

# PEKING REVIEW

43

October 25, 1963

## Apologists of Neo-Colonialism

Fourth article by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* commenting on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (p. 6).

## Foreign Ministry Statement on U.N. "Fact-Finding" Mission to S. Viet Nam

(p. 15).

## The Voice of Peace and Justice From Phnom-Penh

1. "How We See China" – an editorial written by Prince Norodom Sihanouk for the Cambodian weekly *Nationalist* (p. 18).
2. *Renmin Ribao* editorial (p. 16).

---

*No Hurricane Can Overpower  
The Cuban People*

---

北  
京  
周  
報

*Subscribe to*

# CHINESE MAGAZINES IN ENGLISH

**\*PEKING REVIEW** An authoritative weekly that gives China's views on international questions and covers developments in China.

**\*CHINA PICTORIAL** A large, comprehensive pictorial magazine published once a month. Contains attractive pictures and lively articles on the achievements in New China's socialist construction.

**\*CHINESE LITERATURE** A monthly presenting the best works of modern and classical Chinese literature and timely reports on cultural events.

**\*WOMEN OF CHINA** A comprehensive bi-monthly for women.

**\*EVERGREEN** A bi-monthly on the work, studies, life and social activities of Chinese youth and students.

**CHINA'S SPORTS** An illustrated bi-monthly magazine covering sports activities in China.

**FOREIGN TRADE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA** A richly illustrated quarterly magazine introducing China's economic construction, foreign trade and export commodities.

**CHINESE MEDICAL JOURNAL** Organ of the Chinese Medical Association. A monthly reporting the latest progress and achievements in the medical world of China.

**SCIENTIA SINICA** A monthly covering the natural and technical sciences, published by the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

## ***GIFT OFFER***

**TO OVERSEAS SUBSCRIBERS**

(Valid Up to January 31, 1964)

A BEAUTIFUL DESK CALENDAR OF 1964 ornamented with 24 superb reproductions of Chinese paintings for every subscription to one of the above magazines for 1964; additional gifts for subscriptions to the magazines with an asterisk.

A Chinese scroll picture in colour (96 × 36.5 cm.) for everyone who wins 1-2 new subscribers at one time; a notebook (17.5 × 12.5 cm.) in addition to the scroll for everyone who wins 3 or more new subscribers.

*Send your orders to a local dealer or to:* **GUOZI SHUDIAN** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

October 25, 1963 Vol. VI No. 43

## CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Apologists of Neo-Colonialism — The Editorial Departments of <i>Renmin Ribao</i> and <i>Hongqi</i>	6
Foreign Ministry Statement	15
The Voice of Peace and Justice From Phnom-Penh — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	16
How We See China — Norodom Sihanouk	18
No Hurricane Can Over- power the Cuban People — Fan Chen	22
China's Staunch Stand Exerts Tremendous Influence — <i>Malayan Monitor</i> Article	23
"The Dream of the Red Chamber" and Its Author — Hsu Min	25
ROUND THE WORLD	29
SONG & DANCE	31

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW

Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

# THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* published "Apologists of Neo-Colonialism" — the fourth article of a series commenting on the open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to President Dorticos and Premier Castro of Cuba expressing the sympathy of the Chinese people for the Cuban people at the losses inflicted by hurricane. Premier Chou also informed Premier Castro that the Chinese Government was sending Cuba relief supplies.

- In a statement issued on October 18 on the U.N. "fact-finding mission" to south Viet Nam the Chinese Foreign Ministry condemned the U.S.-Diem clique for engineering this scheme and backed up the stand of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic on this issue.

- *Renmin Ribao* reprinted in full the editorial "How We See China" written by Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk for the Cambodian weekly *Nationalist*. A *Renmin Ribao* editorial described Prince Sihanouk's statements as the "voice of peace and justice from Phnom-Penh."

- Buddhists of eleven Asian countries and regions held a conference in Peking. The meeting adopted an appeal calling on the Buddhists and the people of the world to support the Buddhists in south Viet Nam waging a struggle against persecution and for basic human rights and freedom of religious belief.

- The Chinese Foreign Ministry last week sent two notes to the Indian Embassy in China protesting strongly (1) against repeated intrusions into China's air space by Indian aircraft in July, August and September; (2) against the illegal crossing by Indian troops of the Karakoram Pass and their intrusion into the Chinese territory of Sinkiang.

- The Chinese press last week reported:

- an article from *Hoc Tap*, theoretical magazine of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, stressing that no one can transform the renegade Tito group into Communists.

- an editorial from *Pruga E Partise*, a journal published by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, pointing out that the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty is detrimental to socialism and peace.

- an article from *Zenei*, theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, pointing out that the U.S. was capitalizing on the tripartite treaty to carry out its nuclear war policy.

## Birthday Greetings to Comrade Hoxha

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on October 15 sent a message to Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, congratulating him on his 55th birthday.

Wishing Comrade Hoxha health and many happy returns of the day, Chairman Mao said: "You have devoted all your energy to the Albanian peo-

ple's struggle for liberation from fascism and to the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The long-tested Albanian Party of Labour headed by you is leading correctly the heroic Albanian people, holding aloft the banner of opposing imperialism, and waging a staunch struggle in defence of peace in Europe and the rest of the world. Holding high the banner of revolution, the Albanian Party of Labour has made outstanding contributions in combating modern revisionism and modern

dogmatism, defending Marxism-Leninism, and upholding the solidarity of the international communist movement. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people extend their high respects to you, the Albanian Party of Labour headed by you, and the Albanian people." Chairman Mao also wished the Albanian people still greater and more brilliant successes in socialist construction in the days to come.

### **Chairman Mao Receives Cuban Guests**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on October 18 received and had a cordial, friendly talk with Major Felix Torres Gonzalez, head of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform of Cuba, and J.E.M. Sierra. Earlier, on October 16, they were received by Premier Chou En-lai.

### **Buddhist Conference**

The three-day Buddhist conference held in Peking last week was a great success. It demonstrated solidarity with the Buddhists and people of south Viet Nam who are fighting against persecution by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique and for basic human rights and freedom of religious belief.

Participants in the conference came from eleven Asian countries and regions. Among them were Ray Lomuth, Chairman of the Buddhist Association of Cambodia; the Venerable Ngawang Jaltso, Vice-President of the Chinese Buddhist Association; Soemartono Mertoloio, Vice-President of the Indonesian Buddhist Association; Mahathera Ryookei Oonishi of Japan; the Venerable An Suk Yong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Buddhist League; the Venerable Thepbouary Phramaha Khamtank, President of the Buddhist Association of Laos; Amir Lama of Nepal; the Venerable Visuddhananda Mahathera, President of the East Pakistan Buddhist Creed Preaching Association; the Venerable Thich Thien Hao, President of the Luc Hoa Buddhist Association of south Viet Nam; the Venerable M.A. Phramahaophas of Thailand; and the Venerable Thich Tri Do, President of the Vietnamese Unified Buddhists' Association.

In its plenary session held in the famous 1,200-year-old Fayuan Monas-

tery, the conference heard a detailed report by the Venerable Thich Thien Hao on the miserable plight of Buddhists in south Viet Nam. He spoke of the crimes committed by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique in the past nine years. "Armed with U.S. weapons," he told the conference "Ngo Dinh Diem's troops have launched thousands of 'mopping-up' campaigns, killing and arresting people of all social strata, all nationalities and all religions. They have shot or tortured to death 156,000 people, seriously wounded 52,000, disabled 672,000 by tortures and imprisoned 370,000. They have raped thousands of women and 3,000 people have had their abdomens slit open or their livers cut out." He appealed to the Buddhists and people in all parts of the world to support the south Vietnamese people in their struggles.

At the closing session, an "Appeal to Buddhists of the World" was unanimously adopted. Condemning the Ngo Dinh Diem regime for its atrocities which "violate the teachings of Lord Buddha, flagrantly deprive the people of freedom of belief and savagely trample upon their basic human rights," the appeal said: "We have deep sympathy for our Buddhist brothers in south Viet Nam and we firmly stand on their side. We sincerely support the actions taken by the Buddhists in south Viet Nam against persecution and for freedom. We appeal to all the Buddhists in the world and all people of good conscience to join forces in creating a public opinion and in exerting their influence so that the just demands of the Buddhists in south Viet Nam may be realized, the persecution of the Buddhists immediately stopped, and the basic human rights and freedom of religious belief of the Buddhists and people of south Viet Nam truly guaranteed."

### **Peking Rally**

On October 20, Peking held a rally to welcome the Buddhist delegations, mahatheras and lay Buddhists and to celebrate the success of the conference. Expressing his warm congratulations to all the participants, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity Mao Tun said that the conference demonstrated the friendship and solidarity of Buddhists in Asia, gave powerful sup-

port to the just struggle of the Buddhists and other sections of the people in south Viet Nam and made a positive contribution to upholding justice and safeguarding world peace. He condemned the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique for its bloody suppressions and said that the heroic struggle of Buddhists and people of all strata in south Viet Nam against persecution and for democracy and freedom had won deep sympathy from all people of goodwill throughout the world. Saying that the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime was propped up by U.S. imperialism, he declared that the chief criminal in the slaughter of the Buddhists and other people in south Viet Nam was U.S. imperialism.

The Venerable Thich Thien Hao cited many facts exposing the barbarity of the atrocities committed by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique against Buddhists in south Viet Nam. After nine years of bloodshed, he said, the people in south Viet Nam realized that only with the complete independence of their country could they acquire freedom of religious belief and freedom to preach religion. He declared that the Buddhists of south Viet Nam fully approved and supported the stand of the Front for National Liberation in demanding that U.S. imperialism should withdraw and that the people of south Viet Nam should settle their internal affairs themselves.

Buddhists from many other countries also spoke at the rally. This all expressed indignation at the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique's atrocities and gave their wholehearted support to the Buddhists and people of south Viet Nam in their struggle for religious rights and freedom.

### **One More Indian Minister Discredited**

One more charge against China, this time out of the mouth of the Indian Minister of Scientific Research and Education, Humayun Kabir, came home to roost on October 15.

Following an 8-day visit to Afghanistan, according to the Press Trust of India, the Indian Minister gave out some "inside information" as to what had been taking place during recent Sino-Afghan boundary talks. "A Chinese delegation," he alleged, "sought

to make a reference to the Kashmir area as one whose responsibility was Pakistan's, but Afghanistan rejected this contention." The Minister added that because China did not agree to mention India and because Afghanistan refused to acknowledge Pakistan's claim, the two countries argued over the matter for two months.

In response to this story, carried by Reuters as well as the Press Trust of India, a spokesman for the Afghan Foreign Ministry on October 15 issued a statement which took the wind out of the Indian Minister's sails. The spokesman, after noting that Kabir's contacts and negotiations in Afghanistan "had been confined to educational, scientific and cultural affairs," pointed out that the matter of Kashmir "was not raised at all" during the Sino-Afghan talks. "There are no differences about the boundary line between Afghanistan and China," he said. "The negotiations to formally delimit the boundary between the two countries, which concluded in Kabul last summer, were held in an atmosphere of complete understanding."

Two days later, on October 17, the Chinese Foreign Ministry gave the *coup de grace* to the Indian Minister already well discredited by the Kabul statement. According to a spokesman of the Ministry's Information Department, not only had neither delegation raised the question of Kashmir, but a boundary treaty between China and Afghanistan was soon to be signed in Peking. The spokesman exposed the Indian Minister's rumour-mongering as another attempt to poison the friendly relations between China and Afghanistan and to sow discord among Asian countries.

### **"Two Chinas" Plot in Laos**

Toeing the U.S. imperialists' line, certain responsible Laotian government officials are helping to push the "two Chinas" scheme in Laos.

Recently, Chiang Kai-shek clique elements in Laos, usurping the name of Chinese residents there, gave a reception in Vientiane on October 10 to celebrate their so-called national day. According to the *Lao-Presse*, Vice-Premier Phoumi Nosavan and other responsible government officials attended and toasted the health of Chiang Kai-shek. Earlier, some 40 Chinese residents in Vientiane, under

pressure from these same elements, went to Taiwan for a "visit." Despite repeated representations by the Chinese Embassy, the Laotian government departments concerned granted visas to these Chinese holding the illegal "passports" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

Chinese Ambassador to Laos Liu Chun on October 19 handed a note to Pheng Phongsavan, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Royal Government of Laos, strongly protesting against these illegal activities. Pointing out that they were part of the U.S. imperialist scheme to create a "two Chinas" situation in Laos, the note said that the Chinese Government and people would absolutely not tolerate them. The note urged the Royal Laotian Government to treasure the friendship between the Chinese and Laotian peoples and the friendly relations between the two countries. It demanded that an end be put to all such illegal activities and that effective measures be taken to ensure that they would not happen again.

### **New Developments in Metallurgical Industry**

The metallurgical industry continues to move ahead. Output and quality of major metallurgical products have kept on increasing. In the first eight months of 1963, the industry turned out nearly as much sheet steel, silicon steel sheets, high-grade-shapes, seamless tubes, ballbearing steel and flat spring steel — items in great demand — as it did in all of 1962. High manganese steel plates for making tractor shoes, steel plates for making high-pressure vessels and over a hundred other types of forgings and rolled stock only successfully trial manufactured last year are now in lot production. As a result of such developments this key industry has given a powerful impetus to national economic growth, especially in agriculture and light industry.

Quality improvement has been a chief goal. Between January and August the quality of all major metallurgical products — pig iron, steel, forgings and rolled stock, copper, aluminium, lead and zinc — rose steadily. The ratios of up-to-standard pig iron and steel surpassed those of 1962 by 1.63 per cent and 3.9 per cent respectively; the proportion of first-

grade forgings and rolled stock also increased by 1.2 per cent. These spell glad tidings to users — tractor plants, motor works, etc. — because better quality rolled steel means greater savings and improved finished products.

Variety of products is an important index of the industry's technical level. Since the beginning of the year, the steel industry has added 320 new forgings and rolled stock to its output assortment, including stainless steel, structural shapes and high-grade alloy steels urgently needed by the farm machine-building, fertilizer and motor car industries.

Metallurgical enterprises have reduced their consumption of raw materials and fuel and cut 1962 costs by 9 per cent. At the same time mine development has been stepped up. Construction of 60 key projects is under way.

Gains in 1963 are tied in with the industry-wide campaign to increase production and practise economy. Workers and staff members have displayed a high political consciousness and much enthusiasm in production. Incomplete figures for 40 enterprises reveal 30,000 individuals and 3,400 collectives distinguishing themselves on the job.

### **Autumn Export Commodities Fair**

The one-month Autumn Chinese Export Commodities Fair opened in Canton on October 15 is the biggest ever. Sponsored by Chinese import and export corporations, the fair has been held twice yearly each spring and autumn since 1957. It has become a centre of attention in world trade and has resulted in the establishment of commercial relations with many countries and regions. The volume of transactions last spring was many times that of 1957's inaugural fair.

With more than 20,000 exportable items on display the current fair is attracting a bigger attendance than ever. Businessmen from many countries have come to China especially for it; more have come from Japan, Britain and France than ever.

This fall visitors have a larger choice of products. On display are soybeans from northeast China, polished rice

(Continued on p. 28.)

# APOLOGISTS OF NEO-COLONIALISM

## Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (4)

by the Editorial Departments of "Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi"

A GREAT revolutionary storm has spread through Asia, Africa and Latin America since World War II. Independence has been proclaimed in more than fifty Asian and African countries. China, Viet Nam, Korea and Cuba have taken the road of socialism. The face of Asia, Africa and Latin America has undergone a tremendous change.

While revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies suffered serious setbacks after World War I owing to suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, the situation after World War II is fundamentally different. The imperialists are no longer able to extinguish the prairie fire of national liberation. Their old colonial system is fast disintegrating. Their rear has become a front of raging anti-imperialist struggles. Imperialist rule has been overthrown in some colonial and dependent countries, and in others it has suffered heavy blows and is tottering. This inevitably weakens and shakes the rule of imperialism in the metropolitan countries.

The victories of the people's revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, together with the rise of the socialist camp, sound a triumphant paean to our day and age.

