us down!”

Tanzania Rejects Bonn’s “Aid”

Lean Liberty and Fat Slavery

In a message to President Nyerere, Oscar S. Kambona, the Tanzanian Foreign Minister, said with reference to the President’s decision to ask West Germany to terminate all forms of aid: “We cherish our independence above everything else and would prefer to live poor in complete freedom than to be rich under foreign dictation and enslavement.” Naturally a proud people prefer lean liberty to fat slavery.

On February 28 the West German Ambassador in Dar-es-Salaam was summoned by President Nyerere and told that in view of Bonn’s decision to withdraw from Tanzania all military personnel provided under its aid programme he now wished all other West German assistance to be terminated forthwith. Bonn’s act of blackmail had been intended to browbeat the Tanzanian Government into changing its mind about the establishment of a consulate-general by the German Democratic Republic in Dar-es-Salaam. In point of fact, the Erhard regime was invoking the now much discredited “Hallstein Doctrine.” (See Peking Review, No. 3, February 19.)

President Nyerere’s rebuff to the West Germans for their attempt to interfere in Tanzania’s internal affairs has received widespread support in the country. The Executive Council of the National Union of Tanzanyika Workers gave full support and pledged their readiness to “build this country without imperialist and colonial aid which is full of selfish strings.” The Institute of Tanzanyika Journalists stressed that “the motto of all progressive developing nations is independence and self-reliance.” The Tanzibar News Service hailed the President’s decision as one that has also “dealt a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which has been supporting West Germany to further its own interests in Tanzania and the world and playing the bully in Tanzania and elsewhere.”
"Letters From the South"

... As soon as U.S. imperialism plunged into south Viet Nam, it was engulfed by the people as by a boundless sea. . . .


The theme of the south Vietnamese people's magnificent fight against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys is currently being brought to the Chinese stage in plays, Chinese-style operas and other productions.

In September 1964, following the U.S.-fabricated "Bac Bo Gulf Incident," soldier-artists of a modern drama company of the Chinese People's Liberation Army put on in Peking the first play on a Vietnamese theatre theme under the title "Letters From the South." It was an immediate hit. Theatrical troupes in other cities followed its example. Productions on the same theme were staged in ten different Shanghai theatres. Southwest across the country in Kweiyang, Kweichow Province, a Peking opera of the same title has been attracting full houses.

"Letters From the South" as produced by the P.L.A. modern drama troupe in Peking takes Chinese audiences into a "strategic hamlet" of south Viet Nam — a product of U.S. "special warfare." The play reveals the crimes of murder, torture and pillage that go on behind the barbed wire and bamboo palings that encircle the "hamlet"; it shows too the unquenchable resistance of the people. The rising flames of their struggle counter-encircle the enemy until it can find no escape. . . .

The fast-moving plot is woven around Ah Hsia, a young woman textile worker of the city who is fired for taking part in a strike. Returning to her native village, she is driven into a "strategic hamlet." The villagers are ready with picks and pikes, shovels and spears. In a co-ordinated action, they wipe out the enemy garrison, and come to Ah Hsia's rescue just before she is to be executed.

The play is centred on one "strategic hamlet," but its scope extends far beyond to show many aspects of the co-ordinated struggle for liberation. The second act, in the forests, gives a revealing picture of the revolutionary optimism and spirit of the guerrillas. The third, in which Ah Hsia contacts the city underground, takes place in a city bar. It is a vivid illustration of the way experienced underground fighters operate under a white terror. Another act in the puppet police headquarters, and yet another on an enemy warship in port. From village to forest, city to sea port, the people are shown taking up arms, fighting, and winning.

Ah Hsia is expertly portrayed by the young actress Chang Meng-ti. She is the embodiment of fearless south Vietnamese youth. Uncle Four, Ah Hsia's mother and Grandpa Lacching are other memorable characters.

The setting, atmosphere and spirit of fighting south Viet Nam has been successfully recreated. In this, the
3.7 Million Copies Sold

The play Letters From the South and other dramas about south Viet Nam were written by Chinese playwrights on the basis of two volumes of Letters From the South.

