August 20, 1965



## Premier Chou Denounces U.S. **Brutality Against Negroes**

Fight for freedom and emancipation by Negro people enters a new stage.



## Guide for 500 Million Peasants Advancing on Socialist Road



Hongqi article by Tao Chu commemorating 10th anniversary of publication of Chairman Mao's work "On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation."



China's Victorious War of Resistance Against Japan

A historical account.

Cultural Events Marking 20th Anniversary of Victory Over Japan

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## THE WEEK

## Chairman Mao Receives Navy Representatives

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Party and state leaders on August 17 received representatives of the naval fleet which recently sank two U.S.-made submarine chasers of the Chiang Kaishek gang.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Lo Jui-ching also received the navymen the same day. Premier Chou praised them for their revolutionary spirit of heroism and flexible and mobile tactics in the sea battle. He urged them to continue to give prominence to politics, guard against complacence and rashness, sum up their experience and strive for still greater victories.

## Korea's Liberation Anniversary

Party and state leaders Mao Tsetung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai, in their August 14 message to Korean leaders Kim Il Sung and Choi Yong Kun, congratulated them on the 20th anniversary of Korea's liberation. The message "The heroic Korean people, said: after protracted arduous struggles, finally succeeded in smashing Japanese imperialism's colonial rule 20 years ago and won national liberation. Since then, the Korean people, under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, have carried forward the glorious tradition of the revolution and achieved brilliant successes in fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression and defending the independence of the motherland; they have scored tremendous victories in the cause of building socialism by holding high the banner of the 'winged-steed movement' and persisting in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. The Chinese people feel boundless joy at every achievement of the fraternal Korean people.

"The great unity and comradeshipin-arms between the Chinese and Korean peoples have been cemented with blood in common protracted revolutionary struggles. Their unity and comradeship are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are long-tested and unbreakable. The Chinese people will for ever unite closely with the fraternal Korean people and march forward together in the common struggle to oppose imperialism, safeguard Asian and world peace and work for the victory of socialism."

On August 14, Korean Charge d'Affaires ad interim Jung Bong Koo gave a reception to celebrate the anniversary. Vice-Chairman Tung Piwu and other Chinese leaders attended. The Korean diplomat told his guests that, in the 20 years since liberation, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had become a socialist industrial-agricultural country with a strong self-reliant national economy as its foundation. He said that the Korean people at present were going ahead in the manner of a winged steed for the realization of their magnificent seven-year plan.

Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih, in his speech, paid high tribute to the Korean people for defending the eastern outpost of the socialist camp, consistently supporting the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples in their struggle for liberation, and defending peace in Asia and the rest of the world. "U.S. imperialism which is aggressive in nature," said the Vice-Premier, "still occupies south Korea and obstructs the peaceful reunification of Korea. It has stage-managed the signing of the 'ROK-Japan basic treaty' by the Sato government of Japan and the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique; it is intensifying its efforts to rig up a 'Northeast Asia military alliance,' thus further threatening peace in Asia. At the same time, U.S. imperialism is sending large reinforcements to south Viet Nam to expand its war of aggression in Viet Nam a step further. But U.S. imperialism's plots of aggression will never succeed." He expressed the conviction that the faster

## Premier Chou Condemns U.S. Ruling Circles' Suppression of U.S. Negroes

Speaking at the August 17 reception in Peking given by Indonesian Ambassador Djawoto in celebration of the 20th anniversary of Indonesia's independence, Premier Chou En-lai sternly condemned U.S. ruling circles for their bloody suppression of the American Negroes.

He declared: "The Chinese people firmly stand by the American Negroes, the other Americans who oppose racial discrimination, and the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world, and together with them will fight to the end against U.S. imperialist policies of racial oppression, aggression and war."

The Premier noted that in the last few days the American Negroes had launched a momentous nationwide fight against tyranny from coast to coast and from north to south. Subjected beyond endurance to intensified racial discrimination and oppression by the U.S. ruling class, they had taken up arms in their struggle. The Premier said: "They have explicitly linked their struggle for freedom and equal rights and

against discrimination and persecution with the anti-U.S. imperialist struggles of the people of Viet Nam, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Dominican Republic and other countries. All this marks the beginning of a new stage in the American Negroes' movement for freedom and emancipation."

Premier Chou recalled Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement two years ago supporting the American Negroes' just struggle: "The fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom in the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad."

Premier Chou said: "Facts over the past two years have further proved the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis. The American Negroes are not alone in their struggle. The anti-U.S. imperialist forces all over the world are on their side."

U.S. imperialism escalated the war, the quicker and greater would be its defeat.

### Indonesia's Independence Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message to President Sukarno on August 16, congratulating him on the 20th anniversary of Indonesia's independence.

In Djakarta, on August 17, about a million people attended a huge ceremony commemorating the occasion. Joining the Indonesian people in their celebrations were the Chinese government delegation led by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and the National People's Congress delegation led by its Standing Committee's Vice-Chairman Li Hsueh-feng.

In Peking, Premier Chou En-lai was among the guests attending Indonesian Ambassador Djawoto's anniversary reception. Both Ambassador Djawoto and Premier Chou spoke at the reception and toasted the growth of the militant friendship between China and Indonesia.

Ambassador Djawoto spoke of the victorious revolutionary struggle waged by Indonesia under the leadership of President Sukarno. He said that the Indonesian people stood on the side of the world's people opposing imperialism and new and old colonialism. He stressed the need to continue to strengthen the solidarity and co-operation between the peoples, particularly between Asian and African peoples, in their antiimperialist struggle. Referring to Sino-Indonesian relations, he said that they had never been better, and he was convinced that they would continue to develop in the future.

Premier Chou En-lai paid tribute to the Indonesian people who had in the past 20 years held high the banner of fighting imperialism and persevered in upholding national independence, promoting Afro-Asian solidarity and defending world peace. "The struggles waged by the Indonesian people and their victories during the past 20 years," said the Premier, "abundantly prove that they are worthy of the name of a heroic people. No force on earth can prevent such a people from advancing victoriously on the revolutionary road of fighting imperialism."

Referring to Indonesia's mass movement supporting the Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression, Premier Chou said: "Together with the people of Indonesia and other countries, the Chinese people will resolutely support the Vietnamese people till final victory in their great struggle to resist U.S. aggression, save the nation, liberate the south, defend the north and reunify their fatherland." The Premier stressed that unity in struggle against imperialism was the unanimous demand of the Asian and African peoples. He said that China would work together with Indonesia and other Asian and African countries to safeguard and develop the Bandung spirit and make the Second African-Asian Conference a success.

In honour of the anniversary, the Chinese magazine *People's China* (Indonesian edition) brought out a special issue, with autographed messages from Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Sukarno.

Warmly greeting the heroic Indonesian people, Chairman Liu said in his message: "The Republic of Indonesia is a great newly emerging force and the Indonesian people are a great and revolutionary people. Over the past 20 years, the Indonesian people, under the leadership of President Sukarno, have fought a victorious struggle against imperialism and colonialism, defended their national independence and developed their national economy and culture. The revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people has inspired the newly emerging countries and peoples in their united struggle against imperialism.

"The militant friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples is unbreakable. We must unite still more closely and march forward together in the common cause of developing the newly emerging forces in the world, opposing imperialism and safeguarding world peace."

In his message, President Sukarno said: "For the past five years and more, People's China has worked for closer friendship between the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China and between the revolutionary Indonesian people and the revolutionary Chinese people. As I said when I visited Peking, Shanghai and Canton, the friendship between the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China is a giant bridge guaranteeing security and peace of the Asian countries.

"August 17 is a sacred date for the Indonesian nation, as October 1 is for the Chinese people. As Dr. Sun Yat-sen frequently taught and, in particular, as Chairman Mao Tsetung teaches now, what is most important for a nation is to dare to make revolution. Both our nations dare to make revolution. We have made revolution and will carry it through to the end. This is our pride and a guarantee for our victory."

## Congolese (B) National Day

The second anniversary of the August revolution of the Republic of the Congo (B) was celebrated in Peking at a reception given by Congolese Ambassador Alphonse Bayonne on August 15. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Po I-po and Hsieh Fu-chih were among those present. They toasted the growing friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

The Congolese Ambassador, in his speech, described the August revolution as a victory for the Congolese people, and spoke of the important achievements in consolidating that victory in the past two years. He strongly condemned the imperialists headed by the United States for carrying out aggressive and subversive activities against the Congo and other countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. He expressed admiration and support for the fraternal Congolese (L) people's patriotic and

just struggle, and pledged that his people would always support the African, Asian and Latin American peoples in their struggles against imperialism and colonialism.

Vice-Premier Po I-po warmly greeted the Congolese (B) Government and people on their great victories in consolidating national independence and in building up their country.

Referring to U.S. imperialism's continuous sabotage and subversive activities against the Congo (B) and other countries, the Vice-Premier stressed: "Confronted with such a vicious enemy as U.S. imperialism, the Asian and African peoples need to strengthen their unity still more and wage a resolute tit-for-tat struggle against it."

On the eve of the Congolese National Day, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent messages of greetings to President Alphonse Massamba-Debat and Premier Pascal Lissouba respectively.

Following the defeat of its plots of subversion and intervention in the Congo (B), the United States last week withdrew all its diplomatic personnel from Brazzaville. Renmin Ribao on August 18 published an article by Commentator pledging China's support for the Congolese people's struggle to defend their independence and sovereignty.

## Liu Shao-chi Meets Rumanian Delegation

Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, met on August 12 the Rumanian Government delegation headed by Bujol Almasan, Member of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and Minister of Mines and Electric Power. Chairman Liu had a cordial talk with the Rumanian comrades.

The same day, in the afternoon, Chairman Liu visited the Rumanian Economic Exhibition. He paid tribute to the Rumanian people's successes in industry, agriculture and other fields of socialist construction made under the leadership of the

Rumanian Communist Party. He also expressed his admiration for the good organization of the exhibition.

After attending the opening of the economic exhibition in the capital on August 5, the Rumanian government delegation toured the country. It returned to Peking on August 12. In the evening, Rumanian Ambassador Dumitru Gheorghiu gave a banquet for the delegation. Peng Chen, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Vice-Premier Li Hsiennien were among those present.

The Rumanian delegation left for home by air on the morning of August 13.

## Japanese C.P. Leaders Arrive In Peking

Satomi Hakamada, Member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, and his wife Kikuko Hakamada, and Ichiryo Sunama, Member of the Central Committee of the Japanese C.P. and Member of the Central Committee's Secretariat, and his wife Akiko Sunama, arrived in Peking on August 14. They came on a visit and to spend a vacation at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Welcoming them at the airport were Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese C.P., and his wife Chang Chieh-ching; Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee: and other leaders.

## Premier Chou Meets South Vietnamese Representative

Premier Chou En-lai met on August 12 with Tran Van Thanh, Head of the Permanent Delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to China. The south Vietnamese representative handed the Premier letters from Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front, to Chairman Mao Tsetung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chairman Chu Teh and the Premier him-

(Continued on p.14.)



# A Guide for 500 Million Peasants Advancing Along the Socialist Road

 Commemorating the 10th Anniversary of the Publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's "On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation"

## by TAO CHU

The author is a Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, First Secretary of the Central-South China Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. The following is the first instalment of a slightly abridged translation of the article by him published in the July 31, 1965, issue of "Hongqi" (No. 8). The second and final instalment will appear shortly. — Ed.

TEN years have elapsed since Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on July 31, 1955, made his report On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation at a meeting of secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous region committees of the Chinese Communist Party.

China has experienced earth-shaking changes in that decade. Our socialist revolution has won great and decisive victories on the economic, political and ideological fronts. Our socialist construction has advanced at unprecedented speed and achieved great and phenomenal successes in agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology.

The most decisive of the factors contributing to these victories was that the whole Party, by holding aloft the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and particularly by following the Marxist-Leninist line propounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his report for solving the agricultural question, speeded up the socialist transformation of agriculture and provided a timely solution to the problem of agricultural co-operation, a solution which was followed by the founding of the people's communes on the basis of co-operation.

The solution of the agricultural question in accordance with socialist principles is the key problem of China's socialist revolution and construction. Collectivization of agriculture has not only provided very favourable conditions for the vigorous development of agriculture, but has laid a really solid base for vigorous growth of the national economy as a whole.