The storm of the people's revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America requires every political force in the world to take a stand. This mighty revolutionary storm makes the imperialists and colonialists tremble and the revolutionary people of the world rejoice. The imperialists and colonialists say, "Terrible, terrible!" The revolutionary people say, "Fine, fine!" The imperialists and colonialists say, "It is rebellion, which is forbidden." The revolutionary people say, "It is revolution, which is the people's right and an inexorable current of history."

An important line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists is the attitude taken towards this extremely sharp issue of contemporary world politics. The Marxist-Leninists firmly side with the oppressed nations and actively support the national-liberation movement. The modern revisionists in fact side with the imperialists and colonialists and repudiate and oppose the national-liberation movement in every possible way.

In their words, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. dare not completely discard the slogans of support for the national-liberation movement, and at times, for the sake of their own interests, they even take certain measures which create the appearance of support. But if we probe to the essence and consider their views and policies over a number of years, we see clearly that their attitude towards the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a passive or scornful or nega-

tive one, and that they serve as apologists for neo-colonialism.

In the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of July 14, 1963, and in a number of articles and statements, the comrades of the C.P.S.U. have worked hard at defending their wrong views and attacking the Chinese Communist Party on the question of the national-liberation movement. But the sole outcome is to confirm the anti-Marxist-Leninist and anti-revolutionary stand of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. on the subject.

Let us now look at the theory and practice of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. on the question of the national-liberation movement.

### Abolition of the Task of Combating Imperialism and Colonialism

Victories of great historic significance have already been won by the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This no one can deny. But can anyone assert that the task of combating imperialism and colonialism and their agents has been completed by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America?

Our answer is, no. This fighting task is far from completed.

However, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. frequently spread the view that colonialism has disappeared or is disappearing from the present-day world. They emphasize that "there are 50 million people on earth still groaning under colonial rule," that the remnants of colonialism are to be found only in such places as Portuguese Angola and Mozambique in Africa, and that the abolition of colonial rule has already entered the "final phase."

What are the facts?

Consider, first, the situation in Asia and Africa. There a whole group of countries have declared their independence. But many of these countries have not completely shaken off imperialist and colonial control and enslavement and remain objects of imperialist plunder and aggression as well as arenas of contention between the old and new colonialists. In some, the old colonialists have changed into neo-colonialists and retain their colonial rule through their trained agents. In others, the wolf has left by the front door, but the tiger has entered through the back door, the old colonialism being replaced by the new, more powerful and more dangerous U.S. colonialism. The peoples of Asia and Africa are seriously menaced by the tentacles of neo-colonialism, represented by U.S. imperialism.

Next, listen to the voice of the people of Latin America.

The Second Havana Declaration says, "Latin America today is under a more ferocious imperialism, more powerful and ruthless than the Spanish colonial empire."

It adds:

Since the end of the Second World War, . . . North American investments exceed 10 billion dollars. Latin America moreover supplies cheap raw materials and pays high prices for manufactured articles.

It says further:

. . . there flows from Latin America to the United States a constant torrent of money: some \$4,000 per minute, \$5 million per day, \$2 billion per year, \$10 billion each five years. For each thousand dollars which leaves us, one dead body remains. \$1,000 per death, that is the price of what is called imperialism.

The facts are clear. After World War II the imperialists have certainly not given up colonialism, but have merely adopted a new form, neo-colonialism. An important characteristic of such neo-colonialism is that the imperialists have been forced to change their old style of direct colonial rule in some areas and to adopt a new style of colonial rule and exploitation by relying on the agents they have selected and trained. The imperialists headed by the United States enslave or control the colonial countries and countries which have already declared their independence by organizing military blocs, setting up military bases, establishing "federations" or "communities," and fostering puppet regimes. By means of economic "aid" or other forms, they retain these countries as markets for their goods, sources of raw material and outlets for their export of capital, plunder the riches and suck the blood of the people of these countries. Moreover, they use the United Nations as an important tool for interfering in the internal affairs of such countries and for subjecting them to military, economic and cultural aggression. When they are unable to continue their rule over these countries by "peaceful" means, they engineer military coups d'etat, carry out subversion or even resort to direct armed intervention and aggression.

The United States is most energetic and cunning in promoting neo-colonialism. With this weapon, the U.S. imperialists are trying hard to grab the colonies and spheres of influence of other imperialists and to establish world domination.

This neo-colonialism is a more pernicious and sinister form of colonialism.

We would like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U., under such circumstances how can it be said that the abolition of colonial rule has already entered the "final phase"?

In trying to bolster up such falsehoods, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have the temerity to seek help from the 1960 Statement. They say, does not the 1960 Statement mention the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system? But this thesis about the rapid disintegration of old colonialism cannot possibly help their argument about the disappearance of colonialism. The Statement clearly points out that "the United States is the mainstay of colonialism today," that "the imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms" and that they "try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries." In these phrases the Statement exposes just

what the leadership of the C.P.S.U. is trying so hard to cover up.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have also created the theory that the national-liberation movement has entered upon a "new stage" having economic tasks as its core. Their argument is that, whereas "formerly, the struggle was carried on mainly in the political sphere," today the economic question has become the "central task" and "the basic link in the further development of the revolution."

The national-liberation movement has entered a new stage. But this is by no means the kind of "new stage" described by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. In the new stage, the level of political consciousness of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples has risen higher than ever and the revolutionary movement is surging forward with unprecedented intensity. They urgently demand the thorough elimination of the forces of imperialism and its lackeys in their own countries and strive for complete political and economic independence. The primary and most urgent task facing these countries is still the further development of the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys. This struggle is still being waged fiercely in the political, economic, military, cultural, ideological and other spheres. And the struggles in all these spheres still find their most concentrated expression in political struggle, which often unavoidably develops into armed struggle when the imperialists resort to direct or indirect armed suppression. It is important for the newly independent countries to develop their independent economy. But this task must never be separated from the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys.

Like "the disappearance of colonialism," this theory of a "new stage" advocated by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. is clearly intended to whitewash the aggression against and plunder of Asia, Africa and Latin America by neo-colonialism, as represented by the United States, to cover up the sharp contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and to paralyse the revolutionary struggle of the people of these continents.

According to this theory of theirs, of course, the fight against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys is, of course, no longer necessary, for colonialism is disappearing and economic development has become the central task of the national-liberation movement. Does it not follow that the national-liberation movement can be done away with altogether? Therefore, the kind of "new stage" described by the leaders of the C.P.S.U., in which economic tasks are in the centre of the picture, is clearly nothing but one of no opposition to imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys, a stage in which the national-liberation movement is no longer desired.

### **Prescriptions for Abolishing the Revolution Of the Oppressed Nations**

In line with their erroneous theories the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have sedulously worked out a number of nostrums for all the ills of the oppressed nations. Let us examine them.

The first prescription is labelled peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. constantly attribute the great postwar victories of the national-liberation move-

ment won by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to what they call "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful competition." The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. says:

In conditions of peaceful coexistence, new important victories have been scored in recent years in the class struggle of the proletariat and in the struggle of the peoples for national freedom. The world revolutionary process is developing successfully.

They also say that the national-liberation movement is developing under conditions of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and of economic competition between the two opposing social systems and that peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition "assist the unfolding of a process of liberation on the part of peoples fighting to free themselves from the economic domination of foreign monopolies," and can deliver "a crushing blow" to "the entire system of capitalist relationship."

All socialist countries should practise the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. But peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people. The victory of the national revolution of all colonies and dependent countries must be won primarily through the revolutionary struggle of their own masses, which can never be replaced by that of any other countries.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. hold that the victories of the national-liberation revolution are not due primarily to the revolutionary struggles of the masses, and that the people cannot emancipate themselves, but must wait for the natural collapse of imperialism through peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. In fact, this is equivalent to telling the oppressed nations to put up with imperialist plunder and enslavement for ever, and not to rise up in resistance and revolution.

The second prescription is labelled aid to backward countries.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. boast of the role played by their economic aid to the newly independent countries. Comrade Khrushchov has said that such aid can enable these countries "to avoid the danger of a new enslavement," and that "it stimulates their progress and contributes to the normal development and even acceleration of those internal processes which may take these countries on to the highway leading to socialism."

It is necessary and important for the socialist countries to give the newly independent countries economic aid on the basis of internationalism. But in no case can it be said that their national independence and social progress are due solely to the economic aid they receive from the socialist countries and not mainly to the revolutionary struggles of their own people.

To speak plainly, the policy and the purpose of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. in their aid to newly independent countries in recent years are open to suspicion. They often take an attitude of great-power chauvinism and national egoism in matters concerning aid to newly independent countries, harm the economic and political interests of the receiving countries, and as a result discredit the socialist countries. As for their aid to India, here their ulterior motives are especially clear. India tops the list of newly independent countries to which the Soviet

Union gives economic aid. This aid is obviously intended to encourage the Nehru government in its policies directed against communism, against the people and against socialist countries. Even the U.S. imperialists have stated that such Soviet aid "is very much to our [U.S.] interest."

In addition, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. openly propose co-operation with U.S. imperialism in "giving aid to the backward countries." Khrushchov said in a speech in the United States in September 1959:

Your and our economic successes will be hailed by the whole world, which expects our two great powers to help the peoples who are centuries behind in their economic development to get on their feet more quickly.

Look! The mainstay of modern colonialism [namely, U.S. imperialism] will help the oppressed nations "to get on their feet more quickly"! It is indeed astonishing that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are not only willing but even proud to be the partners of the neo-colonialists.

The third prescription is labelled disarmament.

Khrushchov has said:

Disarmament means disarming the war forces, abolishing militarism, ruling out armed interference in the internal affairs of any country, and doing away completely and finally with all forms of colonialism.

He has also said:

Disarmament would create proper conditions for a tremendous increase in the scale of assistance to the newly established national states. If a mere 8-10 per cent of the 120,000 million dollars spent for military purposes throughout the world were turned to the purpose, it would be possible to end hunger, disease and illiteracy in the distressed areas of the globe within twenty years.

We have always maintained that the struggle for general disarmament should be carried on in order to expose and oppose imperialist arms expansion and war preparations. But one cannot possibly say that colonialism will be eliminated through disarmament.

Khrushchov here sounds like a preacher. Downtrodden people of the world, you are blessed! If only you are patient, if only you wait until the imperialists lay down their arms, freedom will descend upon you. Wait until the imperialists show mercy, and the poverty-stricken areas of the world will become an earthly paradise flowing with milk and honey!...

This is not just the fostering of illusions, it is opium for the people.

The fourth prescription is labelled elimination of colonialism through the United Nations.

Khrushchov maintains that if the United Nations takes measures to uproot the colonial system, "the peoples who are now suffering the humiliation arising out of foreign domination, would acquire a clear and immediate prospect of peaceful liberation from foreign oppression."

In a speech at the United Nations General Assembly in September 1960, Khrushchov asked, "Who, if not the United Nations Organization, should champion the abolition of the colonial system of government?"

This is a strange question to ask. According to Khrushchov, the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America should not and cannot themselves eliminate colonialism, but must look to the United Nations for help.



At the United Nations General Assembly, Khrushchov also said:

This is why we appeal to the reason and far-sightedness of the peoples of the Western countries, to their governments and their representatives at this high assembly of the United Nations. Let us agree on measures for the abolition of the colonial system of government and thereby accelerate that natural historical process.

It is apparent that what he really means by looking to the United Nations for help is looking to the imperialists for help. The facts show that the United Nations, which is still under the control of the imperialists, can only defend and strengthen the rule of colonialism but can never abolish it.

In a word, the nostrums of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. for the national-liberation movement have been concocted to make people believe that the imperialists will give up colonialism and bestow freedom and liberation upon the oppressed nations and peoples and that therefore all revolutionary theories, demands and struggles are outmoded and unnecessary and should and must be abandoned.

### **Opposition to Wars of National Liberation**

Although they talk about supporting the movements and wars of national liberation, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been trying by every means to make the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America abandon their revolutionary struggle, because they themselves are sorely afraid of the revolutionary storm.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have the famous "theory" that "even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration" and that a world war must necessarily be a thermonuclear war, which means the annihilation of mankind. Therefore, Khrushchov roars that "'local wars' in our time are very dangerous," and that "we will work hard... to put out the sparks that may set off the flames of war." Here Khrushchov makes no distinction between just and unjust wars and betrays the communist stand of supporting just wars.

The history of the eighteen years since World War II has shown that wars of national liberation are unavoidable so long as the imperialists and their lackeys try to maintain their brutal rule by bayonets and use force to suppress the revolution of oppressed nations. These large-scale and small-scale revolutionary wars against the imperialists and their lackeys, which have never ceased, have hit hard at the imperialist forces of war, strengthened the forces defending world peace and effectively prevented the imperialists from realizing their plan of launching a world war. Frankly speaking, Khrushchov's clamour about the need to "put out" the sparks of revolution for the sake of peace is an attempt to oppose revolution in the name of safeguarding peace.

Proceeding from these wrong views and policies, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. not only demand that the oppressed nations should abandon their revolutionary struggle for liberation and "peacefully coexist" with the imperialists and colonialists, but even side with imperialism and use a variety of methods to extinguish the sparks of revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Take the example of the Algerian people's war of national liberation. The leadership of the C.P.S.U. not only withheld support for a long period but actually took

the side of French imperialism. Khrushchov used to treat Algeria's national independence as an "internal affair" of France. Speaking on the Algerian question on October 3, 1955, he said, "I had and have in view, first of all, that the U.S.S.R. does not interfere in the internal affairs of other states." Receiving a correspondent of *Le Figaro* on March 27, 1958, he said, "We do not want France to grow weaker, we want her to become still greater."

To curry favour with the French imperialists, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. did not dare to recognize the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria for a long time; not until the victory of the Algerian people's war of resistance against French aggression was a foregone conclusion and France was compelled to agree to Algerian independence did they hurriedly recognize the Republic of Algeria. This unseemly attitude brought shame on the socialist countries. Yet the leaders of the C.P.S.U. glory in their shame and assert that the victory the Algerian people paid for with their blood should also be credited to the policy of "peaceful coexistence."

Again, let us examine the part played by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. in the Congo question. Not only did they refuse to give active support to the Congolese people's armed struggle against colonialism, but they were anxious to "co-operate" with U.S. imperialism in putting out the spark in the Congo.

On July 13, 1960, the Soviet Union joined with the United States in voting for the U.N. Security Council resolution on the dispatch of U.N. forces to the Congo; thus it helped the U.S. imperialists use the flag of the United Nations in their armed intervention in the Congo. The Soviet Union also provided the U.N. forces with means of transportation. In a cable to Kasavubu and Lumumba on July 15, Khrushchov said that "the United Nations Security Council has done a useful thing." Thereafter, the Soviet press kept up a stream of praise for the United Nations for "helping the Government of the Congolese Republic to defend the independence and sovereignty of the country," and expressed the hope that the United Nations would adopt "resolute measures." In its statements of August 21 and September 10, the Soviet Government continued to praise the United Nations, which was suppressing the Congolese people.

In 1961 the leaders of the C.P.S.U. persuaded Gizenga to attend the Congolese parliament, which had been convened under the "protection" of U.N. troops, and to join the puppet government. The leadership of the C.P.S.U. falsely alleged that the convocation of the Congolese parliament was "an important event in the life of the young republic" and "a success of the national forces."

Clearly these wrong policies of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. rendered U.S. imperialism a great service in its aggression against the Congo. Lumumba was murdered, Gizenga was imprisoned, many other patriots were persecuted, and the Congolese struggle for national independence suffered a setback. Does the leadership of the C.P.S.U. feel no responsibility for all this?

### **The Areas in Which Contemporary World Contradictions Are Concentrated**

It is only natural that the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have rejected the words and deeds of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. against the move-

ments and wars of national liberation. But the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have failed to draw the appropriate lesson and change their wrong line and policies. Instead, angry at their humiliation, they have launched a series of slanderous attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. accuses the Chinese Communist Party of putting forward a "new theory." It says:

... according to the new theory the main contradiction of our time is, you see, contradiction not between socialism and imperialism, but between the national-liberation movement and imperialism. The decisive force in the struggle against imperialism, the Chinese comrades hold, is not the world system of socialism, not struggle of the international working class, but again the national-liberation movement.

