

# PEKING REVIEW

48

November 29, 1963

## China and Afghanistan Sign Boundary Treaty

(p. 6).

## Chinese Government Statement

- Wholeheartedly supporting Cambodia in the struggle to defend its independence and sovereignty.
- Resolutely opposing intervention and aggression against Cambodia by the U.S. and its vassals. (p. 8).

## Statement of Ten Central Committee Members of Ceylon C.P.

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*Scenes of an Ili Autumn*

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

November 29, 1963 Vol. VI No. 48

## CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
The Sino-Afghan Boundary Treaty Signed — Our Correspondent	6
Boundary Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Afghanistan	7
Chinese Government's Statement Supporting the Royal Government of Cambodia	8
Statement of Ten Central Committee Members of the Ceylon Communist Party	9
Protesting the Revisionist Leadership of the Ceylon Communist Party	17
First GANEFO Comes Through With Flying Colours	18
Scenes of an Ili Autumn — Kuo Hsiao-chuan	20
ROUND THE WORLD	24
DANCE-DRAMA, ARCHAEOLOGY	26

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- A boundary treaty between China and Afghanistan was signed in Peking on November 22. Ten thousand people in the capital held a mass rally to celebrate the event.

- The Chinese Government issued a statement on November 21 expressing all-out support for Cambodia's struggle to safeguard national independence and sovereignty and firmly opposing intervention and aggression by the United States and its vassals against Cambodia.

*Renmin Ribao* in its November 22 editorial pledged the Chinese people's full support for Cambodia.

- Peking celebrated the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Korean Agreement on Economic and Cultural Co-operation and the 14th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Albania.

- The first Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0) ended successfully in Djakarta on November 22. The GANEFO congress decided to hold the second games in Cairo in 1967.

- China's confidence in a fair and reasonable settlement of the Sino-Indian border question through peaceful negotiations was reiterated in a *Renmin Ribao* editorial marking the first anniversary of the Chinese Government's statement of November 21, 1962, proclaiming that the Chinese frontier guards had decided to effect an immediate unilateral ceasefire and to withdraw to 20 kilometres on the Chinese side of the November 7, 1959 line of actual control.

- The Committee of the Department of Philosophy and Social Science of the Chinese Academy of Sciences held an enlarged meeting to discuss the struggle against modern revisionism in the sphere of philosophy and social science, the study of the experience of contemporary revolutionary struggles and other fundamental questions. Chairman Liu Shao-chi made an important speech at the conference.

- The Chinese press reported:

- a speech made by Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party D.N. Aidit in Djakarta on November 12, calling on the Communists and people of Indonesia to carry on the fight against revisionism which, he said, is a poison weakening the anti-imperialist struggle.

- an article appearing in the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit* on November 9 entitled "Renegade Tito's New Acts of Betrayal."

- an article by Minister of Industry Ernesto Che Guevara of Cuba entitled "Guerrilla Warfare: a Means," which was published in the September issue of *Cuba Socialista*.

### Anniversary of Sino-Korean Agreement

The tenth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Korean Agreement on Economic and Cultural Co-operation on November 23, 1953 was celebrated in Peking and Pyongyang. In both capitals Party and government leaders exchanged messages of greetings, leading papers published editorials marking the day, and anniversary banquets were given.

The agreement is a milestone in the history of Sino-Korean friendship. The first important treaty signed between the two countries, it embodies the common wishes of the two peoples to consolidate and strengthen their friendly co-operation in the new historical period of socialist construction. During the past ten years it has done much to bring the militant friendship and great unity between the two countries to a new stage and to bring about the common prosperity

of their socialist economies and cultures.

In Peking the Korean Charge d'Affaires ad interim Zung Bong Koo gave a banquet on November 23 to celebrate the anniversary. Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Chinese leaders attended. Describing the signing of the agreement as an event of great significance in the lives of the two peoples, the Korean Charge d'Affaires said: "Sino-Korean friendship and unity is developing and being further consolidated in the course of our common struggle against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism, in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for the final triumph of socialism."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, said that the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Korea had developed continuously on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. "Our two countries," he stressed, "strictly adhere to the correct principles guiding relations between socialist countries and work wholeheartedly in close alliance in every sphere while maintaining our independence, and assist each other while ensuring equality and mutual benefit. This is a new type of relationship between countries, completely incompatible with national egoism which, under the guise of international division of labour, demands that other fraternal countries make sacrifices and place their services at its disposal."

The Vice-Premier praised the Korean people for the brilliant achievements of their socialist economy and culture under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, and said that the Chinese people could profit much from the valuable experiences of the Korean people and from their rich culture and art.