China used to be an extremely poor and backward agricultural country. That is why the rapid organization of more than 500 million individual peasants into a socialist collective economy and their advance to a common prosperity along a broad socialist road in such a country is a great event of world significance.

Our country's practice in the past decade has mercilessly refuted the fallacies of the Right opportunists in the Party on the agricultural question. It has thoroughly shattered the vicious attacks of the Khrushchov revisionists on China's socialist transformation of agriculture.

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Agricultural collectivization is a great and profound revolutionary movement and sharp struggles between the socialist and capitalist roads take place throughout its course. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "To bring our more than 500 million peasants through socialist transformation is a project of earthrocking, heaven-shaking dimensions which cannot possibly be achieved in an atmosphere of calm seas and gentle breezes. "1 That is the way things stands. It is impossible to finish off an old system and bring a new one to birth without severe class struggles. Such a struggle was reflected within the Party in the form of the Right opportunists' opposition to the movement for agricultural co-operation. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the whole Party waged serious struggles against them. Comrade Mao Tsetung's On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation draws a Marxist-Leninist conclusion about that strug-

The movement for agricultural co-operation started in China immediately after completion of the land reform. The land reform ended the system of feudal ownership which had restricted the growth of the productive forces; it overthrew the landlord class, weakened the rich-peasant economy and helped restore and develop farm production. The economic position of the masses of poor peasants improved and many of them became middle peasants. After the land reform, however, individual peasant ownership was spread over the rural areas like a vast sea. Such ownership, however, had only a limited vitality and, in a short time, it changed from being a factor promoting growth of the productive forces into a serious obstacle to growth.

Though the economic condition of the peasants was improved or even enormously improved after they got

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, p.253.

land, because of our vast population, insufficient cultivated land and backward farming methods, many of them still had difficulties or were not well-off. Particularly grave was the fact that not long after land reform a new process of polarization began in the countryside. On the one hand, the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism grew: new rich peasants emerged and many well-to-do middle peasants strove to become rich peasants. On the other hand, many poor peasants, lacking sufficient means of production, still lived in poverty; some fell into debt, while others sold or rented the land distributed to them. If this polarization had gone unchecked, a grave situation would have arisen in which capitalism would have engulfed the countryside.

Under such circumstances, the question arose: Should the Party continue to lead the peasants forward and guide them to take the socialist road or call a halt, discard the peasants and let them follow the bourgeoisie and rich peasants? This extremely serious political issue confronted the whole Party at that time.

At this moment of crucial importance, Comrade Mao Tse-tung told the whole Party clearly that the masses had an immense enthusiasm for socialism and that it was necessary to lead the peasants forward firmly. He pointed out in his report On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation that the poor peasants and the lower strata of both the new and old middle peasants, who accounted for 60-70 per cent of the nation's rural population, were enthusiastic to take the socialist road and that this enthusiasm was even stronger among those who had a higher level of political consciousness. The new upsurge of the socialist mass movement in the countryside that took place in the summer of 1955 was a concentrated expression of this socialist enthusiasm of the masses of poor peasants and lower middle peasants.

However, the bourgeoisie and rich peasants were firmly opposed to the movement for agricultural cooperation. The well-off or relatively well-off peasants, who made up 20-30 per cent of the rural population, were vacillating about taking the socialist road and some were trying hard to push along the road to capitalism. Behind the well-off middle peasants, stood landlords and rich peasants giving them support. Standing on the side of the bourgeoisie, the rich peasants or the well-off middle peasants who had a spontaneous tendency towards capitalism, the Right opportunists in the Party did their best to find pretexts to oppose the agricultural co-operation movement led by the Party.

The Right opportunists were stunned by the emergence of several hundred thousand co-operatives in our countryside. They opposed the socialist revolutionary movement of the peasants at that time on the pretexts that the development of co-operatives had allegedly gone "beyond the real possibilities," "beyond the level of the political consciousness of the masses" and "beyond the level of the cadres' experience." Instead of giving warm support to the co-operative movement in

its vigorous development, they poured cold water on it and advanced the so-called policy of "resolute contraction." Comrade Mao Tse-tung sharply criticized these people. He said: "In a revolutionary period those who only know how to follow the routine paths cannot see this enthusiasm at all. They are blind. All is dark before them."2 The attitude towards the peasants' co-operative movement - to let it develop or "chop" it off, to help it ahead vigorously or work for its "resolute contraction," to guide it with enthusiasm or to find fault with it - is, in the final analysis, a question of how to deal with the enthusiasm for socialism of the more than 500 million peasants, particularly the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, as well as a question of whether or not we want to give active leadership to the peasants and guide them to take the socialist road.

1955 was a great year of an unprecedented upsurge in our socialist revolution. Why did the Right opportunists spare no effort to oppose agricultural co-operation at that time? This had its deep-going social roots. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Instead of taking the standpoint of the working class and thinking on behalf of the whole country and the entire people, they always take the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, the rich peasants or the well-to-do middle peasants who have a spontaneous tendency towards capitalism, and think on behalf of the few" and their stand means "seeing only the comparatively small number of well-to-do peasants, and forgetting about the great majority—the poor and not well-to-do."

Socialist transformation of agriculture was a lifeand-death struggle for the bourgeoisie. By transforming the individual small-peasant economy into a socialist collective economy, we eradicated the main root of capitalism in the countryside and left the urban bourgeoisie isolated. In such circumstances, it was by no means strange that certain people in the Party subject to the influence of the bourgeoisie and rich peasants should come forward to oppose the co-operative movement. This was in full accord with the law of class struggle. In the period of the socialist revolution, these people still remained in the period of the bourgeois democratic revolution as regards their attitude towards the peasant question. This showed that they were not proletarian revolutionaries but bourgeois revolutionaries.

With the strategic view of a great proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Mao Tse-tung discerned the essence of the matter and foresaw its lines of development. At this great, crucial moment of change in history, he once again elaborated for the whole Party the programme of socialist revolution, waged a timely struggle against the Right opportunism in the Party, and called on the whole Party to go all out to arouse the masses and give active leadership to the movement for agricultural co-operation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ibid. p.44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, pp.21, 17.

Theory once grasped by the masses is transformed into a tremendous material force. Comrade Mao Tsetung's report On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation has given a tremendous impetus to the upsurge in the socialist transformation of the rural areas and enormously accelerated the progress of our agricultural co-operation. As originally envisaged by the Central Committee of the Party, we planned to complete agricultural co-operation in 18 years — from 1949 when the People's Republic of China was founded to 1967. In fact, this task was accomplished ahead of schedule. Co-operation of a semi-socialist character (i.e., the setting up of elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives) was basically achieved around 1956, and co-operation of a socialist character (i.e., the setting up of advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives) was generally achieved in 1957. In 1958, on the basis of these co-operatives, the rural areas switched over to people's communes. That is to say, our agricultural collectivization movement, including the switch-over to people's communes, was completed in just nine years, half the time originally scheduled. The upsurge in the socialist transformation of agriculture has radically changed the situation in the countryside.

Characterising this change at the end of 1955 Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The first half of 1955 was murky and obscured by dark clouds. But in the latter half, the atmosphere changed completely. Tens of millions of peasants swung into action. In response to the call of the Central Committee, they adopted cooperation. . . . It is as if a raging tidal wave has swept away all the demons and ghosts. Now we can look at every member of society and see exactly who is who. It is the same in the Party. By the end of this year the victory of socialism will be practically assured. Of course, many more battles still lie ahead. We must continue to fight hard."4

Life itself has corroborated Comrade Mao Tsetung's analysis. In the past decade there have been ups and downs in the struggle around the agricultural question. The Right opportunists launched repeated attacks in that period. In 1959, the Right opportunists opposed the movement to set up people's communes alleging that the people's communes were premature and that things were in a mess. In 1962, when our national economy experienced certain temporary difficulties, some people actively advocated "the expansion of plots for private use and of free markets, an increase in the number of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profit or loss, the fixing of output quotas based on the household," "going it alone," "liberalization" and so on. Although the manifestations of Right opportunism might vary in form in different periods, their essence was the same.

As we have firmly implemented Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions and overcome one Right opportunist error after another, we have carried forward

the socialist revolution unceasingly in the countryside, thus bringing about a steady consolidation and expansion of socialist positions in the countryside. The past ten years' practice proves that Comrade Mao Tsetung's great work *On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation* is a powerful ideological weapon for the Party in pursuing socialist objectives in the question of agriculture, and a guide for 500 million peasants advancing along the socialist road.

The peasant question is an extremely important one which must be solved in the course of the proletarian revolution. China is a big country in which the peasants make up more than 80 per cent of the population, the peasant question is therefore of paramount importance. Our Party has led the peasants in carrying out the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and accumulated a particularly rich store of experience on the peasant question. After Comrade Mao Tse-tung's scientific summing up, this experience has greatly enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on the peasant question is exceptionally rich in content. The report On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation concentratedly embodies Comrade Mao Tse-tung's new development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the question of the socialist transformation of agriculture. We believe that the following questions are the main ones.

## 1. On the Question of the Peasants' Place in Socialist Revolution and Construction

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always attached the greatest importance to the peasant question. As early as the beginning of the democratic revolution led by our Party, he pointed out more than once that the peasant question was the basic question of the Chinese revolution and that the strength of the peasantry made up the main force of the Chinese revolution; he went on to note that the Chinese democratic revolution was in essence a peasant revolution and that the Chinese revolutionary war was essentially a peasant war. However, the Right opportunists within the Party turned a blind eye to the broad masses of the peasants and regarded the democratic revolution as mainly a matter of the bourgeoisie. In another way the "Left" opportunists neglected the special role of the peasants in the Chinese revolution, they stressed work in the cities as the centre of gravity and made the middle-of-the-road forces the main direction of attack, thus pushing the peasants into the arms of the bourgeoisie.

In the course of the Chinese democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung thoroughly refuted these erroneous views and defined a Marxist-Leninist line for the Chinese revolution; i.e., that under the leadership of the proletariat, we should give full play to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasants, shift the centre of gravity of the Party's work to the countryside, give a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, pp. 159-160.

free hand to the development of peasant guerrilla warfare, build revolutionary base areas in the countryside, encircle the cities from the countryside, lead the revolution to victory step by step and finally seize state power throughout the country. By carrying out the correct line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party finally won the great victory of the people's revolution in China with its more than 600 million people. This is a great achievement unprecedented in the revolutionary movement of the world's proletariat.

In the period of socialism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has continued to view the peasant question as an extremely important one. He said: "We have a farm population of over five hundred million, so the situation of our peasants has a very important bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our state power." The scale of our socialist revolution and socialist construction and the speed of their development depend on the policy we adopt to solve the peasant question and the agricultural question.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly solved the relationship between the socialist transformation of agriculture and the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in the cities. He views the socialist transformation of agriculture as the key link in the whole chain of the socialist revolution because, with the socialist transformation of agriculture, the ties between the bourgeoisie and the peasants are cut, the source generating capitalism on a mass scale is eliminated, and urban capitalist influences are thus isolated. In our country where small-peasant economy held the upper hand, this thesis is particularly important.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung negated the view that cooperation should develop slowly and stressed that the advance of socialist transformation in agriculture should be quickened. In this way, we would not only be able to solve the question of agriculture more quickly but greatly promote the socialist transformation of urban individual handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, thereby developing the socialist revolution more smoothly, more extensively and more thoroughly. Subsequent facts have fully proved the correctness of this policy. It was under the impact of the movement for agricultural co-operation that the upsurge in the transformation of individual handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce took place in 1956.

One of the most fundamental questions in socialist construction is how to handle the relationships between the workers and peasants and between industry and agriculture. Some people held that in building socialism it was sufficient to pay attention only to the development of industry. Comrade Mao Tse-tung refuted this harmful viewpoint. He said: "We must on no account look at industry and agriculture, socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, as two things which can be separated and

isolated from each other, nor must we on any account emphasize the one and underrate the other."