In the first place, this is a fabrication. In our letter of June 14, we pointed out that the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world are the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

We also pointed out: The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is a contradiction between two fundamentally different social systems, socialism and capitalism. It is undoubtedly very sharp. But Marxist-Leninists must not regard the contradictions in the world as consisting solely and simply of the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

Our view is crystal clear.

In our letter of June 14, we explained the revolutionary situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the significance and role of the national-liberation movement. This is what we said:

1. "The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism."

2. "The national-democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time."

3. "The national-democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution."

4. "The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace."

5. "In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

6. "Therefore, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not merely a matter of regional significance but is one of overall importance for the whole cause of proletarian world revolution."

These are Marxist-Leninist theses, conclusions drawn by scientific analysis from the realities of our time.

No one can deny that an extremely favourable revolutionary situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Today the national-liberation revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are the most important forces dealing imperialism direct blows. The contradictions of the world are concentrated in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The centre of world contradictions, of world political struggles, is not fixed but shifts with changes in the international struggles and the revolutionary situation. We believe that, with the development of the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Western Europe and North America, the momentous day of battle will arrive in these homes of capitalism and heart-lands of imperialism. When that day comes, Western Europe and North America will undoubtedly become the centre of world political struggles, of world contradictions.

Lenin said in 1913, "... a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia. . . . It is in this era of storms and their 'repercussion' on Europe that we are now living." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. XI, p.51.)

Stalin said in 1925:

The colonial countries constitute the principal rear of imperialism. The revolutionization of this rear is bound to undermine imperialism not only in the sense that imperialism will be deprived of its rear, but also in the sense that the revolutionization of the East is bound to give a powerful impulse to the intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the West. (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, pp.235-36.)

Is it possible that these statements of Lenin and Stalin are wrong? The theses they enunciated have long been elementary Marxist-Leninist knowledge. Obviously, now that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are bent on belittling the national-liberation movement, they are completely ignoring elementary Marxism-Leninism and the plain facts under their noses.

### **Distortion of the Leninist View of Leadership In the Revolution**

In its open letter of July 14, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. also attacks the standpoint of the Chinese Communist Party on the question of proletarian leadership in the national-liberation movement. It says:

... the Chinese comrades want to "correct" Lenin and prove that hegemony in the world struggle against imperialism should go not to the working class, but to the petty bourgeoisie or the national bourgeoisie, even to "certain patriotically minded kings, princes and aristocrats."

This is a deliberate distortion of the views of the Chinese Communist Party.

In discussing the need for the proletariat to insist on leading the national-liberation movement, the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. of June 14 says:

History has entrusted to the proletarian parties in these areas [Asia, Africa and Latin America] the glorious mission of holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, against old and new colonialism and for national independence and people's democracy, of standing in the forefront of the national-democratic revolutionary movement and striving for a socialist future.

.....

On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance the proletariat and its party must unite all the strata that can be united and organize a broad united front against imperialism and its lackeys. In order to consolidate and expand this united front it is necessary that the proletarian party should maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence and insist on the leadership of the revolution.

In discussing the need for establishing a broad anti-imperialist united front in the national-liberation movement, the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. says:

The oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and its lackeys.

.....

In these areas, extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes and aristocrats, who are patriotic.

Our views are perfectly clear. In the national-liberation movement it is necessary both to insist on leadership by the proletariat and to establish a broad anti-imperialist united front. What is wrong with these views? Why should the leadership of the C.P.S.U. distort and attack these correct views?

It is not we, but the leaders of the C.P.S.U., who have abandoned Lenin's views on proletarian leadership in the revolution.

The wrong line of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. completely abandons the task of fighting imperialism and colonialism and opposes wars of national liberation; this means it wants the proletariat and the Communist Parties of the oppressed nations and countries to roll up their patriotic banner of opposing imperialism and struggling for national independence and surrender it to others. In that case, how could one even talk about an anti-imperialist united front or of proletarian leadership?

Another idea often propagated by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. is that a country can build socialism under no matter what leadership, including even that of reactionary nationalist like Nehru. This is still farther removed from the idea of proletarian leadership.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. misinterprets the proper relationship of mutual support which should exist between the socialist camp and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries on the one hand and the national-liberation movement on the other, asserting that the national-liberation movement should be "led" by the socialist countries and the working-class movement in the metropolitan countries. It has the audacity to claim that this is "based" on Lenin's views on proletarian leadership. Obviously

this is a gross distortion and revision of Lenin's thinking. It shows that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. want to impose their line of abolishing revolution on the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations.

### The Path of Nationalism and Degeneration

In their open letter of July 14, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. attempt to pin on the Chinese Communist Party the charge of "isolating the national-liberation movement from the international working class and its creation, the socialist world system." They also accuse us of "separating" the national-liberation movement from the socialist system and the working-class movement in the Western capitalist countries and "counterposing" the former to the latter. There are other Communists, like the leaders of the French Communist Party, who loudly echo the leaders of the C.P.S.U.

But what are the facts? Those who counterpose the national-liberation movement to the socialist camp and the working-class movement in the Western capitalist countries are none other than the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and their followers, who do not support, and even oppose, the national-liberation movement.

The Chinese Communist Party has consistently maintained that the revolutionary struggles of all peoples support each other. We always consider the national-liberation movement from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, from the viewpoint of the proletarian world revolution as a whole. We believe the victorious development of the national-liberation revolution is of tremendous significance for the socialist camp, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the cause of defending world peace.

But the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and their followers refuse to acknowledge this significance. They talk only about the support which the socialist camp gives the national-liberation movement and ignore the support which the latter gives the former. They talk only about the role of the working-class movement in the Western capitalist countries in dealing blows at imperialism and belittle or ignore the role of the national-liberation movement in the same connection. Their stand contradicts Marxism-Leninism and disregards the facts, and is therefore wrong.

The question of what attitude to take towards the relationship between the socialist countries and the revolution of the oppressed nations, and towards the relationship between the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the revolution of the oppressed nations, involves the important principle of whether Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are to be upheld or abandoned.

According to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, every socialist country which has achieved victory in its revolution must actively support and assist the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations. The socialist countries must become base areas for supporting and developing the revolution of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world, form the closest alliance with them and carry the proletarian world revolution through to completion.

But the leaders of the C.P.S.U. virtually regard the victory of socialism in one country or several countries as

the end of the proletarian world revolution. They want to subordinate the national-liberation revolution to their general line of peaceful coexistence and to the national interests of their own country.

When in 1925 Stalin fought the liquidationists, represented by the Trotskyites and Zinovievites, he pointed out that one of the dangerous characteristics of liquidationism was:

. . . lack of confidence in the international proletarian revolution, lack of confidence in its victory; a sceptical attitude towards the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries . . . failure to understand the elementary demand of internationalism, by virtue of which the victory of socialism in one country is not an end in itself, but a means of developing and supporting the revolution in other countries. (Stalin, *op. cit.*, p.169.)

He added:

That is the path of nationalism and degeneration, the path of the complete liquidation of the proletariat's international policy, for people afflicted with this disease regard our country not as a part of the whole that is called the world revolutionary movement, but as the beginning and the end of that movement, believing that the interests of all other countries should be sacrificed to the interests of our country. (*ibid.*, pp.169-70.)

Stalin depicted the line of thinking of the liquidationists as follows:

Support the liberation movement in China? But why? Wouldn't that be dangerous? Wouldn't it bring us into conflict with other countries? Wouldn't it be better if we established "spheres of influence" in China in conjunction with other "advanced" powers and snatched something from China for our own benefit? That would be both useful and safe. . . . And so on and so forth. (*ibid.*, p.170.)

He concluded:

Such is the new type of nationalist "frame of mind," which is trying to liquidate the foreign policy of the October Revolution and is cultivating the elements of degeneration. (*ibid.*, p.170.)

The present leaders of the C.P.S.U. have gone farther than the old liquidationists. Priding themselves on their cleverness, they only take up what is "both useful and safe." Mortally afraid of being involved in conflict with the imperialist countries, they have set their minds on opposing the national-liberation movement. They are intoxicated with the idea of the two "super-powers" establishing spheres of influence throughout the world.

Stalin's criticism of the liquidationists is a fair description of the present leaders of the C.P.S.U. Following in the footsteps of the liquidationists, they have liquidated the foreign policy of the October Revolution and taken the path of nationalism and degeneration.

Stalin warned:

. . . it is obvious that the first country to be victorious can retain the role of standard-bearer of the world revolutionary movement only on the basis of consistent internationalism, only on the basis of the foreign policy of the October Revolution, and that the path of least resistance and of nationalism in foreign policy is the path of the isolation and decay of the first country to be victorious. (*ibid.*, p.171.)

This warning by Stalin is of serious, practical significance for the present leaders of the C.P.S.U.

### An Example of Social-Chauvinism

Similarly, according to proletarian internationalism, the proletariat and the Communists of the oppressor nations must actively support both the right of the oppressed nations to national independence and their struggles for liberation. With the support of the oppressed nations, the proletariat of the oppressor nations will be better able to win its revolution.

Lenin hit the nail on the head when he said:

The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by capital. (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, pp.472-73.)

However, some self-styled Marxist-Leninists have abandoned Marxism-Leninism on this very question of fundamental principle. The leaders of the French Communist Party are typical in this respect.

Over a long period of time, the leaders of the C.P.F. have abandoned the struggle against U.S. imperialism, refusing to put up a firm fight against U.S. imperialist control over and restrictions on France in the political, economic and military fields and surrendering the banner of French national struggle against the United States to people like de Gaulle; on the other hand, they have been using various devices and excuses to defend the colonial interests of the French imperialists, have refused to support, and indeed opposed, the national-liberation movements in the French colonies, and particularly opposed national revolutionary wars; they have sunk into the quagmire of chauvinism.

Lenin said, "Europeans often forget that colonial peoples are also nations, but to tolerate such 'forgetfulness' is to tolerate chauvinism." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, Vol. XXIII, p.52.) Yet the leadership of the French Communist Party, represented by Comrade Thorez, has not only tolerated this "forgetfulness," but has openly regarded the peoples of the French colonies as "naturalized Frenchmen," refused to acknowledge their right to national independence in dissociation from France and publicly supported the policy of "national assimilation" pursued by the French imperialists.

For the past ten years and more, the leaders of the French Communist Party have followed the colonial policy of the French imperialists and served as an appendage of French monopoly capital. In 1946, when the French monopoly capitalist rulers played a neo-colonialist trick by proposing to form a French Union, they followed suit and proclaimed that "we have always envisaged the French Union as a 'free union of free peoples'" and that "the French Union will permit the regulation, on a new basis, of the relations between the people of France and the overseas peoples who have in the past been attached to France." In 1958, when the French Union collapsed and the French Government proposed the establishment of a French Community to preserve its colonial system, the leaders of the C.P.F. again followed suit and pro-

claimed "we believe that the creation of a genuine community will be a positive event."

Moreover, in opposing the demand of the people in the French colonies for national independence, the leaders of the C.P.F. have even tried to intimidate them, saying that "any attempt to break away from the Union of France will only lead to the strengthening of imperialism; although independence may be won, it will be temporary, nominal and false." They further openly declared: "The question is whether this already unavoidable independence will be with France, or without France and against France. The interest of our country requires that this independence should be with France."

On the question of Algeria, the chauvinist stand of the leaders of the C.P.F. is all the more evident. They have recently tried to justify themselves by asserting that they had long "recognized the correct demand of the people of Algeria for freedom." But what are the facts?

For a long time the leaders of the C.P.F. refused to recognize Algeria's right to national independence; they followed the French monopoly capitalists, crying that "Algeria is an inalienable part of France" and that France "should be a great African power, now and in the future." Thorez and others were most concerned about the fact that Algeria could provide France with "a million head of sheep" and large quantities of wheat yearly to solve her problem of "the shortage of meat" and "make up our deficit in grain."

Just see! What feverish chauvinism on the part of the leaders of the C.P.F.! Do they show an iota of proletarian internationalism? Is there anything of the proletarian revolutionary in them? By taking this chauvinistic stand they have betrayed the fundamental interests of the international proletariat, the fundamental interests of the French proletariat and the true interests of the French nation.

### **Against the "Theory of Racism" and The "Theory of the Yellow Peril"**

Having used up all their wonder-working weapons for opposing the national-liberation movement, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are now reduced to seeking help from racism, the most reactionary of all imperialist theories. They describe the correct stand of the C.P.C. in resolutely supporting the national-liberation movement as "creating racial and geographical barriers," "replacing the class approach with the racial approach," and "playing upon the national and even racial prejudices of the Asian and African peoples."

If Marxism-Leninism did not exist, perhaps such lies could deceive people. Unfortunately for the manufacturers of these lies, they live in the wrong age, for Marxism-Leninism has already found its way deep into people's hearts. As Stalin rightly pointed out, Leninism "broke down the wall between whites and blacks, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' slaves of imperialism." (Stalin, op. cit., Vol. VI, p.144.) It is futile for the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to try and rebuild this wall of racism.

In the last analysis, the national question in the contemporary world is one of class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle. Today the workers, peasants, revolu-

tionary intellectuals, anti-imperialist and patriotic bourgeois elements and other patriotic and anti-imperialist enlightened people of all races — white, black, yellow or brown — have formed a broad united front against the imperialists, headed by the United States, and their lackeys. This united front is expanding and growing stronger. The question here is not whether to side with the white people or the coloured people, but whether to side with the oppressed peoples and nations or with the handful of imperialists and reactionaries.

According to the Marxist-Leninist class stand, oppressed nations must draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and the imperialists and colonialists. To blur this line represents a chauvinist view serving imperialism and colonialism.

Lenin said:

This is precisely why the central point in the Social-Democratic programme must be the distinction between oppressing and oppressed nations, which is the *essence* of imperialism, which is *falsely* evaded by the social-chauvinists, and by Kautsky. (Lenin, *Selected Works*, New York, Vol. V, p.284.)

By slandering the unity of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the anti-imperialist struggle as being "based on the geographical and racial principles," the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have obviously placed themselves in the position of the social-chauvinists and of Kautsky.

When they peddle the "theory of racism," describing the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America as one of the coloured against the white race, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are clearly aiming at inciting racial hatred among the white people in Europe and North America, at diverting the people of the world from the struggle against imperialism and at turning the international working-class movement away from the struggle against modern revisionism.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have raised a hue and cry about the "Yellow Peril" and the "imminent menace of Genghis Khan." This is really not worth refuting. We do not intend in this article to comment on the historical role of Genghis Khan or on the development of the Mongolian, Russian and Chinese nations and the process of their formation into states. We would only remind the leaders of the C.P.S.U. of their need to review their history lessons before manufacturing such tales. Genghis Khan was a Khan of Mongolia, and in his day both China and Russia were subjected to Mongolian aggression. He invaded part of northwestern and northern China in 1215 and Russia in 1223. After his death, his successors subjugated Russia in 1240 and thirty-nine years later, in 1279, conquered the whole of China.

Lu Hsun, the well-known Chinese writer, has a paragraph about Genghis Khan in an article he wrote in 1934. We include it here for your reference as it may be useful to you.

He wrote that, as a young man of twenty,

I had been told that "our" Genghis Khan had conquered Europe and ushered in the most splendid period in "our" history. Not until I was twenty-five did I discover that this so-called most splendid period of "our" history was actually the time when the Mongolians conquered China and we became slaves. And not until last

August, when browsing through three books on Mongolian history, looking for history stories, did I find out that the conquest of "Russia" by the Mongolians and their invasion of Hungary and Austria actually preceded their conquest of China, and that the Genghis Khan of that time was not yet our Khan. The Russians were enslaved before we were, and presumably it is they who ought to be able to say "When our Genghis Khan conquered China, he ushered in the most splendid period of our history." (Lu Hsun, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. VI, p.109.)

Anyone with a little knowledge of modern world history knows that the "theory of the Yellow Peril" about which the C.P.S.U. leadership has been making such a noise is a legacy of the German Emperor William II. Half a century ago, William II stated, "I am a believer in the Yellow Peril."

The German Emperor's purpose in propagating the "theory of the Yellow Peril" was to carry the partition of China further, to invade Asia, to suppress revolution in Asia, to divert the attention of the European people from revolution and to use it as a smokescreen for his active preparations for the imperialist world war and for his attempt to gain world hegemony.