Noting that the friendship and unity between the Chinese and Korean peoples had stood severe tests, Vice-Premier Chen Yi declared: "Our two peoples share the same ideals and have a common cause. In socialist construction, we assist each other and advance hand in hand. In the struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and in safeguarding peace in the Far East and the rest of the world, we main-

tain close co-operation and fight shoulder to shoulder. In combating modern revisionism and defending Marxism-Leninism, we are also in full accord. We are firmly convinced that, with the development of our common cause, the friendship, unity and fraternal relations of mutual assistance and co-operation between our two peoples will continue to grow."

### **Sino-Albanian Friendship**

On November 22 the Albanian Ambassador to China, Nesti Nase, gave a reception in Peking to celebrate the 14th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and China. Vice-Premier Chen Yi attended.

In a speech the Ambassador referred to the unbreakable friendship between the two peoples. He said that this friendship, created by the Parties of Albania and China and their leaders Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mao Tse-tung, was built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and had become a brilliant example of sincere relationships between two socialist countries.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi stated that the relations of friendship and solidarity between China and Albania had been continuously developed and consolidated in the past 14 years. "Our two countries," he stressed, "have always supported and helped each other in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and for world peace, and in the cause of building socialism. First and foremost, the Chinese people have had tremendous support and help from the Government and people of Albania."

The Vice-Premier pledged that "the Chinese people will always stand by the Albanian people and firmly support their just struggle at any time and in any circumstances."

### **Message to Japanese C.P. Leader**

The Chinese people were greatly angered over news of the attempt on the life of Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, on November 13. On November 19, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent a cable to the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party. The cable read: "In order to

undermine the Japanese people's great patriotic and just struggle, the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries have even resorted to fascist methods and made an attempt on the life of Comrade Sanzo Nosaka. We express great indignation at this incident and extend our deep concern and regards to Comrade Sanzo Nosaka. We believe that the Japanese people, under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party, will continue to win fresh victories in their struggle for Japan's independence, for democracy and peace, and for neutrality and the improvement of the people's livelihood."

Protesting the attempted assassination, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator drew attention to the fact that the incident occurred on the eve of the Japanese elections and at a time when the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism reached a new height. As the U.S. policies of war and aggression had run up against increasing resistance from the Japanese people, Commentator pointed out, U.S. imperialism in collusion with Japanese reaction stepped up its suppression of Japan's patriotic, democratic forces. But the great, heroic Japanese people and the Japanese Communist Party could never be intimidated. The U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' criminal attempt on Sanzo Nosaka's life would only serve to put the Japanese people more on the alert and strengthen their unity in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

### **Chairman Mao Receives Mozambique Guest**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on November 24 received and had a cordial talk with Marcelino Dos Santos, secretary of external affairs and organization of the Mozambique Liberation Front and secretary-general of the Conference of the Organization of Nationalists of Portuguese Colonies. Marcelino Dos Santos was received by Vice-Premier Chen Yi on the same day.

### **Premier Chou En-lai Receives Soviet Amity Delegation**

Premier Chou En-lai on November 20 received and had a friendly talk with members of the delegation of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association led by E. I. Afanasenko. The delega-

tion left Peking for home on November 22.

### **Sino-Cambodian Air Transport Agreement**

China and Cambodia signed an agreement on air transport in Phnom Penh on November 25.

According to the agreement, which came into effect on the day of signing, a regular air service will be established between the two countries. This will help strengthen their economic and cultural ties.

### **Support for Venezuelan People's Struggle**

In the face of the rising national-liberation movement in Venezuela, the pro-U.S. dictatorial Betancourt government is seeking to maintain its reactionary rule by reinforcing its suppression of the nation's democratic forces. Recently, it stepped up massive arrests of progressive trade unionists, members of parliament, journalists, professors and students; Central University, other colleges and schools, and news organizations have been closed down. On November 19 alone nearly 150 people were thrown into jail.

Immediate Chinese reaction to Betancourt's repressive moves was strong. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the All-China Youth and Students Federations and journalists', women's and lawyers' associations sent messages to their counterparts in Venezuela expressing firm support for the struggle of the Venezuelan people against U.S. imperialism and its flunkies, demanding an immediate stop to the clamp-down and the release of all those arrested.

The Venezuelan people's fight for national independence and sovereignty, and for democracy, freedom and social progress, was an important part of the world struggle against U.S. imperialism and its vassals, the trade union message emphasized. "In this struggle," it declared, "the workers and other people of China will always stand with you."

The message of the Chinese youth and students expressed confidence that "the students and young people

of Venezuela, united and persistent in the struggle, will surmount all difficulties on their road of advance, defeat U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries and win final victory."