Industry is closely interrelated with agriculture. In socialist construction, it is, of course, extremely important to develop industry, especially heavy industry. But that development must take agriculture as the foundation and the problem of food, clothing and other consumer goods must be solved first. Food grains and other foodstuffs come from agriculture; light industry which provides people with clothings and other consumer goods gets most of its raw materials from agriculture too. Moreover, the funds used in the building of heavy industry are mainly accumulated from agriculture and light industry; the labour power necessary for the development of industry has to be furnished by the countryside; and only by taking the countryside as its main market, can industry have broad prospects for development. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. Therefore, only by combining the industrialization of the country with the socialist transformation of agriculture, and the rapid development of industry with the rapid development of agriculture can there be a firm and sure guarantee for the development of our national economy as a whole.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has summed up the experience gained in our construction and put forward the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing our national economy. The nation's plans, he pointed out, should be arranged in the order of priority of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. By implementing this policy, we will be able to bring about a rapid development of agriculture and a simultaneous development of both agriculture and industry, and achieve a high-speed development of industry on a strong foundation of agriculture, so as to bring about a continuous and high-speed development of our national economy as a whole. Our tremendous achievements in socialist construction have been gained precisely under the guidance of this general policy. This policy, mapped out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a profound reflection of the objective laws of the development of a socialist economy and a new and important contribution to Marxism-Leninism in the question of socialist construction.

# 2. On Applying the Principle of Integrating the Theory of Development of the Revolution by Stages With the Theory of Uninterrupted Revolution in Guiding the Socialist Transformation of Agriculture

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has at all times guided the revolutionary movements in China, including the peasant movement, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist principle of integrating the theory of the development of the revolution by stages with the theory of uninterrupted revolution. He has pointed out that the aim of the peasant movement led by our Party is not only to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, p.22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1962, p.20.

fulfil the task of the democratic revolution but to guide the peasants onto the broad road of socialism and communism. These two tasks are different in nature and should be tackled separately in two different revolutionary stages. And yet we must not build a "Great Wall" between these two revolutionary stages but strive to link them together. We must endeavour, during the stage of the democratic revolution, to prepare conditions for carrying out the socialist revolution, and without interruption launch the struggles of the socialist revolution immediately after fulfilment of the task of the democratic revolution.

In contravention of the Marxist-Leninist principle of integrating the theory of the development of the revolution by stages with the theory of uninterrupted revolution, the Right opportunists within the Party viewed the two revolutionary stages as being diametrically opposed to each other. After the land reform, they advocated the "four great freedoms": hiring labour, giving private loans, trading, and buying, selling and renting out land in the rural areas in order to guarantee the private ownership of property and consolidate the so-called "new democratic order." These comrades were purely bourgeois revolutionaries. They hoped that the Chinese revolution would come to a halt at the democratic stage.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung thoroughly refuted these views. As early as the period of democratic revolution. he pointed out that the poor peasants must be made predominant politically in the land reform, that the rich peasants must be isolated politically and the rich-peasant economy weakened simultaneously with the wiping out of the feudal-landlord economy; and that active steps must be taken to get the peasants organized into mutual-aid teams (which contain the rudiments of socialism) and co-operatives after the realization of "land to the tillers." All this provided favourable conditions for the subsequent development of the movement for agricultural co-operation.

Later, when the land reform was in the main completed throughout the country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again warned that the revolution should not be brought to a halt and that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses should not be allowed to cool down. He maintained that the revolutionary consciousness of the peasants must be enhanced continuously and that the movement for agricultural co-operation must follow close on land reform so that the peasants could be guided to continue their advance without interruption and transform their individual economies into collective economies.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung worked out for China's agricultural collectivization all the various forms suitable for a gradual transition to socialism. This is another brilliant example of creatively applying the principle of integrating the theory of the development of the revolution by stages with the theory of uninterrupted revolution.

The movement for agricultural co-operation in China followed the method of setting up typical ex-

amples of organization for the rest to follow and of popularizing them step by step. It was carried out in three stages that differed from one another but were interconnected. The first stage consisted in mobilizing the peasants to form agricultural producers' mutualaid teams on the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit. These teams contained only the rudiments of socialism. In the second stage, the peasants were called on to set up semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives on the basis of the mutual-aid teams. In the third stage, the peasants were called on to take a further step forward by combining their forces to set up larger, fully socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives. Later, when there was a greater growth of agricultural production, the people's communes were set up in answer to the demands of the broad masses of the peasants. This step-by-step transformation of the small-peasant economy was conducive to the gradual enhancement of the socialist consciousness of the peasants and the realization of agricultural collectivization at a relatively early date. It also avoided the adverse effects on production which might have resulted from cataclysmic changes in the relations of production and thus guaranteed a steady rise in agricultural production.

Can it be said that with the establishment of the socialist economic system in the countryside the socialist transformation of agriculture has been completed? Some persons think so. In their eyes, the socialist revolution in ownership of the means of production is the last revolution in human history, or, at least, the last revolution that involves class struggles. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repudiated this view. He holds that, while the turning of the individual peasants into collective peasants constitutes a great change in the mode of production and their way of life, the socialist transformation of agriculture is far from being finally completed.

Facts have shown that as long as there are remnants of private economy in the countryside the peasants will retain some of the characteristics of the small producer, and it will hardly be possible to avoid polarization among the peasantry. Moreover, in the long run, the mere attainment of the present system of collective ownership is not our ultimate goal. In the future, when conditions mature, the system of collective ownership which is relatively small-scale and represents a relatively low degree of public ownership must still be turned gradually into a system of collective ownership that operates on a larger scale and represents a higher degree of public ownership, so that the transition from socialism to communism and the elimination of the essential differences between workers and peasants and between town and countryside can finally be achieved. It is quite obvious that in order to fulfil such an historic task it is necessary to continue to push the socialist revolution steadily forward in the countryside in line with the principle of integrating the theory of the development of the revolution by stages with the theory of uninterrupted revolution.

(To be continued.)

# Great Victory of Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japan

SEPTEMBER 3, 1965, is the 20th anniversary of the victory in the great War of Resistance Against Japan.

On August 14, 1945, the Japanese aggressors announced their unconditional surrender. On September 2 of that year, the representative of the Japanese Government signed the instrument of surrender.

September 3 is remembered as the day of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan. It is the day on which the Chinese people and people throughout the world celebrate the victorious conclusion of this great war and the complete victory in the worldwide anti-fascist war.

The great War of Resistance Against Japan waged by the Chinese people formed an extremely important part of the world anti-fascist war. By their heroic struggle and their great victory in this just war, the Chinese people added a glorious chapter to the history of the struggles of the peoples of the world against aggression.

The Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan followed a very complicated, tortuous course. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the people of China, waging an arduous war of resistance, saved the country from its grave national crisis of that time and won a great victory in the struggle against Japanese imperialist aggression.

The victory in the great War of Resistance Against Japan was a victory for Mao Tse-tung's thinking. It was a victory for the theory on people's war formulated by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It was a victory for the correct Marxist-Leninist political and military lines of the Party.

The whole course of the anti-Japanese war testified to the invincible strength of the great Chinese people. It showed that the Chinese people are capable of smashing any imperialist aggression, no matter how strong that imperialism appears to be, by following the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, relying on the united mass struggle, forming the broadest united front, and fighting a resolute, people's war.

I

In 1931, the Chinese nation was faced with a grave crisis arising out of Japanese imperialist aggression and the Kuomintang government's non-resistance policy.

On September 18, 1931, the Japanese imperialists occupied Shenyang and created the "September 18" Incident that shocked the world. The reactionary Kuomintang government, which wanted to use every ounce of its strength in a civil war against the Communist Party and the people, pursued a shameful policy of non-resistance to Japanese imperialist aggression. Within a little more than three months, the Japanese forces had occupied the three northeastern provinces with a population of more than 30 million. Later, they attacked Shanghai and invaded north China. In northeast China and Shanghai and in a number of other places, the people and soldiers fought heroically against the Japanese aggressors. However, the Japanese imperialists continued to advance in accordance with their plan to occupy the northeast and then to conquer the whole of China. For the Chinese nation, it was the most perilous moment.

The Communist Party of China consistently advocated the mobilization of the whole nation in armed resistance to Japanese imperialist aggression. From 1934 to 1936, the main forces of the Red Army on both banks of the Yangtse River made the world-famous Long March and, after undergoing all kinds of trials and hardships, triumphantly reached the revolutionary base area in northern Shensi Province. This gave them an advanced position from which to resist Japanese aggression.

On August 1, 1935, the Chinese Communist Party published the "Letter to All Compatriots for Resistance to Japanese Aggression and National Salvation," in which it demanded that the Kuomintang put an end to the civil war in order to wage a united struggle against Japan, and set forth the policy of establishing an anti-Japanese national united front. On December 9 of the same year, the students of Peking came out in full strength in a great patriotic, anti-Japanese demonstration under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. This patriotic movement spread rapidly to all corners of the country. More and more workers, peasants, soldiers, students, businessmen and democrats joined the anti-Japanese struggle.

On December 12, 1936, the Kuomintang's Northeastern Army and 17th Route Army, which wanted to unite with the Communist Party to resist Japan, detained Chiang Kai-shek in Sian in an effort to compel him to stop his anti-Communist civil war which endangered the country and inflicted great hardships and suffering upon the people. Through the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party, the Sian Incident was peace-

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fully settled and the Kuomintang government was compelled to give up its policy of civil war. This created conditions for the establishment throughout the country of the anti-Japanese national united front and made it possible to wage a nationwide war of resistance after the "July 7" Incident.

### II

On July 7, 1937, the Japanese aggressors attacked Chinese troops stationed at Lukouchiao near Peking. The War of Resistance Against Japan broke out on a nationwide scale. On the day after the Lukouchiao Incident, the Chinese Communist Party issued a manifesto calling for armed resistance by the whole nation. Soon after that, by agreement with the Kuomintang government, it reorganized the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and its guerrilla forces in the southern provinces into the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and sent them to the front to resist Japan.

The Kuomintang government pursued a reactionary domestic policy directed against the people, against democracy and against the Communist Party. In military affairs, it adopted a defeatist, purely defensive strategy. All this, together with its corruption and inaptitude in every field, led to the continuous retreat of its several million troops in the face of the Japanese aggressors. The situation was chaotic from the very outset. Within 15 months, it had retreated all the way from Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Nanking, Canton and Wuhan to Szechuan, leaving half of the country to the enemy.

The people's forces led by the Chinese Communist Party numbered only some tens of thousands and were short of weapons. However, they followed the correct political and military lines laid down by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and won the support and assistance of the broad masses of the people. As a result, though conditions were very difficult, they successfully turned the enemy's rear area into an anti-Japanese front, won one victory after another in the war, increased their own strength step by step, and transformed the battlefront of the Liberated Areas into the main front against the Japanese aggressors.

While the Kuomintang troops were retreating helter-skelter, the Eighth Route Army fought its way to the enemy's rear in acordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and in line with the wishes of the people. On September 25, 1937, the 115th Division of the Eigth Route Army scored a resounding victory in its first battle at Pinghsingkuan Pass, and wiped out in a single stroke the more than 3,000 men of the crack Itagaki Division of Japan. This victory greatly encouraged the people throughout the country in their determination to resist Japan, and increased their confidence in victory. In the spring of 1938, the New Fourth Army entered the enemy's rear areas in central China to organize resistance to the aggressors. After the fall of Canton in the

same year, the Chinese Communist Party organized the East River Detachment to carry on the fight. In this way, the vast areas along the Great Wall and the Yangtse and Pearl Rivers, lost to the enemy by the Kuomintang government, were gradually recovered and turned into Liberated Areas by the people's forces led by the Chinese Communist Party.

In May 1938, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to show the correct path for the War of Resistance Against Japan, published his important thesis, "On Protracted War." He made an incisive analysis of the situation in the War of Resistance Against Japan, refuted the "theory of national subjugation" and the "theory of quick victory," and pointed out that, by fighting a protracted war, China would certainly win final victory in its resistance to Japan. He made a scientific forecast that the protracted war would pass through three stages, namely, the stage of the enemy's strategic offensive, the stage of strategic stalemate and the stage of our strategic counter-offensive, and that only by the development of a full-scale people's war could final victory be won. He also set down a complete set of strategies and tactics for the people's war. These brilliant statements by Chairman Mao Tse-tung were all vindicated by subsequent history. This Marxist-Leninist work of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, together with his many other works written in that period, blazed the road to victory for the Chinese people in their War of Resistance Against Japan.