When William II spread this "theory of the Yellow Peril," the European bourgeoisie was in deep decline and extremely reactionary, and democratic revolutions were sweeping through China, Turkey and Persia and affecting India, around the time of the 1905 Russian Revolution. That was the period, too, when Lenin made his famous remark about "backward Europe and advanced Asia."

William II was a bigwig in his day. But in reality he proved to be only a snow man in the sun. In a very short time this reactionary chieftain vanished from the scene, together with the reactionary theory he invented. The great Lenin and his brilliant teachings live on for ever.

Fifty years have gone by; imperialism in Western Europe and North America has become still more moribund and reactionary, and its days are numbered. Meanwhile, the revolutionary storm raging over Asia, Africa and Latin America has grown many times stronger than in Lenin's time. It is hardly credible that today there are still people who wish to step into the shoes of William II. This is indeed a mockery of history.

### **Resurrecting the Old Revisionism in a New Guise**

The policy of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. on the national-colonial question is identical with the bankrupt policy of the revisionists of the Second International. The only difference is that the latter served the imperialists' old colonialism, while the modern revisionists serve the imperialists' neo-colonialism.

The old revisionists sang to the tune of the old colonialists, and Khrushchov sings to the tune of the neo-colonialists.

The heroes of the Second International, represented by Bernstein and Kautsky, were apologists for the old colonial rule of imperialism. They openly declared that colonial rule was progressive, that it "brought a high civilization" to the colonies and "developed the productive

forces" there. They even asserted that the "abolition of the colonies would mean barbarism."

In this respect Khrushchov is somewhat different from the old revisionists. He is bold enough to denounce the old colonial system.

How is it that Khrushchov is so bold? Because the imperialists have changed their tune.

After World War II, under the twin blows of the socialist revolution and the national-liberation revolution, the imperialists were forced to recognize that "if the West had attempted to perpetuate the status quo of colonialism, it would have made violent revolution inevitable and defeat inevitable." The old colonialist forms of rule "on the contrary, . . . are likely to prove 'running sores' which destroy both the economic and the moral vigour of a nation's life." Thus it became necessary to change the form and practise neo-colonialism.

Thus, too, Khrushchov singing to the tune of the neo-colonialists flaunts the "theory of the disappearance of colonialism" in order to cover up the new colonialism. What is more, he tries to induce the oppressed nations to embrace this new colonialism. He actively propagates the view that "peaceful coexistence" between the oppressed nations and civilized imperialism will make "the national economy grow rapidly" and bring about an "uplift of their productive forces," enable the home market in the oppressed countries to "become incomparably greater" and "furnish more raw materials, and various products and goods required by the economy of the industrially developed countries" and, at the same time, will "considerably raise the living standard of the inhabitants in the highly developed capitalist countries."

Nor has Khrushchov forgotten to collect certain worn-out weapons from the arsenal of the revisionists of the Second International.

Here are some examples.

The old revisionists opposed wars of national liberation and held that the national question "can be settled only through international agreements" and "advance in all the arts of peace." On this question, Khrushchov has taken over the line of the revisionists of the Second International; he advocates a "quiet burial of the colonial system."

The old revisionists attacked the revolutionary Marxists, hurling at them the slander that "Bolshevism is in essence a warlike type of socialism" and that "the Communist International harbours the illusion that the liberation of the workers can be achieved by means of the bayonets of the victorious Red Army and that a new world war is necessary for the world revolution." They also spread the story that this position had "created the greatest danger of a new world war." The language Khrushchov uses today to slander the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties is exactly the language used by the old revisionists in slandering the Bolsheviks. It is hard to find any difference.

It must be said that in serving the imperialists' neo-colonialism, Khrushchov is not a whit inferior to the old revisionists in their service of the imperialists' old colonialism.

Lenin showed how the policy of imperialism caused the international workers' movement to split into two sections, the revolutionary and the opportunist. The revolutionary section sided with the oppressed nations and opposed the imperialists and colonialists. On the other hand, the opportunist section fed on crumbs from the spoils which the imperialists and colonialists squeezed out of the people of the colonies and semi-colonies. It sided with the imperialists and colonialists and opposed the revolution of the oppressed nations for liberation.

The same kind of division between revolutionaries and opportunists in the international working-class movement as that described by Lenin is now taking shape not only in the working-class movement in capitalist countries but also in socialist countries where the proletariat wields state power.

The experience of history shows that if the national-liberation movement is to achieve complete victory it must form a solid alliance with the revolutionary working-class movement, draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and the revisionists who serve the imperialists and colonialists, and firmly eradicate their influence.

The experience of history shows that if the working-class movement of the capitalist countries in Western

Europe and North America is to achieve complete victory, it must form a close alliance with the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and the revisionists, and firmly eradicate their influence.

The revisionists are agents of imperialism who have hidden themselves among the ranks of the international working-class movement. Lenin said, "... the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Moscow, Vol. I, Part 2, p.566.) Thus it is clear that the present fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism must be linked closely with the fight against the apologists of neo-colonialism.

However hard the imperialists disguise their intentions and bestir themselves, however hard their apologists whitewash and help neo-colonialism, imperialism and colonialism cannot escape their doom. The victory of the national-liberation revolution is irresistible. Sooner or later the apologists of neo-colonialism will go bankrupt.

Workers of the world and the oppressed nations, unite!

# Foreign Ministry Statement

— Denouncing New U.S. Plot to Wreck the Geneva Agreements

— Full Support for the D.R.V. Stand

*The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 18 issued a statement on the sending by the United Nations of a "fact-finding mission" to south Viet Nam to make inquiries into the relations between the Diem regime and the Buddhist circles. Following is the text of the statement. — Ed.*

ON October 8 the United Nations General Assembly decided, at the "invitation" of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique of south Viet Nam, to send a "fact-finding mission" to south Viet Nam to "investigate the situation regarding the relations between the south Vietnamese government and the Buddhist community." The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on October 14, pointing out that this "invitation" of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique is obviously engineered by the United States and that it is a most cunning trick designed to alleviate the anger of the people of the world, to prevent fair and just condemnation at the U.N. General Assembly, and also to cover up and distort the facts and to slander the patriotic movement of the people of south Viet Nam. The Chinese Government fully supports the just stand taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The facts are crystal clear. The present serious situation in south Viet Nam and the deep sufferings of the people there are wholly caused by U.S. imperialism

and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. In order to turn south Viet Nam into its colony and a base for aggression, U.S. imperialism has all along been fostering and supporting the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem clique in carrying out frenzied persecution and sanguinary suppression of the south Vietnamese people. It has all along crudely violated the 1954 Geneva agreements, and obstructed the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam. It has become increasingly unbridled in its aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam, and even openly sent its armed forces to launch an undeclared war there. The crimes committed in south Viet Nam by U.S. imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique are too many to enumerate.

In recent months, the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique further ruthlessly suppressed bare-handed Buddhists, young students, intellectuals and other patriots of different circles, and slaughtered and imprisoned thousands of monks, nuns and other people. This atrocity not only has aroused the great indignation of the broad masses of Buddhists and other people in south Viet Nam, but has been strongly condemned by the peace-loving countries and people of the whole world. Ceylon, Cambodia, Guinea, Algeria and other Asian-African countries have moved that the United Nations should censure the bloody atrocity of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. This has placed U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in an awkward predicament.

It was in these circumstances that U.S. imperialism hurriedly directed the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to "invite" the U.N. General Assembly to send a "fact-finding mission" to south Viet Nam. Obviously, they attempt to use this subterfuge to escape just condemnation by Asian, African and Latin American countries in the United Nations, and to shirk their responsibility and slander the just and patriotic struggle of the south Vietnamese people by fabricating evidences and twisting the facts.

However, the crime of the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique is well established and can by no means be denied. No matter how hard U.S. imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique may rack their brains in distorting, they will be unable to change the facts.

It must be pointed out that both the United States and the south Vietnamese authorities took part in the 1954 Geneva Conference and that they both undertook to refrain from disturbing the implementation of the Geneva agreements. But the United States has now directed the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to put aside the 1954 Geneva agreements and "invite" a "fact-finding mission" of the United Nations to south Viet Nam in an attempt to use the signboard of the United Nations to expand its aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam, and has thereby directly undermined the 1954 Geneva agreements. This is impermissible. Britain and the Soviet Union, as the

co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, must take up their responsibility with regard to the consequences brought about by this action of the United States and the south Vietnamese authorities. It is clearly known to all countries which love peace and uphold justice that the 1954 Geneva agreements are the only international agreements on the question of Viet Nam. Any step to weaken or violate these agreements will be detrimental to the Vietnamese people and to peace in Southeast Asia. The U.S. imperialists attempt to lead astray the good desire of the Asian-African countries to discuss the Ngo Dinh Diem clique's violations of human rights at the United Nations so as to realize its low aims, but this attempt will certainly be futile.

The Chinese Government firmly holds that the only solution for the question of south Viet Nam lies in checking the armed U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention there and in thoroughly implementing the 1954 Geneva agreements. We earnestly call on all peace-loving countries and people of the world to take measures to support the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to bring about the withdrawal of the armed units and all military personnel of the United States from south Viet Nam, leaving the question of south Viet Nam to be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves, and thus to contribute to peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

人民日報  
RENMIN RIBAO

## The Voice of Peace and Justice From Phnom-Penh

Following is a translation of an editorial published by "Renmin Ribao" on October 19. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

**P**RINCE Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, recently wrote in the Cambodian weekly *Nationalist* several important articles including "The Moscow Treaty and Us," and "How We See China" [for full text, see p.18], strongly refuting the lies heaped on China by the Western imperialists. He has also made a number of speeches to the same effect. These came at a time when U.S. imperialists have been lauding the Moscow partial nuclear test ban treaty to the skies and recklessly libelling and vilifying the Chinese people as "bellicose," wanting "to conquer Asia," and being "isolated."

In his articles and speeches, Prince Sihanouk explained that the foreign policy of the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia was to safeguard national independence and sovereignty and uphold peace and neutrality. He warmly praised the friendship and co-operation between China and Cambodia, exposed the deceptive nature of the Moscow tripartite treaty, refused to sign it, and reiterated his support for the Chinese Government's proposal to convene a conference of the heads of all govern-

ments to discuss the complete, thorough prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

These statements of Prince Sihanouk reflect the sincere friendship of the Cambodian people for the Chinese people and their great trust in them. They express the stand of the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia in upholding justice, its indomitable courage in the face of brute force, its deep concern for and serious and responsible attitude to the cause of world peace.

### World People See Things Differently From Imperialists

In his articles, Prince Sihanouk refuted the vicious slanders flung at China by Western imperialism. He said: "Without the least bias, it is impossible for us to share the verdict of the Westerners concerning China. They conjure up pictures [of China] by auto-suggestion; we judge on the basis of facts." He is firmly convinced that the Chinese people ardently cherish peace, that after freeing themselves from imperialist oppression and enslavement the Chinese people "are working for their own rehabilitation and for the progress and the greatness of their vast country." He said: "Our confidence in China is not in the least naive nor is it due to failure to reason the matter out. It is just the reverse!"



This statement of Prince Sihanouk shows that despite the efforts of the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries to distort the picture of China in a thousand and one ways before the people of the world, painting it as a hideous war-maniac and conqueror, the people of all countries, especially the Asian, African and Latin American people, all regard the Chinese people as their trustworthy friends. They ardently support the just stand of the Chinese people in their consistent opposition to imperialism and defence of world peace. The imperialists and reactionaries may raise a raucous outcry against China for a time, but vilification cannot discredit the Chinese people; nothing can blind the people and all those who uphold justice and fairness.

### **Moscow Treaty – Illusory Promise of Peace**

With the far-sightedness of an outstanding statesman, Prince Sihanouk exposed the essence of the partial nuclear test ban treaty. The Moscow treaty is a big fraud designed to fool the people of the world; it is opposed to the aspirations of the people of all countries. The treaty, in effect, has strengthened the position of the big nuclear powers to perpetrate nuclear blackmail; it has increased the danger of an imperialist-launched nuclear war.

In the article "The Moscow Treaty and Us," Prince Sihanouk said that the Moscow treaty was merely "a trick and an act of demagogy." He said: "The beautiful phrases of the preamble [of the Moscow treaty] cannot obliterate the bad impression" left on the people. He pointed to "the desire of certain big powers to keep the rest of the world outside of what they regard as their exclusive province, to dominate other countries, and arbitrarily to decide their fate." The Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia has, therefore, decided not to sign on the "illusory promise of peace." This correct stand of the Kingdom of Cambodia towards this question vital to the interest of mankind is an outstanding contribution to the defence of world peace.

This serious and correct stand of the Royal Cambodian Government has angered the architects of the fraud. They have flagrantly interfered in and exerted pressure on the Kingdom of Cambodia. They have slandered the Kingdom of Cambodia as a "satellite," asserting that by not signing the Moscow treaty it would be "isolated," and so on. The Kingdom of Cambodia has not been shaken by outside pressure, but, instead, firmly approaches the question from the point of view of the long-term interests of the peace of mankind, draws a correct conclusion of its own, and adopts its own independent attitude.

The Royal Cambodian Government firmly defends its just position and the inalienable rights of an independent and sovereign state in international affairs. Refuting those shameless slanders, Prince Sihanouk pointed out that Cambodia is no satellite, and added: "In making an all-out effort to collect the maximum signatures, the initiators of the treaty show that, while opposed to the participation of all countries on an equal footing in the conference, they insist on their approving the treaty. This is in short an application of the policy of enforcing satellite status in conferences and in treaties!"

Speaking of "isolation," Prince Sihanouk said: "On how many occasions have we been described as being 'isolated' for maintaining neutrality and for refusing to

adhere to SEATO! We are sorry we cannot help saying that we have hardly been impressed by this." Truth never fears isolation and will not be isolated. Truth and justice are invincible. The development of history will prove finally that those isolated will not be the countries and people who persevere in a just stand but the engineers of frauds.

The proposal of the Chinese Government for a world conference of government heads to discuss the complete and thorough prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons has received positive support from the Royal Government of Cambodia. Prince Sihanouk has said that the proposal of the Chinese Government "is absolutely reasonable and we support it with conviction." He has also said that "our idea of peace tolerates no compromises and it is genuine peace that we wish to see established. This is precisely what made us adopt the same attitude as China in regard to the question of general disarmament."

Prince Sihanouk, moreover, proposed a conference of the government heads of Asian countries to strengthen Asian peace and promote the cause of the unity and co-operation of the Asian peoples. This important initiative has also received positive response and support from the Chinese Government. These events reveal that the Chinese and Cambodian peoples share the same aspirations and common interests in the struggle for world peace.

### **Prince Sihanouk's Contribution to Sino-Cambodian Friendship**

The Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia has always followed an independent foreign policy of peace and neutrality, but the imperialists have tried in a thousand and one ways to undermine it. Through their flunkies in Southeast Asia, in particular the Ngo Dinh Diem clique of south Viet Nam and the Government of Thailand, they have made many provocations against Cambodia, encroaching on its independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. The Government and people of the Kingdom of Cambodia have struggled resolutely against the criminal provocations of imperialism and its stooges in Southeast Asia. The Royal Government of Cambodia has taken the decisive step of severing all political relations with the imperialist stooge Ngo Dinh Diem clique. In its struggle to uphold national independence and sovereignty, the Royal Government of Cambodia works not only for its own national interests, but also for the interests of peace in Southeast Asia. This Cambodian stand has won the support of all countries and peoples in favour of peace.

China and Cambodia are both peace-loving countries. Relations of friendship and co-operation between them have steadily advanced on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The people of both countries naturally support and assist each other in their struggle against imperialist aggression and foreign intervention, in defence of their national sovereignty and territorial integrity and in strengthening the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity and peace in Asia and the world.

In his recent articles and statements, Prince Sihanouk has warmly praised Sino-Cambodian friendship. It should be noted that it is Prince Sihanouk himself who has con-

tributed enormously to the consolidation and development of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Cambodia.