These slim volumes, of a hundred-odd pages each, are two of the most moving books to reach Chinese readers from abroad. They comprise 47 letters received in the Viet Nam Democratic Republic from relatives and friends in south Viet Nam, and were originally published in Chinese by the Foreign Languages Press of Viet Nam in 1964. Peking's Writers' Publishing House reprinted them, and sales in China are approaching the 4 million mark.

North and south Viet Nam have been torn asunder by the U.S. imperialists and south Vietnamese reactionaries who have turned the 17th parallel into an iron barrier. Husbands and wives, fathers and sons, sweethearts and friends on the two sides of it can sometimes communicate with each other only by the most circuitous routes. Forwarded sympathetically from hand to hand, not a few of these letters travelled by bus, train, ship or plane over the vast spaces of Asia, Africa and the Americas before reaching their destinations.

With utmost simplicity, the letter-writers set down news of themselves, relatives and friends. Yet these simple communications are the stuff of history. They paint an indelible picture of a people whose heroic spirit will triumph over the enemy.

Besides plays and operas, they have inspired a six-part orchestral suite, sets of woodcuts, pictures, sculptures and many other works of art.

Chinese producers received valuable help from Vietnamese friends in China. The strains of the tragic, heroic song and guitar accompaniment that drift over the "strategic hamlet" at the opening curtain is a Vietnamese comrade's contribution. Another suggested the American helmet used by the guerrillas as a pot — one of those details that give that added touch of reality. The Vietnamese comrades were endlessly diligent as advisers in regard to acting, decor and costumes. Their unstinted words of praise for their Chinese comrades after the show were the best encouragement.

CULTURE

Shanghai's Rural Amateur Writers

The villages about China's largest industrial city are lively centres of amateur literary and theatrical activity. A whole crop of young amateurs — short-story writers, playwrights, composers, librettists — 1,180 to date, have appeared from among the peasants in Shanghai's rural areas. They have written a large number of poems, stories, songs and ballads and many plays and operas on contemporary revolutionary themes.

At festivals of rural amateur theatrical activities held last year in the Shanghai area, 1,190 of their compositions were staged by amateur groups of the rural people's communities. In homespun, punchy language these items dramatized the everyday life of the farms and realistically portrayed the advanced people of the countryside and their high moral qualities. Rural audiences were delighted with them.

Audiences demanded a realism that reflected life today in its revolutionary movement and they set high artistic standards. Judged by these criteria, the local Shanghai hujia-style opera Spring Ploughing was one of the most popular items. It relates how the clandestine activities of the class enemy are exposed by a leading commune cadre who, working daily in the fields with the rank and file, keeps in close touch with the masses. Another was The Meeting, a one-act play in local dialect describing an old peasant's wholehearted devotion to the collective interest.

Most of these amateur writers are young people from formerly poor and lower-middle peasant families, rural cadres or teachers. Not a few learnt to read and write only after liberation. The big leap forward in 1958 brought with it a spate of revolutionary folk songs composed by the peasants. Once the ball started rolling compositions in many other more ambitious forms appeared.

Local government and cultural organizations gave warm encouragement and help to this expanding literary activity among the peasants. Formed into writing groups right in the people's communes where they work, the peasant writers often get together to discuss creative problems, study current literary trends and Party policies. Some works are written by individual members and benefit from the group's opinions. Others are collectively written. Members of the different groups sometimes meet at county level under the auspices of county cultural centres. These centres are in contact with professional writers of the county; they help the peasant writers to get in touch with them and with each other, hold forums and discussions, and organize drama festivals where amateur works are staged. One such county group at Sungchhang was so successful that 15 plays and 250 songs, poems and other short items written by its members were published by Shanghai metropolitan papers and journals. Among its members is Chou Chih-ching, Party secretary of a production brigade in the Tianma People's Commune, who, besides his busy official duties, is a prolific author. He turned out 38 works in 1963 alone.

Centres of culture for the masses in Shanghai proper also give help to the peasant writers who now have about a hundred local groups. Besides sending personnel to the people's communes to help would-be writers on the spot, they also invite the latter up to the city for short sessions in which their work is discussed and polished, and difficulties in writing are aired and solved.

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