#### III

After the Japanese invaders had occupied Wuhan in October 1938, the War of Resistance Against Japan entered the stage of strategic stalemate. The Japanese invaders discontinued their strategic attacks on the Kuomintang battlefront and gradually moved their main military force to the battlefront of the Liberated Areas. At the same time, encouraged by the defeatism manifested by the Kuomintang government, they stepped up their manoeuvres to induce the Kuomintang to capitulate. Wang Ching-wei, deputy director-general of the Kuomintang and president of its Executive Yuan, and large numbers of Kuomintang military and government bigwigs surrendered one after another to the Japanese aggressors. Between 1941 and the beginning of 1943, many Kuomintang generals, with half a million troops, surrendered to the Japanese invaders. They became puppets of the Japanese and launched attacks against the Liberated Areas.

The Kuomintang government also began to direct its policy to opposing the Communist Party and the people, and withdrew the bulk of its troops to southwest and northwest China around Chungking and Sian to avoid a clash with the Japanese invaders. It painstakingly engineered a number of schemes to launch a civil war and mounted three anti-Communist onslaughts between 1939 and 1943.

In this period, the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, persisted in its principle of independence. It firmly relied on the broad masses of the workers and peasants, and developed the progressive forces, won over the middle forces and opposed the die-hard forces. It waged a resolute struggle against the anti-Communist and anti-popular activities of the Kuomintang government, repulsing its three anti-Communist onslaughts and checking its treacherous attempts to compromise with and capitulate to the Japanese aggressors.

On the battlefront in the Liberated Areas, the people's armed forces led by the Chinese Communist Party took over the leading role in the war of resistance. Statistics compiled in 1943 show that the people's armed forces led by the Party engaged and pinned down 64 per cent of the invading Japanese forces in China and 95 per cent of the puppet troops. On the one hand, they fought valiantly against the Japanese invaders and shattered the barbarous "mopping-up" operations and the "burn all, kill all and loot all" attacks, which were repeatedly launched on the Liberated Areas by the invading Japanese forces. On the other hand, they dispatched troops to arouse the masses and arm them, developed a big production drive, and carried out such policies as rent and interest reduction and "fewer and better troops and simpler administration," enabling the Liberated Areas to overcome the serious difficulties resulting from the blockade and the attack on two fronts by the Japanese invaders and the Kuomintang die-hards, and the anti-Japanese democratic bases were consolidated and expanded.

In conformity with Chairman Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war, mass guerrilla warfare was launched extensively from all Liberated Areas. Millions upon millions of peasants were mobilized and joined the militia and guerrilla detachments. In co-ordination with the main forces, they opened up "sparrow warfare," "mine warfare," "tunnel warfare" and "sabotage warfare" on a broad, popular scale and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy troops. The vigorous development of the popular guerrilla warfare kept the enemy in a state of constant nervousness and turned every enemy stronghold into a grave.

From September 1937 to March 1945, the people's armed forces in the Liberated Areas fought more than 115,000 engagements, putting more than 1,360,000 Japanese and puppet troops out of action. Of these, some 960,000 were killed or wounded, over 280,000 were taken captive, and more than 100,000 surrendered or crossed over.

By the end of the first half of 1945, the Liberated Areas had been extended to 19 provinces in the northern, northeastern, central and southern parts of the country, taking in a population close to 100 million. The regulars of the people's armed forces increased in number to 910,000 while the militia grew to 2,200,000. Almost all the big cities controlled by the Japanese were besieged by the people's armed forces. These conditions were extremely favourable for a general counter-offensive and the final victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan.

In striking contrast to the battlefront in the Liberated Areas, the Kuomintang army was passive in resisting Japan and active in combating communism. Thus it again collapsed in a panic-stricken retreat in 1944 when the Japanese invaders unleashed a new campaign on the Kuomintang front in order to open up a line of communications on the mainland. From March to December, the Kuomintang army abandoned 146 big and small cities and gave up a vast expanse of territory covering a number of provinces including Honan, Hunan, Kwangsi, Kwangtung. Fukien and Kweichow. In these circumstances, people in areas under the Kuomintang rose in frequent upsurges of the anti-Japanese democratic movement which were directed against the Kuomintang reactionaries.

#### IV

In April 1945, on the eve of the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivered a political report, "On Coalition Government," at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. In this report, he summed up the experience gained by the Chinese people in struggle, formulated concrete measures for defeating the Japanese invaders and laid down a practical programme for building a new China, thereby lighting up the road ahead for the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, a road which ensured China's victory in its War of Resistance Against Japan and determined China's destiny after the war.

In May 1945, the German fascists surrendered. Soon afterwards, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. At the same time, the people of a number of Asian countries were gaining ground in their war of resistance against Japan. The army and people in the Liberated Areas launched a large-scale counter-offensive and eliminated large numbers of Japanese and puppet troops. On August 14, 1945, Japan announced its unconditional surrender. On September 2, the representative of the Japanese Government signed the instrument of surrender.

In the eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the South China Anti-Japanese Column had, with the support of the broad masses of the people, grown from a strength of some tens of thousands of men in the initial stages into a force of 1,300,000. They engaged the enemy in more than 125,100 encounters, wiped out more than 1,700,000 Japanese and puppet troops and established Liberated Areas with a total population of 160 million people. They became the most powerful revolutionary force in Chinese history. This was the force with which the Chinese people were able to frustrate the attacks of the Kuomintang reactionaries, the stooges U.S. imperialism, in the nationwide civil war later launched by the reactionaries.

In the Third Revolutionary Civil War, which lasted a little more than three years from 1946 to 1949, the Chinese people led by the Chinese Communist Party overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and founded the People's Republic of China.

#### $\mathbf{V}$

Twenty years have elapsed since the great victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Now, New China stands rock firm in the Eastern world. Firm in determination and strong in morale, the 650 million Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, are carrying on an unremitting struggle to build a powerful socialist country, liberate Taiwan, sacred territory of China, oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and safeguard world peace.

U.S. imperialism is following in the footsteps of Japanese imperialism. It still occupies China's territory of Taiwan by force of arms and carries on ceaseless military provocations against China. U.S. imperialism has taken over from German, Japanese and Italian fascism, in a vain attempt to enslave the whole world. It is

reviving Japanese and West German militarism, establishing military bases everywhere, and pushing ahead with its policies of aggression and war. It has launched vicious aggression against Viet Nam, the Congo (L), the Dominican Republic and other countries. It is playing the bully everywhere in the world. U.S. imperialism, by indulging in every conceivable variety of evil doing, has aroused the opposition of the people of the world.

Like Japanese imperialism, U.S. imperialism has always overestimated its own strength and underestimated the strength of the people. The Chinese people are confident that if U.S. imperialism dares to expand its aggressive war against Viet Nam still further and impose war on the Chinese people, it will suffer a defeat more disastrous than that meted out to Japanese fascism. The Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world are closely united, forming the broadest anti-U.S. united front. We are convinced that in face of the united struggle of the world's people, imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism are doomed to failure! The revolutionary people of the world are bound to win!

#### THE WEEK

(Continued from p.5.)

self. The letters thanked the Chinese leaders and people for their support to the struggle of the south Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression.

Two days earlier, at a press conference in Peking, Tran Van Thanh vigorously condemned Johnson's decision to send more troops to south Viet Nam to expand the war of aggression there. He pledged that his people would continue to hold on to their rifles and fight to the end to achieve the reunification of their fatherland. He said that it was to be regretted that some people were very anxious to serve as stooges for He pointed out that all Johnson. efforts by Wilson, Tito and Shastri to serve the U.S. "peace talks" swindle would be futile. Referring to Johnson's plot to use the U.S.controlled United Nations, he said that the U.N. had nothing to do with the south Viet Nam question and had no qualifications to interfere whatsoever.

## Chen Yi Writes to Souphanouvong

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi pledged China's full support for the Neo Lao Haksat's

rational proposals regarding the future functioning of the International Commission in Laos. Premier Chen made the pledge in his August 14 letter in reply to Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat and Vice-Premier of the Laotian National Union Government, who sent him a letter on July 23 together with a statement by the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat. The statement denounced the U.S. imperialists' crimes of wrecking the Geneva agreements and their intensified aggression and intervention in Laos. It also exposed the series of illegal activities carried out in Laos by the International Commission, under the control of the Indian and Canadian members. in violation of the Geneva agreements and advanced rational proposals concerning the future functioning of the International Commission.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that "the International Commission has in fact become a tool of U.S. imperialism for aggression and intervention in Laos." He stressed that only by taking a serious attitude towards its past mistakes and effectively correcting them could the International Commission in Laos perform the duties entrusted to it by the Geneva agreements.

## Singapore's Decision on Bank Of China Welcomed

The announcement that the Singapore branch of the Bank of China, which had been threatened with closure by the Rahman regime in Kuala Lumpur, would be permitted to carry on business as usual was welcomed by Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the bank.

In a statement issued on August 13 in response to Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's announcement immediately after Singapore withdrew from the "Malaysian Federation," Nan Han-chen said: "This decision is beneficial both to the development of Singapore's economy and to the development of friendly relations between the people of Singapore and China."

Nan Han-chen also said that the Bank of China's head office would instruct its Singapore branch, in accordance with the Bank's consistent policy, to develop its banking business and co-operate closely with industrial and commercial circles in Singapore. He thanked various circles in Singapore for their concern about the Bank of China's branch there and hoped they would continue to assist it in the future.

## The Spreading Flames of Wrath

## - The American Negro Struggle -

## by COMMENTATOR

THE Negro struggle in Los Angeles, Chicago and other places in the United States continues to spread. Like a volcano erupting from the trembling earth beneath, the fire of this struggle from the outset has been powerful in intensity and gigantic in magnitude.

This is the largest Negro struggle against violence in the postwar United States. Thousands of Negroes in Los Angeles, undaunted by atrocities and defying death, countered the ruling authority's force with force, fighting heroically and stubbornly against the police. Despite the fact that their casualties ran to several hundred and some two thousand people were arrested, Los Angeles Negroes refused to yield and staunchly carried on the fight wave after wave. In response, Negroes in other cities held street demonstrations, bringing the struggle of the American Negroes against violence to a new peak.

The Chinese people firmly support the just struggle of their American Negro brothers and vehemently protest against the atrocities of the American ruling circles in their bloody suppression of the Negro masses.

The almost 19 million Negroes in the United States make up 10 per cent of the total population. Yet they are in the lowest stratum of the American society, victims of insults and wrongs. On the surface the Negro question is a racial question, but as Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle." Through racial discrimination American monopoly capital carries out monstrous exploitation of the Negro workers. The class contradictions between the Negroes and monopoly capital in the United States are irreconcilable. Fraudulent measures adopted from time to time by Kennedy and Johnson, such as the "civil rights programme" and the "civil rights bill," have not changed the political and economic status of the American Negroes. On the contrary, such trickery is resorted to because U.S. monopoly capital wants to consolidate its rule and perpetuate the enslavement of the Negro people. It is also because of this that the Negroes' fight for democratic rights and better living conditions is bound to continue and develop, no matter what tricks are used by the American ruling circles. The outbreak of the present struggle against violence in Los Angeles and other cities is a continuation of the

1963 American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination and testifies to the fact that the Negro movement for freedom and emancipation is irresistible.

The Los Angeles Negro struggle has taken on a new character: The Negro people have linked their opposition to the reactionary domestic policy of the Johnson Administration to their opposition to its policy of aggression abroad. Negro demonstrators shouted: "We'd rather fight for the Negroes here than go to Viet Nam and fight." Negroes as well as broad sections of the American people have come to realize that their suffering is inseparable from the policy that the U.S. ruling circles carry out overseas. This signifies that the American Negroes are arriving at a new awakening, and something new has been added to their struggle.

American ruling circles are stupefied in face of the tremendous Negro struggle. The bourgeois press in the United States slanderously calls the Negroes "mobs" and the U.S. Government is sending more troops to heighten its cold-blooded suppression. And Johnson has been raging, saying that he would do everything in his power to "restore law and order in Los Angeles." But everybody knows those using violence against the Negroes are the American Government itself, the Ku Klux Klan and the racists who spare no effort in defending the capitalist system in the United States. Johnson's words foretell that the American rulers will go a step further in violence. The "order" which he wants to restore is clearly the "order" in which the U.S. slavemasters can exploit Negroes at will and maltreat and kill them whenever they wish.