At the current U.N. General Assembly session, the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, with the Government of the Albanian People's Republic, sponsored a joint resolution for restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations and for unseating the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The Chinese people are deeply moved by the many-sided support given by Prince Sihanouk and the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia to China's foreign policy of peace, and by the just measures they have taken against the "two Chinas" scheme and in vigorous support for the restoration to China of its legitimate rights in the United Na-

tions. The Chinese people would like to express their sincere gratitude for this.

It has been repeatedly proved that the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Cambodia, built on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, can stand the test of time. Prince Sihanouk has highly evaluated China's friendship for Cambodia. Similarly, the Chinese people greatly treasure Cambodia's friendship. The Cambodian people can have full confidence that the 650 million Chinese people will always be their reliable friends in their just struggle to uphold the policy of peace and neutrality, oppose aggression and intervention by imperialism and its stooges, safeguard national sovereignty and territorial integrity, preserve Afro-Asian solidarity, and defend Asian and world peace.

# HOW WE SEE CHINA

by NORODOM SIHANOUK

*Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, wrote an editorial in the September 17 issue of the Cambodian weekly "Nationalist" (published in Phnom-Penh) under the title "How We See China." Following is a translation of the full text of the editorial. — Ed.*

I MUST first warn my readers that the following article is not to plead in defence of People's China, which needs no such defence anyhow. My intention is simply to reply to some of the questions that some Western personages and journalists ask me all too regularly. . . . I am astounded and disconcerted by the naivety of these questions, yet at the same time this naivety enables me to measure the gulf of incomprehension that separates the West from the biggest nation on earth . . . with all the consequences that this has for our common future.

\* \* \*

I would like to begin by recalling an interview I had in 1958 with John Foster Dulles. This amazing figure of American foreign policy spoke fluent French, which greatly facilitated the interviews I was able to have with him. Thus there was no chance of faulty interpreting in what I shall now relate.

It was in the middle of the crisis provoked by the Quemoy and Matsu affair. The day before my interview with John Foster Dulles in Washington the Soviet ambassador had personally handed me a long letter from my friend Chou En-lai, who had had the consideration to give me a detailed account of this affair and the measures taken by his country.

I thought that in view of the particular esteem shown me by the Chinese Government I might be able to be of some use to our friends in both camps whose quarrel was beginning to be a serious threat to world peace. It was for this reason that I was led in all humility to offer the American Government my good offices in an attempt to help towards relaxing the tension between Washington and Peking. I also made it quite clear that my mission would be accomplished in absolute secrecy as my offer

was in no way motivated by any wish to make propaganda for myself or my country.

Surrounded by a number of assistants and in the presence of our ambassador Nong Kimny, John Foster Dulles thanked me calmly and politely turned down my offer.

After this he saw fit to give me an eloquent account of China's domestic situation and of the "unpopularity" of the regime and of the government of Mao Tse-tung, the fall of which was imminent . . . among other things he said he made the following remarks which I shall never forget:

"As far as Chiang Kai-shek is concerned, I agree with you, I fully agree with you. He has no future and no chance of reconquering the Chinese mainland despite the colossal aid we are giving him.

"But this fact, which I freely admit, will not prevent China from changing her regime one day in the near future. We are waiting for that day before coming to terms with the Chinese people. According to reliable information that I have received, the sufferings of the Chinese people under the oppression of the communist regime will shortly reach their climax; and then we shall have reached the breaking point.

"I agree with you on the point that the liberation of the Chinese people will not be achieved from the outside, from Formosa. It will, however, be achieved by the Chinese people themselves, who have had enough of Mao Tse-tung."

The assistants of the great American minister agreed with respect and conviction. My friend Nong Kimny stared at the speakers with astonishment written all over his face. I could only produce a polite smile.

Thus ended our interview. . . .

This is a classic and tragic example of Western errors of judgment over China. It also shows that the intelligence services of the U.S.A. specialize in estimations that events very rapidly take it on themselves to invalidate. After China there was Cuba and the renowned landing

of the "liberators" for which "the Cuban people under the tyranny of Fidel Castro had been calling with all their hearts". . . ! Then there has been Laos, south Viet Nam, etc. . . .

\* \* \*

In general Westerners adopt policies towards China of "wait and see," or of quarantining her in the conviction that it will not be long before the regime is overthrown by the Chinese people themselves. This belief is displayed not only by most Americans but also by a large number of "right-thinking" Europeans, British, and, even more surprisingly, Frenchmen! I can find sufficient proof of this in the questions I have been asked by certain personages and journalists. What they have said to me has been roughly this:

"We are very favourably impressed with what we have seen in your country. Here in Cambodia the people are quite clearly happy. They live under an easy-going regime (the adjective 'democratic' not being acceptable), and are not oppressed like the people of China.

"You often visit China: do you not see that the Chinese people are far from having the advantages that your people have got thanks to you? You must admit that the people's communes are hell! You must admit that the smiles of the workers, peasants and students are forced and joyless, and that they conceal the unspeakable suffering of men reduced to the state of beasts of burden!

"How can you believe that these perpetual hardships and forced labour imposed on hundreds of millions of people will always be endurable? The regime tells them that these sacrifices are necessary for the greatness of the motherland; but is such greatness really a man's sole aspiration?

"Besides, has not your country gained true international prestige and made considerable progress without your compatriots having to lose their liberty and their *joie de vivre*? Don't you think that the Chinese people will soon manage to free themselves from this intolerable regime and adopt some easier path, such as, for example, yours?"

I have had to listen to such questions more than a hundred times, and I must admit that I am tired of always giving the same explanations. In fact the "political thinkers of the Free World" doubtless regard themselves as very clever in flattering me, our government and our "way of life" and finally confronting me with — as they see it — the following dilemma: either I must forswear my own policies or else agree with them about the "noxious" character of the Chinese regime.

I have patiently tried to make them understand why it is not reasonable to compare the Chinese people's living conditions with ours.

To understand the feelings of the Chinese people towards the regime established by Mao Tse-tung it is necessary and sufficient to compare the present situation with the situation that existed under the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek before the liberation of the Chinese mainland from partial foreign occupation and general economic exploitation by the big imperialist powers.

Westerners have always had the weakness — or the vanity — to believe that "their" democracy is the only one capable of meeting the aspirations of the peoples. This is not to criticize it — not at all — for I am a sincere

admirer of British and American democracy . . . in Great Britain and the U.S.A. I do not, however, believe that it is capable of being exported to other places.

The Western world reaches the heights of absurdity when it persuades itself that the Chinese people "under the yoke of communism" yearn for the former regime, for Chiang Kai-shek's rotten "democracy," for direct colonialism, or for capitalist exploitation. It may be that in the great capitals of Europe and America people believe in Chiang Kai-shek's "Western" democracy, in Ngo Dinh Diem's "personalist" democracy, or in the democracy of Sarit Thanarat which is, according to Thanat Khoman, "subtle and civilized." But the peoples directly concerned have still to be convinced.

How can one forget today that, the Chinese people were mercilessly used and exploited by the colonialists and the foreign imperialists, and long oppressed by mandarins, big landowners, "warlords," and brigands under Chiang Kai-shek's "democracy"? One must remember that, before the founding of the new regime by Mao, the Chinese were beyond a doubt the most wretched in the world if one is to understand that the comparison between the present life of the Chinese peasants in the people's communes and that of a Khmer peasant on his broad acres is a nonsensical one.

Some people brandish the flag of "individual liberties" and assert that the Chinese people are suffering from having lost them. This would certainly be the feeling of a Khmer peasant transplanted into a Chinese people's commune, but it is not that of a Chinese peasant who has known the oppression of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Of course, the new regime has not made a landowner of him, but then he never was one in practice, and at the very least he has the immense satisfaction of knowing that those who exploited him for so long have only a very little space left to them . . . in a re-education camp!

The Chinese people know infinitely better than do the Western politicians what Mao Tse-tung's regime has done for them:

— they now have land to cultivate and a just share of the income derived from their productive labour.

— even if they do not indulge in gastronomical feasts, their daily meals are guaranteed them and they can eat their fill for the first time for a very long period. One has only to see Chinese children to be convinced of this.

— they have proper clothes whereas before they went in rags; they have bedclothes and heating to last through the hard northern winters.

— they know that they have the benefit of free medical care, that their children have the right to public education, and that they will not be abandoned in the case of natural calamities.

— they are certain of never again being robbed by mandarins, looting soldiers, and bandits.

What has the state asked in return for all this? The sacrifice of a few of the liberties of the individual or the family and hard work.

Westerners note this with satisfaction, seeing in it the weakness which will bring down the regime. But the importance of these "individual liberties" is far from having the same significance in the West as in China, and, I repeat, the liberty enjoyed by the Chinese people under Chiang Kai-shek was an illusion for the use of foreigners

only. It is the same today in south Viet Nam, where the Americans wonder at the apathy of the people in the struggle of the Diem government against "communist oppression." In this case too the words "individual freedom" cover up a reality made up of religious persecution, cruel and unjustifiable repression, despotism, social injustice, corruption, insecurity, and, in addition, American presence in and control of the country. In such conditions how could the south Vietnamese peasants fail to be overwhelmingly sympathetic to the Viet-Cong?

The Chinese people, for their part, have never been able to understand what Westerners mean when they want to persuade them at any price to overthrow the regime and regain their liberties. This explains how and why the subversive agents sent by the American-Formosans to the coasts of China are so easily caught by the people as soon as they start reciting propaganda against the government and for the Kuomintang taught them by the C.I.A. (which they do not really believe themselves).

As for the work that the regime demands, the Chinese people, taken as a whole, find nothing inhuman in it. The unremitting industry of the Chinese peasants has been regularly noted with admiration and pity by all travellers in China for more than a century. At that time their efforts enabled them barely to survive, without any assurances for the morrow. Today they work sure of a decent life in the present and also in the future.

At last the Chinese people know that they are working for their own rehabilitation and for the progress and the greatness of their vast country. A few weeks ago I wrote that for the peoples of Asia the freedom of their motherland was far more important than their individual freedom. For their countries' freedom the peoples of Asia are prepared to make any sacrifices. It must be understood that for the first time in its modern history China has been *completely* and for all time freed from all foreign seizure, occupation and exploitation; and that she now carries out her own policies without being under anyone else's control. And the Chinese people know that they owe this to Mao Tse-tung and to the Chinese Communist Party.

In these circumstances, I think it would be wiser for the West and the "Free" World not to base its international policy on China on the appraisals and the hopes of a John Foster Dulles!

\* \* \*

Another serious psychological mistake which the Westerners make in dealing with China is worth emphasizing. They think they can stir up among the peoples of Asia a fear of a People's China greedy for conquests and ready to absorb all the other Asian nations. Western magazines and papers—particularly American ones—show their readers in all parts of the world, especially ours, a map of an Asia partly suffocated by the terrifying tentacles of an enormous red octopus representing the People's Republic of China. Sometimes, it is a dragon with flames pouring out of its mouth and sinking its claws into this or that Asian country.

These images, worked out in the "Free" World's psychological warfare laboratories, have been widely distributed and made much use of, particularly since the beginning of the Sino-Indian border conflict; but they have had no effect on the minds of Asians (except, perhaps, on

those of the Indians). On the contrary—and this is the best part of the joke—it is the Westerners, including their elite, who have developed a panic-ridden fear of China!

Speaking of myself, I have had numerous occasions to notice and confirm this fact. In Europe, as in America, some very likable people from all sorts of walks of life, expressed a touching sympathy with me when they learnt I came from a country quite near China! I tried to tell them of the danger which south Viet Nam and Thailand constitute for Cambodia, but to no avail. They looked at me pityingly and with bewilderment, a little as though I had gone out of my mind. . . .

Only recently a well-known French writer and deputy timidly took the risk (for he certainly knew my friendship and admiration for China) of asking me whether Southeast Asia had not felt the Chinese danger. For their part, Western journalists who are very well disposed towards Cambodia, have explained my friendship for China (which is shared by all of my compatriots) by saying that at heart I tremble in fear of "Chinese dragon which devours the little peoples of Asia" and that my policy is one designed to ensure that my little country should be spared or at least be the last to be devoured!

I regret to have to say to these friends who "avoid discrediting me in the eyes of their nations" that my feelings towards China contain not a whit of fear. I can affirm that neither I nor our people are scared of China and that our only anxiety is caused by Viet Nam and Thailand.

\* \* \*

It must be realized that our confidence in China is not in the least naive nor is it due to failure to reason the matter out. It is just the reverse!

One might ask what grounds do the supporters of the "Free" World have for stating that China seeks to conquer all of Asia, Southeast Asia in particular? I would remind people that these Western assertions were formulated long before the outbreak of the Sino-Indian border conflict.

Those who disparage China have often been bent on bringing it to my attention that our countries are full of "very, very active" Chinese. These people seem to be unaware of the fact that Chinese expansion, not only in Asia but more or less all over the world, is a phenomenon dating back several centuries and not a special feature of the China of Mao Tse-tung.

As for the claim that the Chinese in Cambodia are working for the communization of our country, I venture to doubt it. I know well the Chinese nationals living and working here with us. They greatly love and admire their resurgent country but they feel perfectly comfortable in Cambodia and do not in the least wish for a change in our regime.

Someone quoted to me recently the case of Indonesia which has experienced some difficulties with its Chinese colony. It seems to me that in a case of this kind China is to be congratulated for having shown humility exceptional in a great power. What other nation—especially a Western one—would agree to a foreign government's taking such drastic steps against its nationals, who were reduced to unemployment following the banning of their

businesses, and would undertake their repatriation without protest, and after all that would continue to help and support the government in question?

I have also been presented with the case of the revolt of the Chinese Communists of Malaya. There again, can one put the blame on to People's China? Everybody knows that the situation of Malaya and Singapore is very special, for these two states recognize that their nationals may be of the Chinese, Indian or Malayan race. The Chinese there are, therefore, an integral part of the nation. If in these circumstances the Indians or the Malaysians had participated in the rebellion (which was, in fact, the case), would one have been justified in accusing Mr. Nehru or President Sukarno of wishing to annex Malaya?

By the Westerners' reasoning, one may ask oneself with whom one should connect the Chinese who hold or share power in Singapore or Malaya? My friend Lee Kuan-yew, for example, whom I admire very much, is a pure Chinese. He is not a Communist and that is why he has been allowed to become Prime Minister of Singapore. Despite this, should one consider his case as proof that China has won power through its intermediary in Singapore? And what about the Chinese in New York, in San Francisco, etc. . . ? Are they too exhibits proving the guilt of Mao Tse-tung's imperialism?

Finally, for want of an argument, I was given the case of Laos where the government's difficulties and the situation existing in the whole country are supposed to be due . . . to the Chinese? As proof is cited the road the Chinese built at the request of the Laotians themselves, who have never noticed or indicated the least Chinese interference in their affairs. Last week Prince Souvanna Phouma stated in New Delhi that the Viet Minh alone could be accused, because they were to be found in the ranks of the Pathet Lao. . . .

But the great battle-cry against China is "Peking's annexationism" as manifested in the Sino-Indian border conflict. Incidentally, they are careful not to recall that the Chiang Kai-shek government also contests the frontier claimed by the Indians and is, in this particular case, in complete agreement with Peking. . . .

As far as the fighting which took place between Indian and Chinese troops is concerned, it is impossible to present this with propriety as a campaign of conquest launched by China against India. As Prime Minister Chou En-lai told me in Kunming, if China really had the intention of committing aggression against India she would not have halted her troops after the collapse of the Indian troops, and even less would she have evacuated voluntarily the disputed areas at a time when the road to New Delhi lay wide open to them.

In passing, I will take the liberty of pointing out that the Thais purely and simply annexed Preah Vihear, indisputably Khmer territory, and that the south Vietnamese claim some Cambodian coastal islands which were never before in dispute. And yet, who talks about a Siamese dragon or a south Vietnamese octopus?

For 14 years China has refused to use force to recover Taiwan, the coastal islands of Quemoy and Matsu, or the enclaves of Hong Kong and Macao. But nobody deems it right to pay homage to her moderation even though

action on her part would be legitimate. On the contrary, she is accused of being a warmonger and the advocate of the use of force and not of peaceful negotiations. How can one avoid bringing up the case of India, democratic, peaceful, neutral, and led by a non-violent leader, which nevertheless employed force (and legitimately so) to recover the enclave of Goa. . . .