### **Emulating Shanghai**

Industrial enterprises throughout China are emulating their more advanced counterparts in Shanghai in an effort to improve production technique and streamline management. More than 10,000 people have flocked from 25 provinces and autonomous regions to China's oldest and biggest industrial centre this year because Shanghai, with its more comprehensive industrial system, higher technical level and a concentration of highly skilled workers, has much valuable experience to offer.

These activities are part of the movement on the part of China's industrial enterprises to emulate, learn from and catch up with the advanced and help those lagging behind; they are designed to bridge the gap in the shortest possible time. A movement of long standing, this year it has witnessed significant new developments and is better planned and organized. Study groups arriving in Shanghai from all over the country are led by responsible cadres of provincial or city economic commissions and are generally made up of representatives from the more advanced enterprises.

Rather than just watching, asking questions and taking notes, learners don overalls and take part in actual production alongside their teachers. Workers at the bench learn the fine points of operational skills from their Shanghai comrades in the workshops; technical personnel study technological problems both in theory and practice; and plant directors pay special attention to management problems. In this spirit of "three-in-one" co-operation, visitors learn Shanghai experience in a comprehensive, systematic way.

Many visitors bring samples of their own products for comparison with those of Shanghai. Such comparisons reveal where they lag behind and result in shortcomings being remedied more quickly.

At the end of each study tour, a meeting is held at which both sides—teachers and pupils—evaluate the study effort. Figures show that

results have been excellent: personnel from 223 north China factories alone within two months have learnt 3,300 valuable techniques which contribute to greater output, better quality and lower costs.

Shanghai workers and staff members give their guests enthusiastic help, passing on technical know-how wherever possible. They often call at hotels where the visitors are staying; some even invite their new friends to stay with them so that they can spend more time talking things over. All this is not one-way traffic. Through contact with visitors from other cities, Shanghai workers have also learnt much that is of value. If cut-throat competition is the rule in the capitalist jungle, comradely mutual help is the rule of conduct among socialist enterprises.

### **No More Wooden Ploughs in Tibet**

A positive proof of Tibetan progress since the democratic reforms of 1959 is the virtual disappearance of the centuries old wooden plough. Used throughout Tibet up to four years ago, it is now almost as rare as a hen with teeth. More than 700,000 metal ploughs and other farm tools have been supplied by the state in recent years, and thousands more have come from small workshops set up in Lhasa, Shigatse and other places in Tibet since 1959.

The smelting and use of iron was known in Tibet 13 centuries ago but only after the feudal fetters of serfdom were shattered in 1959 were the people of Tibet free to use metal tools. The change-over has been swift as shown by the case of 10,079 peasant households in the mountainous Lingtze Special Administrative Region. Before the 1959 reforms only one family in ten owned a metal farming tool. Each family today averages six metal farm tools. This is more or less the same story for the rest of Tibet.

With the big influx of iron ploughshares, picks, hoes, shovels and other metal farming paraphernalia a historical leap ahead is being made in agricultural production. Many districts now grow 400-500 *jin* of grain per *mu* against 100 before the reforms while the average yield of grain for all Tibet is now 25 per cent higher than the pre-1959 level.

# The Sino-Afghan Boundary Treaty Signed

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE traditional friendship existing between China and Afghanistan has become closer than ever. On November 22, a Sino-Afghan boundary treaty was signed in Peking by Chen Yi, Foreign Minister, on behalf of the People's Republic of China, and Dr. Abdul Kayeum, Minister of Interior, on behalf of the Kingdom of Afghanistan. The treaty came into force with its signing. (For full text, see page 7.)

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, were present at the signing ceremony.

## Grand Peking Rally

On the afternoon of the same day a grand rally of more than 10,000 people was held in the Great Hall of the People in the capital to celebrate the conclusion of the treaty and to welcome the Afghan Government Delegation led by Dr. Abdul Kayeum. Peng Chen, Mayor of Peking, and Dr. Abdul Kayeum, addressed the rally, both emphasizing the great significance of the occasion.

From the oldest times, the Chinese and Afghan peoples have been close and friendly neighbours. Two thousand years ago they opened up the famous "silk road" as a path for friendly contact between them. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and especially since 1955 when diplomatic relations were established, their traditional friendship has developed encouragingly. They fought jointly against imperialism and colonialism at the 1955 Bandung Conference, their leaders subsequently exchanged visits and, in 1960, a treaty of friendship and mutual non-aggression was signed between the two countries. At the Kabul negotiations started last June for the formal delimitation of the boundary, quick agreement was reached on the draft treaty, thanks to the sincere desire of both parties for a negotiated settlement of this question left over from history.