The Negro struggle in Los Angeles and other American cities is a real revolutionary movement. Like the people's revolutionary movement in other lands which is always victorious in the end, the American Negro struggle eventually will be crowned with success. The American Negroes are not fighting alone. The entire anti-U.S.-imperialist force of the world is on their side and fighting shoulder to shoulder with them. United with the peoples of the world and struggling together, the American Negroes and the broad masses of the American people will completely defeat U.S. imperialism!

("Renmin Ribao" article, August 16, 1965.)

# Capitalist World Economy: The Clouds Gather

THE outlook for the capitalist world economy is causing increasing anxiety in many capitals. The pound sterling is in a weak position. World confidence in the dollar is shaken. A new economic crisis is in the making in the United States. Japan is experiencing a crisis of "over-production" and financial instability. The Western European economies have entered the doldrums, production is stagnating. The developing countries, as raw materials exporters, are victimized by increasingly unfavourable terms of trade.

These warning signs of economic crisis worry the economists, businessmen and government officials of many leading capitalist countries. As U.S. News & World Report admits in its June 14 issue: "A spirit of uneasiness is spreading in international financial circles. Caution is in the air on Wall Street. London, jittery, has cut the bank rate to 6 per cent to ease an extremely tense situation. Paris, Amsterdam and Frankfurt are watching London and the pound closely. Zurich reports heavy selling of American securities. Tokyo worries along, propping up its shaky credit structure."

The crisis of "over-production" and financial troubles are the two main sources of public anxiety in the capitalist world.

### "Over-Production" Crisis

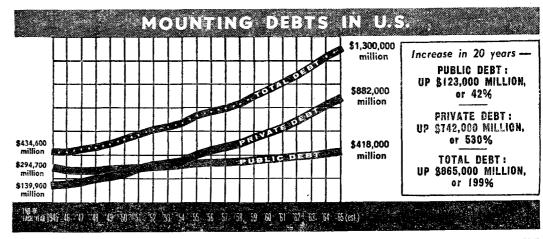
Industrial Stagnation in U.S. To begin with, in the United States, a big gap between productive capacity and purchasing power has reappeared. This follows after four and a half years of an economic upturn set going by "the shot in the arm" given the U.S. economy in the form of huge military spendings and a tax cut. In the first six months of this year, 1.4 million automo-

biles and 30 million tons of steel were in stock. By the end of April inventories of unsold goods in factories and shops had mounted to \$111,200 million or \$17,700 million more than during the 1960-61 crisis. "Over-production" is casting its dark shadow over the U.S. economy.

Another indication of "over-production" can be seen in the trend towards industrial slow-down in the second as compared to the first

quarter of this year. Taking 1957-58 as 100, the industrial production index for January, February and March was 138, 139 and 140 respectively, an increase of only one point per month. Since April the monthly increase has been smaller — 140.9 for April, 141.3 for May and 141.9 for June. American press and economic analysts are inclined to the view that in 6-18 months' time, "surplus" productive power and overstocked inventories will lead to a drastic decline in the output of the automobile and steel industries, those two pillars of the U.S. economy, and a "recession" will set in at the same time. Federal budgetary deficits have persisted for six years on end. Public and private debts have soared to the astronomical figure of \$1,300,000 million. This makes it difficult for Washington to stimulate the economy and avert a crisis by resorting to deficit financing. Any attempt in this direction will aggravate domestic inflation, further weaken international confidence in the dollar and so lead to a new dollar crisis.

Business Failures in Japan. The economic situation in Japan which leans heavily on the United States is worsening. Industrial production began to fall last November. This has been accompanied by an increase in inventories, curtailment of orders, a drop in profits and wholesale prices and the closing down of factories. The decline in Japan's industrial production has affected its financial field. An average of between 400-600 enterprises has been closing down every month. In May this year the Yamaichi Securities Co., Ltd., one of the big four of its kind, approached bankruptcy. Then the Oi Securities Co., next only to the big four, ran into difficulties and had to ask for emergency aid to keep out



Source: Figures for 1945-64 from the U.S. Department of Commerce. Figures for 1965 are estimates by the American Press

## "Viet Nam Boom" - A Wall Street Day-Dream

TOHNSON'S announcement on July 28 that he was sending bigger reinforcements to south Viet Nam and increasing military expenditure was cheering news to the crisis-haunted Wall Street. Big business hopes that Johnson's annoucement will usher in a "Viet Nam boom" no less profitable than the "boom" Harry Truman gave them with the Korean war. In fact, Johnson's policy of "escalation" and his readiness to fight a "Korean-type" war in Viet Nam are tailored to meet the needs of the U.S. monopoly capitalists. They calculate that "the additional defence outlays will bolster economic activity and should offset any sagging tendencies that might have appeared otherwise," and that "an increase in defence spending next year can be a useful stimulant to business activity."

Actually, orders for arms and equipment such as helicopters, bombs and boots are being placed in a steady flow. Aircraft, automobile, electronic, canning and textile industries and railway transport—all connected with war activities—have suddenly become more active.

For the big monopoly capitalists, war is a shortcut to super-riches and an indispensable way to get rid of economic crisis. But the Johnson Administration's dream of repeating the "Korean boom" will not be easily realized. On the eve of the Korean war, the United States dominated the capitalist world and its financial position was strong. It held 70 per cent of the capitalist world's gold. At that time the U.S. economy had not been militarized to such an extent as it is today. Military expenditure accounted for about 30 per cent of the U.S. budget and so it was possible to increase that sharply—from more than \$10,000 million to over \$50,000 million. That "shot in the arm" for the economy led to the "war boom." But today, the United States no longer holds the predominant position it then held in the capitalist world. Its gold reserves are dwindling and the dollar is shaky. Military expenditure already makes up 80 per cent of the budget and it is exceedingly difficult to multiply it as Truman did during the Korean war.

Under these circumstances, reliance on the stimulant of military orders to maintain and boost a "war boom" will worsen the chronic ills of the U.S. economy. It will also arouse bitter opposition from the American people who will have to bear the increased burden of war.

of bankruptcy. The insecurity of the security firms threatens Japan's financial stability as a whole. To ease this critical situation and allay public anxiety, the Japanese Government has offered the giant securities companies special loans without interest or guarantees. Slowdown in Western Europe. In some of the West European countries which enjoyed a "boom" for quite some time, a high rate of economic growth is a thing of the past. In Italy, the growth rate of industrial production was around 10 per cent over the past few years. But industrial output last March had dropped 5 per cent as compared with the corresponding period of 1964. France too had registered a fast rate of economic growth in the past few years, but in April this year industrial production was at the same level as in April last year.

In March this year the industrial output of the 13 major industrial countries in Western Europe, including Britain, showed an advance of only 2 per cent as compared with March 1964, U.S. News & World Report said. Raw Materials Exporters Hard Hit. Exports of raw materials make up a big proportion of the foreign trade of many Asian, African and Latin American countries, so the slowdown in economic growth of the capitalist countries hits their economies hard. Their exports of primary products are especially vulnerable. Prices of raw materials and farm products exported by these countries have begun to slump. For instance, cocoa prices today are only one-fifth of the 1954 peak level, and sugar prices are only one-sixth what they were in November 1961. Prices for wool, bananas, copper, tin and lead have also dipped. This has seriously reduced their export earnings.

Asian, African and Latin American countries suffering from imperialist exploitation have assumed heavy debt burdens vis-a-vis the United States and other imperialist powers in Western Europe. These debts trebled in the last ten years, increasing from U.S. \$10,000 million to more than U.S. \$30,000 million. This and the new big trade losses have intensified their serious international payments crisis and caused a heavy drain on their gold and foreign exchange reserves.

### Credit Inflation

The capitalist world is not only beset by a crisis of "over-production," it is also in the throes of financial crisis. The interweaving and interplay of these two crises still further complicates the situation.

False "Boom." The capitalist world economy in the postwar years is marked by the fact that the governments of all the imperialist countries have tried to use credit inflation as a means to stimulate the economy and expand investments. Huge financial deficits, abnormal increases in public and private debts and the spiralling up of prices are causing worries in all major capitalist countries. Although a highly inflated credit policy may help bring about fast growth in production for a certain period, the "boom" so created is a false one. Because both business investments and the marketing of finished products are dependent on credit, the whole economy inevitably becomes lopsided. The moment one segment of the economy gets out of gear, there will be a violent chain reaction leading to a crisis. It was in just such circumstances that the crash of the thirties hit the capitalist world.

A case in point is the recent storm on Japan's money market resulting from the downturn in industrial production. From 1955 to 1964, the Japanese Government used credit inflation as a means of achieving rapid economic growth. Investments grew more and more dependent on borrowing instead of on funds accumulated by the enterprises themselves. In 1964, borrowing accounted for 77.5 per cent of investments in private enterprises. The same pattern characterised the process of credit circulation. Half of the accounts of enterprises were being settled by bills while three-quarters of their wholesale and retail sales were being conducted on credit. Business failures involving banks and big securities companies followed closely on the heels of the "overproduction" which began last November. With a capital of 7,400 million yen, the Sanyo Special Steel Company, the third largest of its kind in Japan, ran up debts to the tune of 47,000 million yen. It was declared bankrupt in March this year because it was unable to pay off bills against it to the amount of 1,800 million yen. Two hundred and fifty other factories were involved in this crash.

U.S. Debts Reach Astronomical Figures. Credit inflation is even more pronounced in the United States. Encouraged by the government, public and private debts have skyrocketed to the astronomical figure of U.S. \$1,300,000 million, or double the total value of current U.S. industrial and agricultural production. Every year, Americans have to use 21 per cent of their incomes after tax to repay their private debts. U.S. News & World Report pointed out in a recent issue that in 1964 there were 107,000 cases of personal bankruptcies, twice as many as the 1959 figure, and it asked: if there were that many bankruptcies in a "boom" year "what if confidence in a new era and continuing good times is shaken? "What if something happens to upset the inflationary applecart?" The number of closures of commercial banks and credit institutions reached a new record this year.

Nervous financial fluctuations have been reported from all the major capitalist countries. Stock prices have fluctuated wildly and dropped many times this year in the United States, Britain, West Germany, Japan, France and half a dozen other capitalist countries. As compared with the peak figures in the past, stock prices on June 16 dropped by seven per cent in the United States, 13 per cent in Britain, 19 per cent in Australia, 24 per cent in Switzerland, 39 per cent in both Japan and France, and 53 per cent in Italy.

International Finance Threatened. Monetary inflation has also seriously undermined the stability of finance in the capitalist world. Huge amounts of dollars and pounds have flowed abroad and their backing gold reserves have dwindled from year to year. This threatens the monetary and credit system of the capitalist world as a whole.

Dollars and pounds are used by many countries for settling their international accounts; they are also the main reserve currencies in the capitalist world. Since World War II, many countries use them to maintain confidence in their own currencies. The shaky position of both the dollar and the pound naturally gives the jitters to those governments and businessmen holding these two reserve currencies of the capitalist world.

All the signs indicate that the capitalist world economy faces an impending storm. Already at hand are a "surplus" of both manufactured goods and raw materials, the international payments difficulties facing the capitalist industrial powers and the developing nations alike. On top of that, a crisis is developing in the international monetary system as a whole. No wonder the London Financial Times (June 16) wrote: "The world economic outlook is more menacing than at any time since 1929-1931. The warning lights are flashing in every direction. . . . For everyone who wishes to read the signs it is clear that there is a real danger of a world recession in the forseeable future." — CHUNG YUAN

# India's Food Crisis and U.S. Food "Aid"

NO one can say that Indian Prime Minister Shastri made an overstatement when he told the Indian people on July 1 that India's economic troubles "appear to be insurmountable." The signs are writ large on the wall for everybody to see: run-away inflation, soaring prices, industrial stagnation and the worst foreign exchange difficulties since independence. On top of all this is the dark cloud of food crisis which has reappeared in the Indian skies. Shastri had to admit that India's food problem "is by no means resolved." Indian President Radhakrishnan in his speech to the nation on the eve of India's independence day (August 15) said that "for some time past the food situation

has been causing considerable concern," and that self-sufficiency in food grains for the Indian people "is still a distant goal."