For us, People's China could not be termed imperialist at a time when so many other nations, white and Asian, big and medium, are so openly imperialist in their conduct. Without the least bias, it is impossible for us to share the verdict of the Westerners concerning China. They conjure up pictures by auto-suggestion; we judge on the basis of facts. Of course, we already know — as examples are not lacking — that the "Free" World readily acquits certain criminals in spite of the most indisputable evidence against them, while unjustifiably condemning those who are not lucky enough to please it. But such an attitude is absolutely contrary to our traditions and to our religious beliefs.

\* \* \*

I would not like to conclude this editorial, all too long as it is, without bringing up one last question about China.

Recently a distinguished British personage asked me this question:

"Don't you feel that the Chinese are very proud and racist, and that this explains their hostile and intransigent attitude towards events and towards international affairs?"

"Do you really think that this attitude is the result of their not being admitted to the United Nations, and to their having been 'put into quarantine' — to use your own expressions — by the United States and others?"

"Personally, I am sure that if the Cambodians were in the place of the Chinese they would not behave in such an insolent and incorrect way, no matter how many disappointments they felt."

My reply to that diplomat, an experienced one at that, was this:

"Your Excellency, I sincerely thank you for your appraisal of the qualities of the Khmer race. However, I regret to have to inform you that, if the United States and others had isolated and ill-treated Cambodia the way they have done People's China, the Cambodians would have been infinitely more insolent and incorrect than the Chinese are. And we would be so in spite of our population of 6 million and our tiny army.

"We hate injustice more than anything. What makes a person or a people proud, hostile and intransigent, is the pride and contempt shown them by others and the evil way in which others treat them. Such is an attitude shown by the Thais towards us and this will explain to you the failure of Mr. Gussing's conciliation mission.

"We shall never bow down before the contempt and insults of the Thais. And if they use force — which they often threaten us with — we shall not hesitate to reply by force, even if we have to die because of it."

This is the code of honour of dignified and proud countries and peoples. The "Free" World would do well to take a look at it. . . .

# No Hurricane Can Overpower the Cuban People

by FAN CHEN

Hurricane Flora, the deadliest storm in memory to hit the Western Hemisphere, battered and buffeted Cuba in early October for days on end. Rain and wind tore down factories and houses, swept away railways and bridges, laid waste entire crops, leaving more than a thousand dead. Oriente, Cuba's breadbasket, was the hardest hit, with serious losses to its coffee, sugar, rice and maize crops.

Cuba is the revolutionary banner in Latin America. In its hour of trial the thoughts of the people the world over went out to embattled Cuba. Messages of sympathy poured into Havana and donations were rushed to the Cuban people. On behalf of the Korean people Premier Kim Il Sung of Korea sent 5,000 tons of rice, tractors and medicine. Albania contributed woollen blankets and cotton fabric. Democratic Republic of Viet Nam donated, among other things, food and antibiotics. A committee was set up in Mexico to help the afflicted Cuban people with necessities. Similar efforts were made in other Latin American countries and elsewhere. By October 17, 30 countries had made donations to aid the Cuban people in their fight against Hurricane Flora. These actions are a demonstration of international solidarity, emanating from a genuine desire to comfort and help. It is generally felt that to help Cuba is to help it defend itself, whether against the aggression of U.S. imperialism or against the onslaughts of nature. The Cuban people appreciate such aid and have gratefully accepted it in the spirit in which it is offered.

But the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys make no secret of the delight they derive from the misfortunes and miseries of others. Feigning sympathy, the Kennedy government, through the American Red Cross, proposed to offer relief to the Cuban victims. It seeks to confound the Cuban people and benumb their revolutionary vigilance by making honeyed promises, so as to facilitate its manoeuvres to suppress the Cuban revolution.

## Clear Distinction Between Friend and Foe

The Cuban people flatly rejected the alms proffered by the U.S. hypocrites. Their rejection shows they not only have a strong revolutionary backbone, but also a high degree of revolutionary vigilance. The Cuban people know only too well, from their experience in the five years since the victory of their revolution, that the U.S. Government has never let up in its aggressive activities against their country. They know that imperialists and their stooges are not in the habit of helping those they want to subjugate. And they know they must be on their guard when these people come bearing "gifts."

In its reply to the American Red Cross, the Cuban Red Cross stated, "At this disastrous moment caused by nature, we reject the hypocritical aid offered by those who have

been attempting to bring about misery and ruin to Cuba by blockade and aggression."

Carlos Lechuga, the Cuban delegate to the United Nations, further spelled out his country's attitude in a statement which he was compelled to issue in New York to refute the American insinuation that Cuba had accepted the offer. "Cuba does not accept aid from any official or semi-official organs of the United States," he said, "because this represents a hypocritical policy."

While shrugging aside the "aid" offer, Cuba did not let her guard down during or after the hurricane. The Cuban Insurgent Army and militia units remained at the ready against any possible trouble from the "colossus of the north." The *New York Times* wrote editorially on October 10, "Already, happy Cuban exiles in Miami are saying, 'now is the time to strike,' and expressing the hope that the hurricane will have blown the Castro regime, as well as eastern Cuba, apart." Cuba wisely looked to its defences while it grappled with the storm and its aftermath.

Hurricane Flora was a challenge to the Cuban people. But they rose to the occasion in a body and met it head-on with courage, perseverance and heroism. It was one for all and all for one, much in the same spirit of the time when they threw the U.S.-backed invaders into the sea at Playa Giron two and a half years ago. Although the blow has been heavy and the damage serious, men and women, young and old, are working with dogged determination to make up the losses. Factories, farms and houses are being rebuilt. Crops are being planted on land where floodwaters have receded. Repair work on the country's transport system is proceeding apace. In a word, life in the devastated provinces is steadily returning to normal.

## China's Support

The Chinese people are comrades-in-arms of the Cuban people, sharing, today as in the past, common joys and ordeals together in struggle. It was with this feeling of going through thick and thin together that Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai on October 9 jointly sent to President Dorticos and Premier Fidel Castro a message of sympathy in the name of the Chinese people and Government. On October 16 Premier Chou En-lai made available to the Cuban Government as a token of China's sympathy and support immediate relief articles, including 20,000 tons of rice, 30,000 tons of wheat and maize, 3.6 million metres of cotton cloth, 2 million kilogrammes of tinned pork, and building and stationery materials. On the previous day, the Chinese Red Cross, in a message to its Cuban counterpart, announced a donation to the Cuban hurricane victims, consisting of 500,000 yuan in cash and medicines and milk powder to the value of another 500,000 yuan. Messages of sympathy were sent

to their Cuban comrades by other Chinese people's organizations.

Cuba is now rebuilding the hurricane-ravaged provinces. "The nation," says a communique signed by Premier Castro, "will rise from this misfortune with more sinewy limbs because the heroic and revolutionary people of Cuba have always advanced under adverse circumstances." The Chinese people share their optimism.

As the *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial "No Hurricane Can Overpower the Cuban People" of October 21 wrote,

## International Communist Movement

# China's Staunch Stand Exerts Tremendous Influence

*Following are excerpts from a special commemorative article carried in the monthly "Malayan Monitor" (published in London) on September 30 under the title "The 14th Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China." Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

ON October 1, 1963, the People's Republic of China celebrates the 14th anniversary of its establishment. Throughout the world, all people who cherish peace and freedom share in the rejoicing and warmly wish the people, Government and Communist Party of China many more brilliant successes in all their endeavours.

### **Blasting a Wide Path for the Oppressed Peoples**

Like the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 was more than the victory of one oppressed nation over its oppressors: it dynamited imperialism on a world scale and blasted a wide path for other oppressed peoples to free themselves from the vile serfdom imposed by colonialism and local reaction.

In neither the Russian nor the Chinese revolution was superiority in arms the decisive factor. Far from it. The army of the Russian proletariat fought and won against overwhelming odds in terms of weapons and all other material. The Chinese Red Army fought and won against even more overwhelming odds in terms of weapons and other material. Right up to the climactic stages of struggle, the Russian and the Chinese Red Armies could not even claim numerical superiority in manpower. The decisive factor was, as Mao Tse-tung explained, the adoption of a "proletarian world outlook as an instrument for looking into a nation's future or for reconsidering one's own problems."

The emergence of New China into a socialist power of such immense calibre and potential struck terror into the hearts of the now mortally wounded world imperialist monster. The entire balance of world forces swung decisively in favour of the socialist camp. The floodgates of national liberation were flung open on a world scale. The torrent of struggle against imperialism swept on irresistibly, and even in the apparently most quiescent

"We are confident that the Cuban people will conquer the temporary difficulties caused by the natural disasters in the same way as they have defeated U.S. imperialist aggression in the past. Our confidence is based on the fact that they closely rally round the Cuban Revolutionary Government and Premier Fidel Castro and mainly rely on their own strength and are assisted by friendly countries and the people the world over. There is not the slightest doubt that the Cuban revolution will advance more rapidly than ever before."

regions of the world, the rumble of the proletarian world outlook in action echoed and re-echoed. The very citadels of monopoly-capitalism in the West began to shake with the tremors of militant responses from the indigenous working-class movements which saw in the worldwide surging tide of proletarian world outlook in action the guarantee of their own emancipation from their "domestic" oppressors.

### **Cross-Current of Imperialist Counter-Revolution**

There was, however, another current: the cross-current of counter-revolution let loose by imperialism in its desperate gamble to stem the onset of its doom. The main strategy against Marxist-Leninist proletarian world outlook, it counterposed "national communism" (i.e., imperialist-sponsored bourgeois nationalism sprinkled with the synthetic colouration of "communism"); against proletarian unity in struggle, it counterposed individual and even secret "diplomacy" in dealing with imperialism; against principled, fraternal co-ordinated action in the international arena, it counterposed pragmatism and bourgeois power-politics; against principled struggle for peace through heightened anti-imperialism, it counterposed the "theory" of the divisibility of peace and the divorce of peace from the context of anti-imperialism.

All this had the unmistakable hallmarks of imperialist cracksmanship, aimed at unhinging precisely those vital bolts that held the socialist camp and the whole international proletarian movement together.

This imperialist trickery disarmed quite a number in the ranks and leadership of several Communist Parties.

In this way, the million-to-one odds against the imperialist gamble became a realizable objective, and the beaten, reeling forces of reaction everywhere began to regroup, rearm, and strike once more in their campaign of counter-revolutionary sabotage.

The first open breach in the fortification of the socialist camp and the world working-class movement began with the calculated defection of the Tito clique from the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world in 1948. From that point onwards, the Tito regime in Yugoslavia and Titoism became welded into the broad strategy of the im-

perialist camp, serving as a "bridge" (in fact, an invasion corridor) between the West and the East (i.e., for Western imperialist penetration into the socialist threshold through the latter's East European corridor).

Simultaneously, a vile campaign of "anti-Stalinism" (the raucous battle-cry of Trotskyism from the 1930s onwards) was mounted by the Western powers and, of course, by Tito and his clique. After Stalin died in March 1953, counter-revolutionary stirrings were set in motion in the Soviet Union itself. An upsurge of "liberalization" at home and "new diplomacy" abroad began to appear in the Soviet Union and the new socialist countries of Europe. The signal for the general counter-revolutionary offensive was hoisted at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In a "secret" document, Khrushchov and some others denounced Stalin for his "crimes," his "murderous" personality, his "distortion" of Marxism-Leninism, his "mistakes" in the conduct of Soviet industrial and agricultural policy, his "failure" as a military leader during the anti-fascist war (a "failure," allegedly accentuated by a "lunatic" and "foolish" practice of planning military campaigns on schoolroom maps), and in general, his unspeakable "failure" as a man and a Communist.

No one outside Mr. Khrushchov's close circle of "de-stalinizers," knew beforehand what was to transpire at the 20th Congress. No one outside this supra-Party circle ever saw the "secret" document.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the world were told to accept the "new line" on the basis of something conjured out of a top hat. In one fell swoop, the principle of applying the proletarian world outlook in state, Party, and international affairs was thrown overboard!

### **Special Significance of China's 14th National Day**

The 14th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China occurs at a time when the two main currents: (1) the world proletarian current and (2) the counter-revolutionary, modern revisionist current, in the world working-class movement, have reached a critical point of conflict. It also occurs at a time when the counter-revolutionary, modern revisionist trends have been embodied into state policy and state action by the leadership of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, etc., against all fraternal Parties and countries which oppose the exchange of the most vital fundament of Marxism-Leninism — proletarian world outlook and solidarity — for the new pragmatism of the modern revisionists. Facts during the past ten years have shown again and again since the question of this exchange was officially raised, that any submission to, or even tolerance of, modern revisionism inevitably leads to a split and weakening of the socialist camp, the world's working-class movement, the national-liberation movement in the colonies, the world peace movement, and to unprincipled concessions to imperialism generally.

By firmly opposing these liquidationist pressures, the people, Government, and Communist Party of China have not only saved themselves and the priceless fruit of their glorious revolutionary struggle from imperialist and counter-revolutionary plunder, they have also rendered a timely life-saving service to the socialist camp, to the

Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, to the cause of the oppressed peoples' struggle for national liberation, to the cause of world peace, to the preservation of the purity of the most cherished weapon of workers of the world — Marxism-Leninism.

Today, China is not only subjected, on the diplomatic level, to more strictures and provocations in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic than are the diplomatic representatives of imperialist powers; China is also being confronted with a situation on the Sino-Indian border, in which intensified Soviet military and economic aid to the Nehru regime vies with U.S. and British imperialist aid, to see which is most effective in strengthening Nehru's war preparations against China.

Despite all that, China under the leadership of its Communist Party headed by Mao Tse-tung, does not flinch. Nor has China been compelled by Mr. Khrushchov's "fraternal" blockade to eat "watery rice" and "share a pair of trousers among five persons." On the contrary, China will be celebrating the 14th anniversary of its victorious establishment as a Marxist-Leninist socialist state in the midst of increased all-round agricultural and industrial output, more consumer goods, a higher standard of education, culture and technology, and above all, in a mass upsurge of national fervour and determination to strengthen its own unity and the unity of the workers of the world in the common struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, for socialism, for world peace.

### **Modern Revisionists Condemned As Liars**

According to facts and the testimony of genuinely qualified observers, one of the great achievements which the people, Government, and Communist Party of China can justly celebrate during their 14th anniversary is the success of its policy of peace. It is a success no less brilliant than that of its policy of militant struggle and proletarian unity in struggle against the source of war — imperialism. The whole series of friendship and boundary treaties signed between China and Burma, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal in succession proved China's utter sincerity in living up to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China's rapid and consistent extension of trade with all countries wishing to trade with it on the basis of equality and mutual benefit was further confirmation of its correct orientation in the field of international affairs. On matters of principle — particularly principle affecting the proletarian world outlook — China stands firm.

Those who rail at China as a "warmonger," "wanting to build socialism on the ruins of atomic war," etc., must, in the face of the evidence to the contrary, stand condemned as liars. And it is significant that, to this day, those who persist in this form of calumny have not been able to adduce one whit of evidence to substantiate their charge.

Today, on the eve of the 14th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, all the progressive peoples of the world, all who love peace and freedom, all who ardently hope and strive to wipe out the biggest blight on mankind — imperialism — warmly salute the people, Government, and Communist Party of China and their great leader Mao Tse-tung. This is no formal



salutation or tribute. It is a considered acclaim, a declaration of faith in a people and Party who, by their honesty, courage, resolution and clear-sightedness, have proved themselves worthy of the even greater role which history now calls upon them to fulfil.

Already, incalculable benefit has flowed from the staunch, Marxist-Leninist stand taken by China at a time when the working-class movement faces its most com-

plex problem. The brilliant light of realization is permeating every corner of the movement. Truth cannot be suppressed or clouded over for long. The proletarian movement of the peoples throughout the world, though injured by a stab in the back, will not be betrayed—however much this or that leader may try to nail the “for sale” sign on to the gateway of the workers’ fortification to earn his commission from the imperialists. The future is bright.

# “The Dream of the Red Chamber” And Its Author

— Exhibition to Mark 200th Anniversary of Death of Tsao Hsueh-chin —

by HSU MIN

ON New Year’s Eve of 1763, the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the Emperor Chien Lung (or, according to a rival view, in 1764), the great Chinese writer Tsao Hsueh-chin died in a mountain village in the western suburbs of Peking. Outside the house the north wind howled as his bereaved and lonely wife wept at his bedside; on his table lay a confused heap of papers—the unfinished manuscript of his now world-famous novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. Sick with grief at the early death of his only son, Tsao Hsueh-chin died before reaching his fiftieth year.

This year the bicentenary of his death is being commemorated. The Ministry of Culture, the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the Union of Chinese Writers and the Palace Museum of Peking have combined to organize a major exhibition in tribute to him and his immortal achievement. The many valuable exhibits and documents now on display in the Palace Museum give one a deeper understanding of the book and its author; they tell of the writer’s family and life and describe the era in which the book was written.

## The Theme of the Novel

*The Dream of the Red Chamber* is a great work of critical realism. Through its account of the grandeur and fall of the four big families of the feudal nobility closely linked through marriage—the Chias, the Shihs, the Hsuehs and the Wangs—it incisively reveals the rottenness of a declining feudal society rent by contradictions. The heart of the story is the tragic love in this environment between Chia Pao-yu and the frail Lin Tai-yu, a tragedy of their resistance to the feudal code of behaviour, and of their yearning for personal liberation and their search for freedom.

The author portrays the “courtly, rich and noble” Jung and Ning Mansions of the Chia family, showing how, on the surface, high and humble each has his place and there is a strict observance of status; how those aristocrats talk fulsomely about “loyalty to the Emperor” and “honouring Confucius,” about official careers and affairs of government; model their speech on ancient classics and use gestures of the utmost politeness.

The real doings of these households, however, are screened by a veil of sentimental and kindly feudal morality. In actual fact, these aristocrats are venal and greedy; they twist the laws to their own ends; they have no high ideals and are lacking in ability. Hypocritical tricksters, they struggle for power and profit; both men and women are unbridled in their debauchery. The astonishing grandeur, luxury and extravagance of the feudal nobles of these mighty households depend entirely on ruthless exploitation of the peasantry through land rents, on usury at high interest and on the slavery of their domestics. In these households each day is filled with the bitter tears of the enslaved, the struggles of the oppressed and the reprisals of the oppressors caught up in a web of antagonisms.

Although every year, as the novel describes, “the floods and droughts are bad and the country is infested with bandits,” the Jung and Ning households keep up their gross extravagance. In the words of Granny Liu, one of the characters in the novel, the cost of one of their meals would be “enough to feed one of us farmers for a year!” Having squeezed every last drop of sweat and blood out of their peasants, they finally resort to pawning and selling off their property in a desperate attempt to maintain their wealthy display. In the struggle for power within the ruling class, the Chia family suffers a mortal blow—its property is confiscated by an imperial decree. From then it slides down the road to ruin. Such a story of splendour and decline was no isolated phenomenon among the eminent families of the feudal nobility; it is a picture in miniature of the contradictions which rent Chinese feudal society during the “prosperous reign of Yung Cheng and Chien Lung” in the first half of the eighteenth century.

## A Work of Great Artistry

An outstanding genius, Tsao Hsueh-chin created several hundred characters, of whom over four hundred have names and about a hundred play active roles. They include old gentlemen, young masters, elderly and young ladies and a multitude of servant girls. . . . Varied according to their social status and different backgrounds,

and with their individual personalities freshly drawn, this host of characters come to life on his pages. Writing with deep emotion, the author created in the hero and heroine of the novel, Chia Pao-yu and Lin Tai-yu, two rebellious-minded young people. Through Pao-yu the author gives expression to many of his own ideals. In the eyes of the guardians of feudal morality Pao-yu is "perverse" in his thoughts and improper in his behaviour. He bitterly ridicules as "place-seekers" those who pursue official advancement; he attacks the imperial examination system as a complete misuse of talent and makes fun of Confucianist hypocrisy. The inequalities between men and women and between master and servant rouse his bitter indignation and he shows his deep abhorrence of the feudal marriage system. In these respects Lin Tai-yu, the heroine, shares his aspirations and tastes.

The love between these two developed on the basis of a common opposition to feudal ideas, but it was wrecked by the upholders of feudalism and ended in tragedy. With the story of their love as the unifying theme and tracing the growth of their affection for each other, the author unfolds before the reader a richly varied picture of an age. In exposing this hateful environment he turns the spotlight of his criticism on to the statutes and codes of feudal society, its economic life, its culture and education and its morality in general, uttering a great cry for emancipation of the individual and for freedom. But as the urban classes at that time were still weak and the world outlook reflecting their ideology was still in its rudimentary stage, Tsao Hsueh-chin's criticism of feudal society was spontaneous and far from thoroughgoing. Moreover, as the author was born in a family of the feudal nobility, he was intricately linked in many ways in his thoughts and feelings with feudal society, and continued to hanker after his memories of former splendour. These realities and unresolved conflicts resulted in the elements of nihilism and pessimism in his work and a belief in predestination. These negative elements, however, are only a minor part of the book; the powerful anti-feudal aspect holds the leading place.

There are many masterpieces in the history of Chinese literature which reveal the darkness of feudalism, but none of them expose that system so penetratingly, or are so well constructed on so great a scale, or have such compelling artistic power as *The Dream of the Red Chamber*.

Tsao Hsueh-chin died after completing the first eighty chapters of his masterpiece. The last forty were added by Kao Ngo on the basis of the fragmentary and incomplete drafts left by Tsao Hsueh-chin. Although these latter chapters have many ideological and artistic shortcomings, they still manage to reach a great tragic ending by following some of the clues in the first eighty chapters. It is not easy for readers to tell that the book was written by two authors.

After the death of Tsao Hsueh-chin *The Dream of the Red Chamber* was circulated in hand-written versions among a small number of readers, and for quite a long time very little was known about the life of its author. But with the increasing popularity of the book and

its publication in print, scholars have increased and deepened their researches so that although it is still very incomplete, the material now available about Tsao Hsueh-chin's life and thought is sufficient to enable some definite conclusions to be drawn about his family and his life.

### The Author's Family Background

The Palace Museum exhibition includes a recently discovered copy of the *Tsao Clan Ancestral Register* which proves that Tsao Hsueh-chin's family came originally from Fengjun County in Hopei Province and that the founder of the clan had played a distinguished role in the founding of the Ming Dynasty. His descendants later moved to northeast China linking their fortunes with those of the Manchu noble house which later became the next, Ching, dynasty of China. In recognition of the military achievements of the Tsao family, the Manchu nobles allowed them to adopt the Manchu nationality and assigned them to the Main White Banner\* of the army composed of Manchus of Han descent. The exhibition also contains patents of nobility and imperial documents relating to the Tsao clan which show that they had been "a great family of a century's standing."

The office in charge of the Chiang-ning (present-day Nanking) Silk Textile Factories was founded at the beginning of the Ching Dynasty. The nominal responsibility of the commissioner of this office was to superintend the manufacture of silk textiles for use in the imperial palace, but he was in fact an agent of the Ching emperor and his principal task was to woo the support of the people south of the Yangtse River, investigate the local situation and keep the government informed on it, and break up the local people's resistance movement against Ching rule. This post was held in succession by Tsao Hsueh-chin's great-grandfather Tsao Hsi, his grandfather Tsao Yin, his uncle Tsao Yung and his father Tsao Fu, and between them they occupied it for fifty-eight years. The "Imperial Rescript" in which the emperor Kang Hsi ordered mounted messengers to travel day and night with medicine for Tsao Yin and the picture of the Imperial Residency at the Bureau of the Silk Textile Factories, shown in the exhibition, illustrate the close relations which existed between the emperor Kang Hsi and the Tsao clan. On four of the six occasions on which Kang Hsi made an imperial tour of the south while the Tsao family held that office, he made the Bureau of the Silk Textile Factories his "temporary palace."

Tsao Hsueh-chin's grandfather Tsao Yin was a high official who was also a connoisseur of the arts. He cultivated the acquaintance of noted scholars of the day and was himself a man of broad and deep learning and an excellent writer of both prose and verse. His father and uncle, too, were learned *literati*-officials at the time. Such was the family into which Tsao Hsueh-chin was born in 1715 (the 54th year of Kang Hsi), and such was the highly cultured atmosphere in which he was brought up.

When Hsueh-chin was eight the emperor Yung Cheng came to the throne. Yung Cheng did not gain the throne through any wish of his father Kang Hsi, who hated him,

\* The Manchu people were divided into eight banners.

but seized it with great ruthlessness in a palace coup. After his accession, Kang Hsi's former intimates, who included the Tsao family, became the objects of a special attack. The imperial edict ordering the sequestration of Tsao Fu's property is on display; thus in 1728 (the sixth year of Yung Cheng), when Hsueh-chin was thirteen, his father lost his official post and most of the family's possessions were confiscated. It seems that about this time the Tsaos moved from Nanking up to Peking.

Some years later the family suffered an even more serious blow and from then on was completely ruined. Finding no way to make a living inside Peking, Hsueh-chin moved to a part of the western suburbs near the Western Hills and lived in a village cottage. With his wife and son he lived in dire poverty, "the whole family eating gruel and often buying wine on credit." Among those who kept up friendship and exchanged verses with him were his close friends the brothers Tun Min and Tun Cheng. Although he was reduced to utter

poverty, his contempt for his times and his rugged independence restrained him from ever begging for help from the feudal nobility. With this great change in his life he came to see more clearly the contradictions and crimes of feudal society and his thinking attained a new depth of understanding. It was probably at the age of thirty or so that he began in a spirit of anger to write *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, drawing on his widely varied experience of life. It took him ten years to produce the first eighty chapters. He rewrote them five times. As he said himself, "every word seems to be written in blood: ten years strenuous labour were no light matter."

### The Age in Which the Novel Was Written

Many documents in the exhibition show that Tsao Hsueh-chin wrote his masterpiece in a time of the strictest literary controls and in an atmosphere of rampant terror. Taking over the government from the Ming Dynasty, which had been of Han nationality, the Manchu founders of the Ching had encountered vigorous resistance from the Hans. The Ching rulers were determined to stifle all anti-Ching thought and for this purpose used exceptionally harsh methods including large-scale literary persecutions. If the writings of a dead man were found to hold the slightest hint of nostalgia for the Ming or to contain a phrase or even a single word which could be regarded as satirizing the Ching, this was enough for his coffin to be broken open, his corpse mutilated and his remaining household exterminated. If such "errors" were discovered in a live writer he was done to death without mercy and his family butchered to a man. Seeing at the exhibition the extant files of many cases of such huge literary persecutions, one can easily understand the



Portrait of Tsao Hsueh-chin

Chinese ink and colour painting by the contemporary artist Liu Tan-tse, with inscription by the eminent poet Kuo Mo-jo

agonized feelings which made Hsueh-chin use so many oblique references and hidden allegories in his novel when writing of forbidden things.

While it carried out these literary inquisitions, the Ching court also used the imperial examination system to keep the intellectuals under tight control. The exhibition includes answer papers as well as "cribs" used for cheating during the examinations—shirts covered with usable "quotes" from the classics and microscopically written books which could be concealed in a shoe. All these show that while the Ching rulers made use of the exams to induce conscientious scholars to bury their heads in idiotic "eight-legged essays" and put aside any anti-Ching thoughts, this system was in fact downright corrupt. In *The Dream of the Red Chamber* Tsao Hsueh-chin attacks it through these thoughts of the hero Pao-yu: "The so-called eight-legged essays have always been heartily detested; they are not the original works of the sages, so how can they expound

the sages' profound wisdom? They are nothing but a ladder to fame and fortune." To speak up so militantly in such an environment of terror was an act of courage for which Tsao Hsueh-chin deserves to be honoured.

During the lifetime of Tsao Hsueh-chin the Ching empire went through an economic revival. The textile industry, commerce, and foreign trade flourished. But the nobility, the high officials, the big landowners and the leading merchants squeezed vast quantities of wealth from the people to live in the greatest luxury. This led to the polarization of the social economy; the rich got richer and the poor poorer; and, as a result, class antagonism aggravated. When reduced to destitution, the peasants would either be driven as refugees to some other part of the country, or be forced to sell their children, while some desperate men took the course of armed resistance. The many land leases in the exhibition show by what cruel methods the debauched and extravagant life of the nobility was maintained during the Yung Cheng and Chien Lung periods. The account of the life of the four big clans in the novel (the Chia, Wang, Shih and Hsueh families) is a graphic example of what this meant. The sight of the deeds in which the peasants signed away their own children recalls the fate of the many maids of the Chia family, such as Yuan-yang, Ching-wen, Chin-chuan and Ssu-chi as they were brought into the Jungkuo Mansion. The piles of high-interest loan receipts displayed are evidence of the criminal way in which the feudal nobility exploited the people. The four big families in the novel are just such usurious moneylenders. Also on display are betrothal documents reeking of feudal superstition which denies the young people any freedom of choice. The lucky youngsters of

today's China who see them have difficulty in understanding what they are; but in the novel the feudal marriage system destroyed the happy lives of the hero and heroine.

*The Dream of the Red Chamber* gave such a telling exposure of the corruption of the landowning nobility and was so deeply moving an indictment of their crimes that, as its popularity increased, they slandered it as a "scurrilous book," as an "obscene novel" and as "harmful to public morality"; and even had it officially banned and burnt.

### A Focus of Great Interest

The exhibition contains many manuscript and printed editions of the novel. The earliest manuscript editions were circulated among a very small number of readers, but in 1791-92 its popularity led Cheng Wei-yuan and Kao Ngo to supplement the text, bringing it up to 120 chapters, and publish it in woodblock and moveable type printed editions. Between the publication of Cheng and Kao's version to the liberation of China many different editions and sequels came out, as well as vast numbers of commentaries and annotations, romances, dramas, poems, illustrations and pictures and sculptures based on the book. The number of translations in foreign languages is increasing. With the passage of years the influence of the novel is growing ever greater.

A colossal number of works have been written in China on *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. But the investigations of scholars of the feudal classes in the past were little more than elaborate guessing games concerning the elucidation of obscure passages and literary references; they were unable to appreciate fully the true, great value of this work. Beginning with the May 4th Movement of 1919, a number of bourgeois scholars approached the problems of the exegesis of the novel and its origins, and of the life and background of its author. They unearthed many facts about the author's life and proved that the last forty chapters were an addition, with many facts pointing to Kao Ngo as their author. They also found that Tsao Hsueh-chin died leaving one or two of the first eighty chapters unfinished and that there had originally been some incomplete versions of some of the subsequent chapters written by Tsao Hsueh-chin. These scholars, with Hu Shih as their representative, made the mistake, however, of regarding the novel as simply an

autobiographical novel, as the author's "confessions of his own sufferings in love," and as a naturalistic record of the author's personal experience in life, since, as they said, Tsao Hsueh-chin wrote the book for the mere purpose of "lamenting his own misfortune." Basing their studies on pragmatism and an idealistic viewpoint, they were blind to the historical background of the novel and completely negated its anti-feudal substance. And this led to many subjective and unfounded judgments and forced and far-fetched conclusions. Whereas the author treated life in all its great complexity as an organic whole they saw the novel as so many isolated, unrelated phenomena and thus veiled the great masterpiece in a cloak of mysticism.

After liberation, China's scholars, following the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, criticized the academic thinking of the bourgeois scholars, as represented by Hu Shih, in the study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. In their studies and discussions, they have made a scientific investigation of the age in which the novel was written. While admitting that the novel was essentially based on the author's own experiences they pointed out that it is by no means an autobiographical novel, nor is it a merely naturalistic account of what actually happened in the real life of the author. *The Dream of the Red Chamber* is rather a superb generalization of the typical social phenomena of the time. In it, the author has not only laid bare the ugliness and corruption of the feudal society, but also created a number of ideal, new characters capable of rousing in readers' minds a deep yearning for a more beautiful life. These studies and discussions have succeeded in giving rise to a clear view of the real value of this work and its great anti-feudal significance.

At present, fresh research and critical discussion are still being carried on in the spirit of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend." Several new collated editions have been published and photographic reprints of a number of manuscript editions which had been regarded in the past as "private editions" have reached a wide public.