Food shortage is the chronic ailment of India which is today ruled by the big bourgeoisie and landlords. The dumping of American "surplus" farm products has further damaged the country's food production.

Last year, India had its worst food crisis since its proclamation of independence in 1947. Twelve states were very seriously affected. Hoarding and racketeering were as rampant as starvation was widespread. The seizure of grain shops and granaries by the hungry people, anti-hunger demonstrations and strikes

and brutal suppression of the hungry demonstrators by government troops and police underlined the seriousness of the situation.

After the autumn harvest of last year was gathered, the Indian Government tried to make people believe that India's food situation had improved. Since this spring, however, serious food shortages were again reported in various states. Large numbers of people in Mysore, Bihar, Rajasthan and other states have lived on grass and shrubs with many of them dying of hunger. In West Bengal food prices have been spiralling.

### Largest Buyer of U.S. Food "Surpluses"

The Indian reactionaries have been relying on the import of American food grains as a remedy for the food problem. This reliance offers an opening for the United States to dump its food "surpluses" on the Indian market. In 1956, two years after the United States passed the "Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act," known as Public Law 480, Washington signed the "Agricultural Commodities Agreement" with India. From 1956 to September 30, 1964, it signed nine agreements with India on the sale of "surplus" farm products in accordance with Public Law 480. Under these agreements it sold India 31 million tons of wheat, 1.7 million tons of rice and 800,000 tons of corn, as well as other food grains. The total value amounted to U.S. \$2,380 million.

In recent years there has been a sharp increase in American exports of food grains to India. From 1951 to 1956 (India's First Five-Year Plan period), the annual average was 830,000 tons; this jumped to 2.72 million tons from 1956 to 1961 (the Second Plan period). In 1964-65, India imported 7.13 million tons of food grains from the United States and in 1965-66 it plans to import 7.35 million tons. In 1960-61, 22 per cent of American wheat exports went to India. Today India has become the world's biggest buyer of American "surplus" food grains:

#### U.S. "Aid" Aids U.S.

The United States has used Public Law 480 as a weapon to monopolize India's grain import market and has ousted such traditional grain exporters to India as Australia, Canada and Burma. From 1951 to 1956, U.S. food grains accounted for only 35 per cent of India's total grain imports. From 1956 to 1961, they increased to 76 per cent. In 1961, about 90 per cent of India's wheat imports came from the United States.

Washington lays down harsh terms for its grain sales. Half of the supplies must be shipped in American vessels and the freight charges paid in foreign currency. American rates are higher than those of other maritime powers and India has to pay 30-40 million dollars to the United States for freight charges per year — an additional drain on its meagre foreign exchange resources. U.S. monopoly capitalists have made super-profits out of the sale of "surplus" food grains to the Indian people, quite apart from the use of these sales as a means of shifting on to others the crisis of their own agricultural "over-production."

Public Law 480 stipulates that the payment for American "surplus" agricultural commodities may be paid by foreign buyers in their own currency. The rupees thus obtained by the United States from its grain sales to India are deposited in India's Reserve Bank as a U.S. government fund. This is called the "Rupee Fund" or "Equivalent Fund." This fund has already snowballed to 15,000 million rupees, equalling 60 per cent of the Indian currency in circulation. Thus, "India has more than half of its currency mortgaged to America," as the Indian weekly Blitz (January 23) said. "America knows that India will have to agree to whatever terms it dictates and, if need be, can have a pound of flesh."

Eighty per cent of these U.S.-owned rupees are used as loans to the Indian Government and seven per cent go to enterprises run jointly by American and Indian capital, of which there are more than 200 in India. Although they are given the name of "aid," these two kinds of loans are actually capital invested in Indian industry. By converting the sale of "surplus" food grains into the export of capital, the U.S. monopoly capitalists have been able to extract both commercial and industrial profits from the Indian people at the same time — a policy of killing two birds with one stone. From 1949 to December 1961, 62 per cent of the U.S. "economic aid" to India fell into the category of food loans.

Of the "Rupee Fund," 12.5 per cent is allocated for the use of the U.S. Embassy. According to estimates by Indian newspapers, this part of the fund is enough to defray the Embassy's regular expenses for 28 years. It goes without saying that this money is used for U.S. espionage activities in India. The Indian paper *Patriot* (January 8, 1965) complained that the rupee resources under the control of the U.S. Embassy are "also for meeting the expenses incurred for political purposes of which we know nothing and for which we are in no position to exercise any scrutiny. Part of the money can be, and most likely is being, spent on objects, the realization of which may not be in the interests of this country."

#### Root of the Trouble

What is the cause for India's food problem?

India's food production has remained stagnant for many years. From 1949-50 to 1961-62, there was only an average increase of 1.4 per cent in agricultural production, and in 1962-63 and 1963-64 there was a decline. India had been able to maintain or slightly increase its grain output by enlarging the area of cultivated land, but there is a limit to the use of this method. The acreage under cultivation already has accounted for 51.5 per cent of the total land area. Because the peasants lack initiative in agricultural production, India's per-hectare yield remains one of the lowest in the world. (In 1956, rice output per hectare was 1,350 kilogrammes and the wheat yield was 710 kilogrammes. There has been no rise in recent years).

In Indian villages today, the peasants are ground down by ruthless feudal exploitation. Countless tenants have become share-croppers or farm labourers. Rural unemployment has increased. The massive influx of bankrupt peasants has caused a rapid increase in the city population, which in turn has yielded a greater demand for marketable food grains.

But the Indian reactionaries are blind to the root causes of India's food problem. In his recent speech, Shastri blamed the rapid growth of India's population for its food problem. Earlier, on January 2, he said: "Our troubles are due mainly to hoarding and maldistribution of grains." This was a distortion of the truth about India's food problem.

Like a drowning man clutching at a straw, the Indian reactionaries lean heavily on imported food grains for survival and are doing everything in their power to meet the needs of Washington's policy of dumping food "surpluses." New Delhi never fails to pick up any hint dropped by the United States. Washington let it be known that "foreign exchanges be made available on a priority bases for procurement of fertilizers" and that "adequate supplies of steel be reserved for [foodstuff] godowns and other agricultural needs" ("Package Programme" of the Ford Foundation Team). Delhi echoed: "There are certain development programmes which cannot be implemented without the import of materials from abroad. For example, equipment for major irrigation projects, heavy tractors for land reclamation, chemical fertilizers, etc., have to be

imported till production starts in the country." Needless to say, India will import chemical fertilizers and steel from the United States.

Knowing that U.S. monopoly capitalists would not like land reform in India, the Delhi authorities hastened to assure: "Consolidation of holdings and pooling of unnecessary units is imperative if agricultural productivity is raised." This is a call for a land merger in the interests of the big landlords.

U.S. Ambassador to India Chester Bowles said in July 1964 that the rates of U.S. wheat shipment to India must be doubled and that American experts experienced in the pricing of food products would be sent to India. In his statement on January 2, 1965, Shastri stressed that "the main remedy, in my view, is that of building up large stocks of rice and wheat with our indigenous resources as well as foreign imports."

The more India relies on importing American food grains, the more stagnant will its agricultural production become and the more serious will its food crisis be. India's present food problem is the logical conclusion of its subservience to U.S. monopoly capital.

— CHIH YI

## International Communist Movement

## Political Resolution of the 10th Congress Of Colombian C.P.

- The resolution affirms the need to carry out armed revolution in order to destroy U.S. imperialist domination and establish the people's political power.
- It resolutely opposes the modern revisionist policy of betrayal and splittism.
- It condemns the C.P.S.U. leadership for acting as an accomplice of imperialism in attacking the national-liberation struggle.

THE Communist Party of Colombia in a political resolution adopted at its 10th Congress declares that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the world's people.

The resolution emphasizes that imperialism is the root cause of all wars, and that there will be wars or danger of war as long as imperialism exists.

Atomic intimidation, it adds, cannot deter revolution. The course of history is determined by the masses, and not by the quality of the weapons.

Expounding some of the Party's viewpoints, the resolution points out: "Wars of liberation are just, necessary and inevitable. Revolutionary violence is the midwife of history. The existing political situation in the world shows that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is impossible."

"Proletarian internationalism is the principle of Marxism-Leninism. To weaken this principle will inevitably cause serious losses to revolution. It is the same with the principle of self-reliance. . . .

"There can be no peaceful coexistence between the exploited and the exploiters and between the oppressed nations and their oppressors in any country or area. Peaceful coexistence is not the essence of the foreign relations of socialist countries. The Asian, African and Latin American peoples stand in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle. There can be no peaceful coexistence between them and imperialism."

"The principle of equality and mutual respect and the principle of resolving all problems through consultations must be the factors guiding and improving relations among the fraternal Communist Parties.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See speech by former Indian Food and Agricultural Minister S.K. Patil in 1959, Problems of Food Production in an Underdeveloped Country, The Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies, p.14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Patil's speech, op. cit.

## Revisionist Leadership Expelled From Colombian C.P.

THE Colombian Communist Party held its 10th Congress in the middle of July, according to a report from Bogota. The congress was attended by representatives from various parts of Colombia and from some fraternal Parties.

The congress expelled the revisionist leading group led by Gilberto Vieira from the Party, adopted a Party programme, a Party Constitution and a political resolution, and elected a new leading organ.

The congress decided that united front work should be carried out through the Patriotic Front for Liberation.

"Modern revisionism represents the infiltration of bourgeois ideology into the Parties of the proletariat. It is the biggest hurdle in the way of revolutionary struggle, and it attempts to scuttle socialist construction. It is incompatible with Marxism-Leninism."

"The anti-revisionist struggle is a matter of life and death for the Communist Parties. It must be carried through till victory is won.

"Revolutionary progress cannot be secured without a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. Proletarian leadership is indispensable for seizing power, guiding the people's revolution and building socialism."

The resolution states that the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat can be abolished only when social classes are completely extinct and imperialism is completely eliminated. "At present, such conditions do not exist in any country in the world."

After analysing the world political situation, the resolution says: "We are experiencing a high tide in the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle, and particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. . . .

"U.S. imperialism has proved itself to be the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world, the wicked international gendarme, and the main danger to world peace. But its madness is only a symptom of its deathbed struggle.

"U.S. imperialism is becoming weaker. The general crisis of capitalism and its own economic, social and political crisis are irretrievably eroding it. We Colombian Communists affirm with full confidence that U.S. imperialism is truly a paper tiger. . . .

"Revisionism has always represented the infiltration of bourgeois ideology into the Parties of the proletariat, and in some degree has been the result of the policy of inducement pursued by imperialism towards the capitalist elements within the working class. This imperialist policy has already extended to the socialist countries. The imperialists spare no efforts to buy over the leading strata in these countries and, through them, they intend to bring about a 'peaceful evolution' to capitalism.

"Yugoslavia is a most outstanding case in point, where the people have been robbed of the fruits of their revolution and subjected again to capitalist exploitation. . . .

"The case of Yugoslavia proves to the hilt the pressing need to cope with revisionism with every means at our disposal. We shall not speak about the Eastern European countries here, but in the Soviet Union certain features of capitalism have already begun to appear as a result of modern revisionism."

"The danger of the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries exists as long as there is imperialism in the world."

The resolution declares that China's nuclear capabilities are a substantial contribution to the cause of world peace. They have smashed the monopoly of atomic weapons, frustrated the imperialist blackmail and filled the people's fighters who are waging an intense struggle against U.S. imperialism with hope.

"The revolutionary struggle in south Viet Nam is developing triumphantly and is driving imperialism and its flunkeys towards the biggest and worst failure. . . .

"Viet Nam is a most eloquent proof of the weakness of imperialism. Since it is possible to defeat the U.S. marines, whatever means the United States may employ against the people will be of no avail.

"Now, when U.S. imperialism challenges the people of the world by its provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and People's China, it is imperative to give the staunchest support to the cause of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

The resolution sharply denounces modern revisionism for acting as an accomplice of imperialism. "Attempts to bring about 'peace talks' with the imperialists, who are invading Vietnamese soil and slaughtering its people, amount to whitewashing the criminal and bloody acts of U.S. aggression and betraying the Vietnamese fighters. The congress, therefore, condemns the modern revisionists, and in particular the present leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for being accomplices of imperialism in attacking the national-liberation struggle."

The resolution adds that the lesson of the Congolese people's struggle is still fresh in the minds of the people of the world.