The proletariat has proved that it is the only class that can critically inherit all that is best in the culture of mankind. Far beyond Tsao Hsueh-chin's fondest dreams, a new society has arisen which can truly appreciate his work.

---

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

from south China, aquatic products from the coastal areas and fruits from all over China. The industrial products which occupy an important place at the fair include machine tools, diesel engines, many kinds of manufactured consumer goods, canned foods and textiles. They are better in quality and in greater variety than previously.

An outstanding feature of the current fair is the abundance of new products. More than 4,500 of the

20,000-odd items on display are newly developed commodities made available for export for the first time. About half of the 3,000 types of textiles and one-third of the machinery and equipment on exhibit are newly designed.

### More Post-Graduates

More than 800 post-graduate students have been enrolled this autumn in China's colleges, universities and research institutes. This is part of the nation's effort to train specialized personnel for scientific research.

These students were chosen from among 10,000 outstanding candidates — mostly this year's college graduates — who applied for post-graduate work and sat qualifying examinations. They are now studying under expert guidance at Peking University, Tsinghua University and other well-known centres of higher learning as well as at various institutes under the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Plans are going ahead to enrol more post-graduate students and further qualifying examinations will be held in February of next year.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Britain

### Exit Macmillan

Macmillan's departure from the political scene is a pointed commentary on the ills besetting Britain today. For months the British Prime Minister has been under fire, from both the Labour opposition and his own party, not to mention the great mass of wage-earners, for gross mismanagement. His resignation had been expected. Perhaps one can be a little surprised that he clung to office or, as the *Economist* puts it, "soldiered on" so long before throwing up the sponge—on the grounds of health.

Macmillan's downfall has been ascribed to the exposure of sex-and-security scandals in high places of his administration. This is only part of the story. True, when the Profumo affair, with all its sordid details, broke upon the people of Britain last summer, it did drag into full public view much dirty linen. But it did more than that. It provided a backdrop for the many failures, political as well as economic, which Whitehall propaganda and "prosperity" stunts have tried to hide and did succeed for a time in hiding. Now the skeletons are out of the Macmillan cupboard.

At home, the policy of economic stringency has only lined the pockets of the rich. Unemployment, the worst since World War II last February, is back again to 500,000 with the winter months still ahead. Incomes have risen but have not kept pace with prices. Housing remains an unsolved social problem and Tory indulgence towards its own kind has allowed "slum lords" like Peter Rachman to reap a harvest of gold.

Abroad, failure to get into the Common Market dealt the Conservative government a heavy blow. The Macmillan image was shattered at the Nassau conference when Kennedy double-crossed him by abandoning the Skybolt missile thus knocking the bottom out of Britain's "independent nuclear policy." At the same time there is widespread public opposition to the Polaris base which the U.S. still maintains in Scotland. And Britain's devious attempts to retain her position as a colonial power in Asia and Africa are running into increasingly stiffer resistance. Such is the dismal picture of Britain under Macmillan.

Now Macmillan has resigned in favour of his Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, who will lead the "disunited, demoralized and leaderless" (Labour leader Harold Wilson's words) Tories

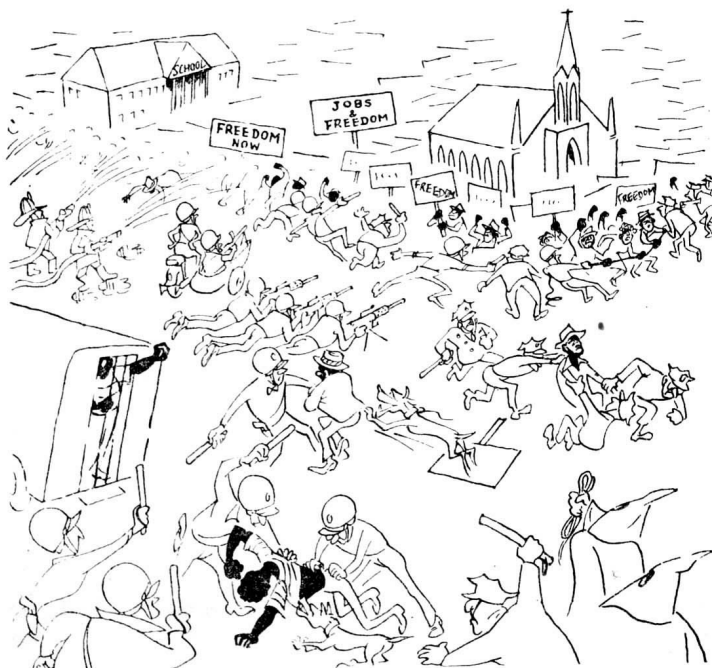
in the forthcoming general elections. The Home administration will carry on, but it can only be a caretaker government with neither the will nor the ability to cure Britain's ills. A Tory government with Home at the helm, is, as a Chinese saying goes, a "prescription that changes the water but not the medicine."

## U.S.-Diem Persecutions

### The World Must Know

A first-hand account of the atrocious attacks on Buddhists in south Viet Nam has just appeared in the Chinese press. It was told by the Venerable Thich Thien Hao, President of the Luc Hoa Buddhist Association of south Viet Nam, who spoke at the Conference of Buddhists of Eleven Asian Countries and Regions held in Peking (see "The Week," p.4).

On August 22, according to the Venerable Thich Thien Hao, the U.S.-Diem regime staged simultaneous attacks on all Buddhist temples in south Viet Nam. It sought to suppress by sheer brutality the mounting resistance of the Buddhists to its persecution and repression. In the Saigon area alone, the Diem troops arrested more than 2,000 monks and nuns, among whom were the leaders of the south Viet Nam General Buddhist Association. They killed or wounded numerous defenceless believers. The two biggest temples in south Viet Nam, Sari and Tu Dam, were sacked. Tran Li Xuan (better known as



American "democracy" at home



... and abroad

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu) personally commanded the Diem thugs when they destroyed Sari Temple. In front of the statues of Buddha, nuns were first raped and then had their bellies ripped open. The monks on duty in the bell tower were beheaded. The statues of Buddha themselves were blown up with explosives.

In this carefully planned massacre, many Buddhists were bayoneted outright and those arrested were subject to such gruesome tortures as body mutilations (hands were chopped off, tongues and eyes cut or gouged out) and the modern American variants of electric shock. The victims, some not even dead, were simply dumped into the Saigon River, and many days later corpses could still be seen floating in its waters.

The Venerable Thich Thien Hao said that August 22 was not the first time the U.S.-Diem regime had committed such atrocities against Buddhists. There was the massacre of 11 Buddhists on May 8, which attracted worldwide attention to the plight of south Vietnamese Buddhists. This was followed by attacks on Buddhist demonstrators in June. Since the U.S.-Diem co-criminals started their "strategic hamlet" programme, they had attacked 1,000 temples and monasteries in the southern provinces alone. On May 5, 1963, for example, U.S.-Diem aircraft dropped gas bombs at the Bong Vien and Cong Temples where 400 monks and 5,000 believers were celebrating the birthday of Sakyamuni. Six people were killed immediately and 150 were poisoned.

"Buddhism in south Viet Nam is seriously threatened," stated the Venerable Thich Thien Hao. "Our Buddhist flag is unable to fly freely in the air of south Viet Nam. South Vietnamese monks and Buddhists are still being

arrested, imprisoned and killed. For our Buddhist faith, for compassion and fraternity, and for the saving of all beings by Buddha, we appeal to all the Buddhists and people in the world to give vigorous support to the south Vietnamese Buddhists and people in their just struggle for national independence and freedom of belief."

The details which the Venerable Thich Thien Hao supplied are grisly and revolting indeed. Yet they must be told and told now when U.S. imperialism is trying its hardest to cover up its unholy role in this abominable crime.

### South Korea

#### Tweedledum . . .

Nothing but the signboard of the fascist regime has changed with the conclusion of the "presidential elections" in south Korea. Before, it was a military regime under General Pak Jung Heui, chairman of the military junta; now it is a "respectable" government under the self-same Pak who hasn't even bothered to change into civilian clothes to become president. Still U.S.-occupied, south Korea remains a U.S. colony.

Carried out on U.S. instructions, this farcical transfer of power is aimed at allaying the smouldering discontent of the south Korean people who have had enough of U.S. puppet rule. Only recently, student representatives of 21 universities and colleges in heavily garrisoned Seoul stormed the headquarters of the Liberal Party (stooges of former dictator Syngman Rhee) and demanded that Pak Jung Heui, former "president" Yoon Bo Sun (also a presidential candidate), former "premier" Huh Jung and their like "retire from politics." It is not only the students who think this way. Dictator Pak just

managed to get himself "elected" and did not even receive a majority of the votes cast despite the "bribery, coercion, double voting and other irregularities" during the elections (UPI).

Meanwhile, the economic situation in south Korea continues to deteriorate. Between January and September this year, prices rose 40 per cent and they are still skyrocketing. Since this is the case, a change of political clothing will not deceive the people.

### Venezuela

#### . . . Tweedledee

Yet another dictatorial government is attempting to prop up its tottering rule by "presidential elections." This is the regime of U.S. stooge Betancourt who is having a difficult time trying to overcome the Venezuelan people's mounting resistance. Increasingly isolated from the populace and without a parliamentary majority because of his slavishly pro-U.S. policies, Betancourt needs the deceptive cloak of "representative democracy" to lend legality to his retention of power. If this should fail, U.S. imperialism is ready to replace him with the generals to whom it supplies arms.

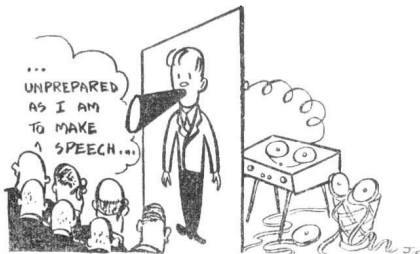
Six candidates, including Betancourt's nominee, are to contest the December elections. At the same time there is a state of siege. With the people thus deprived of their constitutional rights, the Communist Party and the Left-wing Revolutionary Movement banned and the prisons packed with patriots, there can be no genuine elections. This simple truth was once more demonstrated by the recent mass arrests of progressives and trade unionists. Gustavo Machado, Eduardo Machado, Jesus Maria Casal, other senators and deputies have even had their parliamentary immunity cancelled and been clamped into prison.

Deprived of all peaceful means of opposition, the Venezuelan patriots are talking back in the only language which the Betancourt band and its U.S. mentors can understand. Lately, there has been a growing number of armed attacks in Caracas and other cities. Government offices, police posts, radio stations and U.S. firms and petroleum pipelines have been their favourite targets. Whatever the outcome of the December elections, the people's resistance will continue till the Betancourts, civilian and military, are thrown out of the country.

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Bobby Gets a New Voice

After a stormy session with Negro leaders in New York convinced him that his civil-rights speeches were missing the mark, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy shopped around for a new speechwriter, reports *Newsweek*. The chosen new voice: Novelist Richard Yates author of *Revolutionary Road*, *Eleven Kinds of Loneliness* and the screenplay *Lie Down in Darkness*.



# SONG & DANCE

## Solidarity Is the Theme Song

Indonesia's song and dance ensemble which came to China to take part in the festivities of National Day captivated Peking's audience with its repertoire of tropical songs and dances. The ensemble by its inimitable performance at the theatre of the Palace of the Nationalities had the packed audience, for several evenings running, transported to the beautiful sights and sounds of the sun-washed islands of Indonesia. Those who saw these Indonesian performers were not only thrilled by their artistry but were impressed, and indeed moved, by the message of friendship for and solidarity with the Chinese people who are their close comrades-in-arms in the struggle against imperialism which is busily engaged in building up a colonialist "Malaysia" against the people of Indonesia.

Not once but a dozen times did they find occasion to express Indonesia's friendship for China. In a song which he himself had composed, Andy Mulja, one of the two vice-directors of the ensemble, sang in his fine tenor:

*Snow-white are the sugar-flakes on  
the honeycake;  
Pure are the hearts of Chinese  
comrades.  
Oh, if you were not our comrades,  
We would not be here today.  
Taking clothes to wash in the clear  
cool stream,  
True friendship is the only colour  
that never fades!*

The familiar strains of China's *The East Is Red*, played on bamboo *angklungs*, came doubly endearing to Chinese ears. This is not only because the song is one of our national favourites, but also because of the consummate skill with which the Indonesian artists manipulated their delicate and extremely pleasing instruments. The *angklung* is not new to the Chinese. In April this year, when Chairman Liu Shao-chi visited Indonesia, he was charmed by the *angklung's* clear, bright tones and mellifluous trill. He and Vice-Premier Chen Yi and others of his party were given the instrument to play on at a gathering, a scene which delighted the cinema-goers who saw the travelogue of Chairman Liu's visit to the country.

Sopranos Effie Tjoa and Eveline Tjiauw pleased the audience by singing in perfect Chinese two of Chairman Mao's poems—*The Immortal* and *Kunlun* set to music—as well as Chinese folk songs. They were particularly appreciated for their grasp of the feelings expressed in Chairman Mao's poems, and the deep understanding of them that they showed.

The folk dances *The Farmers' Dance* and *The Workers' Dance*, and the chorus *Selfless* forcefully expressed the Indonesian people's unity and strength in fighting their oppressors. Determination to drive out the imperialists was embodied in the *Dance of the Paper Tiger* composed by director Sunardi of the ensemble. *The Flames of Cuba*, *Djamila*, named after the Algerian heroine, and *From the Jungles of North Kalimantan* were rendered with gusto and feeling by the chorus. The chorus had 16 members, but the range and power of their voices were particularly well brought out in these spirited revolutionary songs. These numbers amply demonstrated the Indonesian people's great sympathy and support for the peoples' fight against imperialism in all parts of the world.

The national flavour in Indonesian art is especially strongly represented in a number of songs and dances depicting the ordinary Indonesian people. The classical *Masked Dance* portraying a youth aspiring for freedom from oppressors had well-known dancer Sampan Hismanto executing virile, forcible movements in which every part of his body was brought into rhythmic motion. The dashing song *Hello, Hello Bandung!* and the lyrical *Solo River* and *Song of the Coconut Islands* had half the audience

## Chinese Leaders Receive Indonesian Artists

Chairman Chu Teh and Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress attended the Peking premiere of the Song and Dance Ensemble of the Indonesian People's Culture League on October 8. On the same evening they received director Sunardi and vice-directors S.W. Kuntjahjo and Andy Mulja of the ensemble together with its senior members. Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council attended the ensemble's third performance on October 10 and received the ensemble's director, vice-directors and senior members. On October 13, leading members of the ensemble, together with the Delegation of the Indonesian People's Culture League led by Basuki Resobowo, secretary of the League's Central Secretariat, were received by Chou Yang, Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. Hosts and guests talked in a cordial and friendly atmosphere on all three occasions.

humming under its breath as these songs have long been popular in this country.

The performance of the Indonesian song and dance ensemble was militant in content and national in form. Both these reasons ensured their great success with Chinese audiences. Although the ensemble brought over only 30 members on their China tour, they brought here the voice of an independent people staunch in the fight against imperialism and colonialism.



Indonesian artists playing the "angklung"

Sketch by Miao Ti

# "YOUHAO"

## Dyestuffs



FOR



COTTON



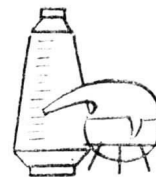
RAMIE



SILK



WOOL



NYLON

Direct & Direct Fast Dyes  
Sulphur Dyes  
Basic Dyes  
Acid & Acid Chrome Dyes  
Youhaathol Dyes,  
    Youhaathols  
    Fast Colour Bases  
    Fast Colour Salts

Vat Dyes  
Youhao Fluorwhite  
Textile auxiliaries  
Etc.

*See our exhibits,  
Meet our representatives at the*

**CHINESE EXPORT COMMODITIES FAIR**

in Canton, China  
Oct. 15 - Nov. 15

*We buy and sell on the basis of equality and mutual benefit*

**CHINA NATIONAL CHEMICALS IMPORT & EXPORT CORPORATION**

**Tientsin Branch**

171 Chien Sheh Road, Tientsin, China

Cable Address: "NOCIDYES" Tientsin