Dealing with the anti-revisionist struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninist forces on a worldwide scale, the resolution says: "As the leading groups of certain Communist Parties have renounced Marxist-Leninist principles, new Marxist-Leninist Parties have emerged in different parts of the world and are rehabilitating the revolutionary character of the Parties that has been sapped by revisionism. The same was the case with the Second International when it was riddled with opportunism."

"Seeing that the revolutionary forces, particularly the Marxist-Leninists of various countries, had correctly closed their ranks on a worldwide scale, the revisionists, headed by the treacherous C.P.S.U. leadership, called a world meeting to deepen the split in the communist movement. This was a meeting between the C.P.S.U. leaders and 15 Parties following the Khrushchovites' baton.

"The 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Colombia rejects the divisive policy of the revisionist group of the C.P.S.U. and opposes such schismatic meetings as the one held in Moscow last March. The congress points out that it is imperative to refute the revisionist theories and make public replies to the slanders heaped on the Marxist-Leninist parties."

The resolution points out that the polemics were started by the revisionists when they attacked the Albanian Party of Labour. "It is only after the development of the polemics has unmasked the revisionists that they want an end to what they themselves started. The polemics must not end before all the erroneous arguments of revisionism are exploded and all their slanders refuted."

"The 10th Congress calls for a struggle against the factional activities stemming from revisionism. It calls for the unity of the Marxist-Leninists in the world to combat imperialism and its best adjutant, modern revisionism."

With regard to the situation in Latin America, the resolution says that colonialism, neo-colonialism and exploitation have began to collapse. The revolutionary struggle is definitely on the upsurge and the people of many countries have resorted to armed struggle.

The Colombian Communist Party denounces the neutralist stand in the struggle against revisionism, the resolution continues. "It is not enough for a Party to have more Marxist-Leninists than revisionists. Whether or not the working class has assumed power, it is necessary to eliminate the revisionists as a political force."

Referring to the Dominican people's struggle, the resolution says: "In our countries, a civil war against the oligarchical forces can speedily develop into an out and out national-liberation war against U.S. troops. Our struggle will be hard and protracted. In the present conditions on our continent, the village is the natural battleground for a people's war."

The developments in Brizil and Chile, the resolution points out, throw light on the serious errors of the revisionists' reformist policy. Their practice of "seizing power through election" and "peaceful revolution" has flopped.

The congress condemns the neutralist stand in the struggle against revisionism and repudiates the plots of the Latin American revisionists.

"We must tell them that in this struggle they will not gain much from these conspiratorial activities, because this is an ideological question on which no compromise is permissible."

Analysing the situation at home, the resolution says: "The domestic situation is characterized by a profound structural crisis resulting from the country's reliance on U.S. imperialism and we are now at a stage where the crisis sharpens."

The resolution notes that industrial and agricultural production is hopelessly paralysed and unemploy-

ment is mounting. There is a financial crisis as a result of the deepening of the crisis in production. U.S. imperialism is maintaining a tighter grip over the country. The system of exploitation and violence represented by the United States is in a state of crisis in Colombia and on the continent as a whole, a crisis which finds expression in the conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production.

The burden of the crisis is borne by the labouring masses. "The back-breaking burden — in the form of unemployment, poverty and official or private use of violence — practically means death to most people."

It is necessary to smash U.S. imperialist domination in order to solve the problems of Colombia, the resolution stresses.

"The only way out for the Colombian people is to seize state power by revolutionary means, or in other words, to destroy the state machinery and replace it by a people's political power to be formed on the basis of the Patriotic Front for Liberation and with the support of the armed people."

"It is the great historical mission of our Party at the present stage to enable the partial political consciousness of the discontented masses of Colombia to develop into full political consciousness and lead them to seize power through armed struggle."

The present government of Colombia is a blood-thirsty dictatorship by the oligarchs and imperialists. "The Party must mobilize and lead the people to resist and strike against this and future dictatorships and must have not the least hesitation to promote the supreme form of struggle in order to answer reactionary violence with the people's revolutionary violence."

"The reformist line has proved to be a failure in Colombia."

"The struggle is inevitable, but just. It will be an arduous and protracted one, but its victory is ensured. The struggle will be mainly in the countryside and it will be waged by relying on the strength of the people. Sooner or later it will spread to the whole of the country and involve all social strata."

Having analysed the other political parties and groupings in the country, the resolution defines the Party's attitude towards them. It says: "In the prolonged period before the 10th Congress, the Communist Party of Colombia became another party of the 'traditional' type and the tail of the grouping which had broken away from the Liberal Party owing to differences in tactics."

The group of people headed by Gilberto Vieira are renegades who, as leaders of a proletarian Party, peddled bourgeois ideas.

"We are the Communist Party of Colombia which contains no revisionist renegade group," the resolution says in conclusion. It calls on all people and all revolutionary groups and movements to rally round the Patriotic Front for Liberation and take part in the common struggle and, together with the Communists, fight for the liberation of the Colombian people.

(Boldface emphases are ours.)

## **ACROSS THE LAND**

## 280 New Steels

Y the end of last year, the Chinese steel industry was turning out 95 per cent of all the various steels the country needs. In the first half of this year, it cut the need for imports still further by adding 280 new types of steel to its list.

The latest batch of new steels was developed to meet the pressing needs agriculture and for machine-building, chemical, textile and petroleum industries. They include 120-mm, thick steel plates for making equipment for large nitrogenous-fertilizer, and power plants; a large number of corrosion resistant. high-grade stainless alloy steels able to withstand high temperatures and pressures; and superhard, tough steel piping for drilling oil wells deeper than 3,000 metres.

China is now able to make practically all the 1,100 different kinds of rolled steel needed in the truck and tractor industries. Latest products for these industries include wide strip steel made by cold rolling and intermediate shaft tubes. For the new, developing chemical fibre industry. an extra low carbon stainless steel and more than 30 other acid resistant steels have been trial produced. Other items are high-strength, light gauge I-beams for bridge building; high-allov stainless tubes for making synthetic urea towers; high-grade, cold electric strip for precision instruments and meters; heat-resistant wheel blade steel for gas turbines and a number of low alloy, highstrength steels.

## From Desk to Work Bench

ROM director to clerk, every ablebodied member of the staff in China's largest pipe-casting mill at Anshan, northeast China, regularly goes down to the workshops to take part in productive labour. They join the work teams and work two to three days a week with them, at fixed posts or on a flexible basis, as lathe turners, welders, bench or foundry workers.

Forty-six-year-old Wang Jui-nien, director of the mill and a former welder, shares the quota of a fulltime fitter with two other office workers. "The best way to run a socialist enterprise well is for every cadre to take part in manual productive labour," he says.

Many office workers who started as apprentices or assistants to skilled workers when the system was instituted a year ago can now work independently.

Office cadres have initiated scores of technical innovations in the course of their workshop shifts and also improved technical management, planning and financial work.

## Improved Waterwheel

OMMUNE farmers are eagerly buying an improved version of the wooden-waterwheel used to lift water in the rice-growing south. Lightweight, portable and much more efficient, thousands of the new waterwheel are already in use and handicraft workshops are busy turning out more in response to a growing demand.

Power pumps are coming into use on an increasing scale on the farms, but at the moment the treadle waterwheel still plays a big role in irrigating and draining paddyfields. About 400,000 are bought annually by the

rural people's communes. In view of this, the Second Ministry of Light Industry has been quick to popularize the improved version.

The average-sized traditional waterwheel, shaped like an escalator, consists of a chain of 50-80 wooden paddles or scoops that fit in a wooden trough, the lower end of which is placed in water. As the chain is rotated, usually by a treadle, the paddles scoop and lift the water up the trough. In the new, improved version, the trough is replaced by a cylindrical or square tube and has about five paddles. These exactly fit the inside of the tube; each scoops up water into the tube, creating a vacuum to lift water as in a pump. The new waterwheel is two to three times more efficient and costs and weighs two-thirds less than the old wooden one. One man by himself can carry, install and operate an average one lifting 64 cubic metres of water an hour.

The improved waterwheel can be made in various sizes from wood, bamboo, plastic or steel, and may be worked by hand or by treadle or be powered by an ox or a motor. It can operate almost vertically whereas the old ones can work well only at a slightly inclined angle.

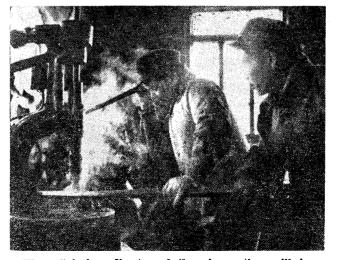
### Briefs

A woollen mill to produce a million metres of cloth a year is being put through its final paces before being commissioned in Lanchow, Kansu

Besides Province. pure wool fabrics, it

will make fabrics of synthetic fibres, viscose and wool mixtures.





Wang Jui-nien, director of the pipe-casting mill in Anshan, works regularly as a fitter in the workshop

## Commemorating the Defeat of the Japanese Invasion

China's press, radio, museums, cinemas and theatres are all in their own ways preparing for the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the victory of the Chinese people over the Japanese aggressors.

PRESS AND RADIO National and local papers have published memoirs and reminiscences by those who took part in that epic struggle. Most are by veterans of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Among them, "The First Battle at Pinghsingkuan" gives an eyewitness account of the victory at that Shansi pass in September 1937. That was the first decisive defeat inflicted on crack troops of the Japanese army and a success which enhanced the prestige of the Eighth Route Army and inspired the whole people with confidence in final victory.

"Comrade Liu Shao-chi in the Base Area North of the Huai River" by Chang Ai-ping tells of the strenuous days lived through by the New Fourth Army when in 1940 it faced a "mopping-up" campaign launched

tack from the Kuomintang reactionaries. It author shows how, the army, by implementing Chairman Mao's teachings on guerrilla warfare, succeeded in consolidating its base behind the enemy lines.

On the Sungari River, Song of the Guerrillas and other songs of the time now being heard over the radio carry one back to those days of bitter national anger against the aggressors, heroic struggles and final victory.

The Peking People's Literature Publishing House, the People's Art and other publishing houses in Peking and Shanghai are reprinting scores of outstanding novels, plays, poems, songs, picture-story books and reproductions of paintings and woodcuts on the theme of the anti-Japanese war.

**EXHIBITIONS** The Military Museum of the Revolution of the Chinese People is re-opening its Hall of the War of Resistance Against Japan (July 1937-August 1945) following the addition of new exhibits. The newly arranged hall gives a broad survey

by the Japanese and treacherous at-

Tunnel Warfare

Woodcut by Li Huan-min

of the struggles that led to the final brilliant victory of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. It is now divided chronologically into three parts showing how the re-grouped Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies set up anti-Japanese bases, how the people and armies of the liberated areas maintained the fight against the Japanese, and the growth and expansion of the liberated areas and final victory.

The 1,500 exhibits include the message of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party calling on the entire Chinese people to oppose the Japanese aggressors and the manuscripts of some of Chairman Mao's important works written during that period such as The Question of Independence Within the United Front, Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front and Reform Our Study. There are pictures of Yenan and of guerrilla activities, examples of mines and other weapons made by the people themselves and trophies captured from the Japanese aggressors.

The Museum of Chinese Art will open an exhibition from August 22 to September 12 with over 160 photos and 200 oils, traditional Chinese paintings, New-year pictures, cartoons and other works of graphic art bearing on the period of the anti-Japanese war. Part of them are pictorials, mimeographed leaflets and posters widely circulated among the masses at that time.

FILMS In commemoration of the anniversary, the film industry has released 24 new and old feature films and six documentaries. Among the new releases are Bitter Herbs based on the outstanding novel by the young writer Feng Teh-ying, which centres on the resistance activities of the Shantung people, and the Peking opera film Chieh Chen-kuo. Among the re-releases are From Victory to Victory, Guerrillas on the Plains, The White-Haired Girl, Sangkamryung, Tung Tsun-jui and others. Among the documentaries are Crossing the Yangtse River and Episodes from the Life of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. From August 15 to September 25 these films will be shown in 34 of China's big cities, including Peking, all the provincial capitals and capitals of autonomous Shanghai, regions, Yenan, Chungking, Lushun-Talien and Kweilin, from where they will go to the medium and small cities. Part of them will be carried by mobile cinemas to the villages.

THEATRE Peking in these days will see a series of performances of Peking opera, modern drama and other forms of theatrical art on the theme of the struggle against the Japanese invaders, with a number of special activities, concerts, meetings and other festivities concentrated on September 3 and its eve, the anniversary of China's victory over the Japanese invaders.

## CINEMA

### "Red Craq" on the Screen

The novel Red Crag is winning fresh success as a film. This 420.000word work has already sold around 4.5 million copies; and been widely staged as a modern drama and in several styles of traditional Chinese opera. Now as a Peking Film Studio production under the title Deathless in the Flames its revolutionary message will be carried still further afield. Released this summer, it is drawing capacity audiences wherever it is shown.

This is a film of action and sharp characterization. It centres on some main episodes and characters of the novel, particularly Sister Chiang and Hsu Yun-feng, two leading members of Chungking's underground Communist Party organization who, when arrested as a result of betrayal, lead the struggle of the political prisoners against the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries even in the concentration camp of the notorious "Sino-American Co-operation Organization" (SACO). The film brings out the courage and steadfast devotion of the revolutionaries. No torture can break Sister Chiang. With supreme confidence she tells her torturers: "Yes, I know. . . but those are Party secrets. I'll never tell. . . !"

With the People's Liberation Army hammering at the approaches to Chungking, the reactionaries prepare to flee but in their spite put to death their most important captives. They make a last attempt to taunt Hsu Yun-feng. He tells them: Every man has to die. If my life can help the revolutionary cause of the pro-

letariat, then I'll die happy!

He and Sister Chiang go to their deaths heroically and happy because they can already hear the guns of liberation approaching. The other political prisoners succeed in breaking out of the camp according to a plan worked out by Sister Chiang and Hsu.

A memorably appealing performance is given by the youngster who plays the role of Little Turnip Head, the 8-year-old boy who describes himself as "an old political prisoner" because he has lived all his life in jail. Like many others, his character is based on a real life person, the young son of the secretary of the patriot general Yang Hu-cheng who arrested Chiang Kai-shek in Sian in 1936 and compelled him to agree to fight together with the Communist Party against the Japanese invaders. Little Turnip Head was brought to the prison as a baby when his parents were arrested, and he too was killed by the reactionaries in a notorious massacre.

Yu Lan who won a prize for her acting in A Revolutionary Family plays the part of Sister Chiang. Chao Tan (Nieh Erh, Lin Tse-hsu) is Hsu Yun-feng. Other well-known screen performers provide a strong supporting cast directed by Shui Hua, one of the three directors of the notable film the White-Haired Girl. of the film was shot on location in the actual SACO concentration camp near Chungking and in the hills around where guerrilla activity was



Head Kuomintang spy questions Sister Chiang

carried on against the Kuomintang regime.

#### SHORT NOTES

Revival of Folk Dramas One of the hits of the theatre festival recently held in Shenyang, was Erh Jen Chuan, (2-man show), a traditional folk art form among northeast China's peasants that has now been brought up-to-date with contemporary revolutionary themes. Erh Jen Chuan is usually performed by a man and a woman and combines dialogue, singing, acting, and dancing.

Northeast China has more than 100 professional troupes specializing in this art while many other theatrical companies include performers of it. It has also been taught now in local opera schools.

Hai opera, a local form of opera that was on the point of extinction at the time of liberation, has been revived and is proving popular in the Huai River valley area, Anhwei Province. In one county there a fivemonth run of Hai opera performances from Jan.-May, 1965 drew audiences totalling 450,000 people.

A multi-national art troupe in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang has built up a repertoire of more than 300 songs and dances since it was founded ten years ago. The troupe has 60 members of 11 nationalities including Kazakhs, Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tartars, Mongolians, Sibos and Hans. The Ili area today has seven such professional troupes and 100 multi-national amateur groups.

## ROUND THE WORLD

## Inside the U.S.A.

## Negroes in Revolt

American Negroes, the most downtrodden and worst exploited people in the home base of the world's No. 1 imperialist country, were in open revolt in mid-August. For a whole week, they battled racial discrimination and police brutality in Los Angeles, Chicago, and several other cities. The sudden explosion climaxed ofsimmering discontent and ever spreading struggle. marked a new phase in the Negro movement in the United States not only because its magnitude and force surpassed previous post-World War II struggles, but also because there is a growing awareness among Negroes that they share a common cause with the oppressed peoples of the world.

As a leaflet distributed by Negroes in Chicago proclaimed: "After years of frame-ups, brutalities and intimidations, the Black people are throwing off control of the same rulers who are making war on people throughout the world—in Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo." And from embattled Los Angeles came the resounding cry: "This is the Negro revolution, we want the world to know."

To counter the oppressors' violence with the violence of the oppressed—this is another outstanding feature of the Los Angeles struggle which was set off by police brutality. Thousands of Negroes poured into the streets and fought police and armed troops with bricks, bottles, Molotov cocktails and finally guns. They kept up resistance despite the danger of death and imprisonment.

With the situation in the city getting completely "out of hand," the Johnson Administration threw its professed interest in Negro rights to the winds. It resorted to naked repression. While Johnson called for restoration of "law and order" and provided federal assistance to the state government, California Governor Brown - who had rushed back from a vacation in Greece took personal command of the military suppression. A "state of insurrection" was declared and a city-wide curfew imposed on Los Angeles. Troopers were ordered to arrest and shoot the "rioters" on sight. Finally divisions of the National Guard — 20,000 men in all — were used to encircle the entire Negro district, and in what was dubbed "Operation Clean Sweep" set up machine-guns at all key intersections, sent in tanks and then, in battle formation, attacked the Negroes.

Under such conditions, Los Angeles became an inferno of white terror. According to an initial count, 28 Negroes were killed, 700 others beaten up and injured and over 3,000 arrested. With the frenzy of a racist, Los Angeles police chief William Parker thundered: "The only way we are going to stop this thing is to arrest, arrest, arrest."

The bloodbath failed to daunt the fighting spirit of the Negroes. Despite the "military occupation," they continued to fire revengeful shots from roofs, tree tops and other out-of-sight points. In six days, they killed or wounded more than 100 National Guardsmen and police. An angry Negro youth shouted back at the troops: "You guys can stay here two weeks or more but you'll have to leave some time and baby it will happen again."

Lieutenant-General Roderic Hill, a National Guard commander, acknowledged the futility of the repression when he admitted that his men could not force the Negroes to submit. "This is not just a riot—it's an armed insurrection," he exclaimed. And a lieutenant told a reporter: "It's Santo Domingo happening in Los Angeles. It's like a revolution. There are snipers everywhere. Any policeman is a good target. . . "

Both in Los Angeles and in Chicago, the immediate cause for the struggle was typical police brutality, but actually the roots went much deeper. Negroes in American cities are crammed into ghettos, live in poverty, suffer all sorts of discrimination in employment and education, and are looked down upon as second-class citizens. Until all this is changed—and it cannot be changed under the capitalist system—the pent-up hatred of the Negroes is bound to blow up again, higher and higher.

## Disintegrating "Malaysia"

## Singapore Departs

Singapore withdrew from the "Malaysian Federation" on August 9. This was simultaneously announced by Singapore's Premier Lee Kuan Yew and "Malaysian" Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Singapore and Kuala Lumpur will enter into a treaty on "external defence and mutual assistance," establish a "joint defence council" and "co-operate" in economic affairs. "Malaysian" armed forces will continue to use Singapore's military facilities while Britain will retain her bases in Singapore.

In a press statement, Singapore Premier Lee Kuan Yew declared that his country "welcomed all friends," and wanted to trade with all countries. "Like Britain," he said, "we want to trade with the world, including the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and . . . Indonesia."

Singapore's departure from "Malaysia" marks a major defeat for the British-conceived, American-backed "combine-and-rule" project. As originally planned, the federation included Malaya, Singapore, Brunei,

Sarawak and Sabah. When it was finally formed in September 1963—over the opposition of the people of the region and the surrounding countries—Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah joined while Brunei kept out.

Since then, the Rahman regime in Malaya has constantly been at loggerheads with Singapore. While giving the latter hardly any say in political affairs, it insisted on more and more financial contributions from it.

In relation to its population, Singapore had the least number of seats in the "Malaysian" federal parliament. In the Malayan election last year, Singapore's ruling People's Action Party was bitterly opposed by Rahman's own Alliance Party. The latter also tried to forment racial disputes in Singapore, and threats were made to arrest Lee Kuan Yew and others.

In the economic field, Singapore was required to hand over some 40 per cent of its income to the "Malaysian" authorities. Recently, it was asked to raise this percentage to 60. "Malaysia's" increased taxation for arms expansion and its tariff barriers against Singapore's manufactured goods also aroused the dissatisfaction of the Singapore authorities.

On top of all this, the Rahman group had time and again interfered in matters under Singapore's jurisdiction. These contradictions finally led to the separation.

#### Cambodia Stands Firm

## U.S. Bully Rebuffed

Hand in hand with the escalation of their dirty war in Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists' campaign to bring Cambodia to its knees is being stepped up. This is part of Washington's scheme to retrieve its losses in Indo-China.

As in the past, Washington is lining up its yes-men to blackmail this independent kingdom. Quoting Thai and south Vietnamese authorities, the American propaganda machine has been levelling a variety of wild charges at Cambodia. At the same time, while Bangkok accused Cambodian soldiers of having penetrated into its territory, Saigon claimed to have discovered "Viet Congs" in Cambodia. These false alarms were accompanied bv open "Strongman" Kittikachorn issued orders to close the Thai-Cambodian frontier, while his second in command, Interior Minister Praphas, clamoured for action. Nguyen Cao Ky, the current chief U.S. henchman in Saigon, joined the noisy chorus by threatening that "any country which sheltered the Viet Congs will be regarded as our enemy." Amidst such war cries, the Thai authorities moved additional troops to the frontier. All this mud-slinging and muscle-flexing has one purpose: to put pressure on Cambodia and create pretexts for armed invasion of that country.

Cambodia long ago earned Washington's ire because it pursues a policy of peace and neutrality. This hostility has increased tenfold since Prince Sihanouk publicly censured Washington and expressed sympathy and support for the Vietnamese people in their fight against Yankee aggression.

However, just as all previous attempts at browbeating Cambodia have failed, the latest U.S. provocations have been rebuffed. Speaking on August 8, Prince Sihanouk emphasized Cambodia's readiness to hit back in the event of U.S. aggression. He declared that his people would never tremble or fall back in the face of threats. This courageous stand has won the admiration of all peace-loving countries.

China has repeatedly expressed support for Cambodia's cause. Its position can be summed up in the words of a *Renmin Ribao* commentary (August 15): "Should U.S. imperialism dare spread the flames of its aggressive war to Cambodia, the Chinese people will stand by the side of the Cambodian people and

give resolute support to their just struggle."

## The Latin American Volcanoes

### Guerrilla War in Peru

Where there is repression, there is bound to be resistance. And when the repression becomes ruthless, the people are bound to cast away their illusions and take up arms. In Peru, where the U.S.-dictated Belaunde regime has enforced martial law, banned all public meetings and made wholesale arrests both in the cities and in the countryside, the anti-U.S. and patriotic armed struggle is making rapid headway.

Guerrillas are active in five provinces — Junin, Cuzco, Huancavelica, Ayacucho and La Libertad. They have the strong support of the people, notably the peasants. In Junin, members of the Indian community are joining the freedom fighters by the hundreds. Women also have taken up arms. The Revolutionary Students' Front has decided to take part in the struggle. Ambushes and surprise attacks on government forces have become frequent.

Latest developments have so alarmed the authorities that last month they rushed some 2,000 troops to carry out "mopping-up operations" in Junin and Huancavelica. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Jack Vaughn, in Lima to preside over a meeting of U.S. ambassadors in South America, stayed on to press the Peruvian Government to take harsher repressive measures. The C.I.A. is directing the Peruvian police in a special programme for mass arrests.

Peru, of course, is not the only country on the Latin American continent resorting to armed struggle against Yankee imperialism. Venezuela, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Colombia. . . . More are following suit. "The United States and Latin America are speaking a different language," moaned a July 27 article in the New York Times. To the Latin Americans, it noted. "The Johnson doctrine means intervention from the United States." It is this negative example which is teaching the Latin Americans what they must do.

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