Foreign Minister Chen Yi shaking hands with Abdul Kayeum, Afghan Minister of Interior, after signing the treaty

In his speech at the Peking rally, Mayor Peng Chen stressed that the formal delimitation of a boundary of peace and friendship between China and Afghanistan "is a new success for the policy of friendship and good neighbourliness of our two countries, which fully accords with the common interests of their peaceful construction." He expressed the conviction that the peoples of China and Afghanistan will maintain their friendship and safeguard this boundary from generation to generation.

The Peking Mayor said: "The conclusion of the Sino-Afghan boundary treaty has provided another fine example for countries to settle outstanding issues between them through peaceful negotiations." He added: "It can be said that both our countries have made very positive contributions to the cause of strengthening peace in this part of the world and to the cause of Asian-African solidarity."

After many Asian and African countries had successively won their independence, imperialism had tried to use boundary questions to sow discord among them, stir up trouble, undermine Asian-African solidarity and turn the spearhead of the Asian and African peoples' struggle away from imperialism. Peng Chen emphasized: "In deal-

ing with these questions left over from history, the Asian and African countries must heighten their vigilance, and value highly the interests of Asian-African solidarity and of peace and of the Asian and African peoples' struggle for winning and safeguarding national independence. They must guard against being taken in by imperialism."

On the Sino-Indian boundary question, Peng Chen reaffirmed China's firm stand for a peaceful and negotiated settlement. No matter how long it may be dragged on, he said, this question will in the end be settled in the same fair and reasonable way as have been China's boundary questions with her other southwestern neighbours and the great traditional friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples will continue to grow.

In his speech Dr. Abdul Kayeum described the signing of the treaty as a milestone of historical significance on the path of coexistence between Afghanistan and China, which, he said, "will ensure for ever the peace and tranquillity that now exists on that border of friendship."

It was worthy of celebration, he continued, "because no ulterior motive, no feeling of territorial aggrandizement, and no diplomatic manoeuvring and bickering have gone into the formulation and the signing of this treaty."

Concluding his speech, he shouted in Chinese "Long live Afghan-Chinese friendship!"

#### "Renmin Ribao" Editorial

On November 23, all leading newspapers in Peking published editorials acclaiming this great event in Sino-Afghan relations. *Renmin Ribao* hailed the treaty as a landmark in the annals of Sino-Afghan friendship and a great victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit.

"The peoples of our two countries," *Renmin Ribao* said, "have each made contributions to the development of the ancient civilization of the East. They both love their independence and freedom and have waged heroic struggles against ferocious colonialist forces. Now they both are working hard to build up their countries. These

common experiences and aspirations of the Chinese and Afghan peoples are a firm bond for strengthening their friendship."

Now, the paper added, the treaty provided another demonstration of the sincere desire of both countries for friendship and co-operation and their mutual trust and respect. "There is no doubt that the signing of the Sino-Afghan boundary treaty will advance the relations of friendship and co-operation between our two countries to a new stage," the paper declared.

#### Afghan Guests in China

Dr. Abdul Kayeum and the Afghan Government Delegation led by him came to China to sign the boundary treaty and to pay a friendly visit at the invitation of Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi received and had cordial talks with Dr. Abdul Kayeum and the Afghan Government Delegation on separate occasions during their stay in Peking. Premier Chou En-lai also received the visitors and gave a dinner in their honour.

On November 20 when they arrived in Peking by special plane, they were given a warm welcome by Chen Yi, other government ministers and several thousand people at the flag-decorated airport. On that evening, Chen Yi gave a banquet in honour of the distinguished Afghan guests. Next evening, accompanied by Chen Yi, they saw a Peking opera specially arranged in their honour.

On November 22, a banquet was given by the Afghan Ambassador to China, Mohammad Chouaib Miskinyar, for the Afghan visitors. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were present. On November 23 the Afghan guests received an enthusiastic welcome when, accompanied by Chen Yi, they visited the Peking College of Physical Culture.

The following day, Dr. Abdul Kayeum gave a reception for Chinese government leaders. On November 25, the Afghan guests left Peking for a tour of other parts of China. They arrived in Shanghai that day.

#### Document

## Boundary Treaty Between the People's Republic Of China and the Kingdom of Afghanistan

**T**HE Chairman of the People's Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Afghanistan,

With a view to ensuring the further development of the friendly and good-neighbourly relations which happily exist between the two independent and sovereign states, China and Afghanistan;

Resolving to formally delimit and demarcate the boundary existing between China and Afghanistan in the Pamirs in accordance with the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and mutual non-aggression and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, and in the spirit of friendship, co-operation and mutual understanding;

Firmly believing that the formal delimitation and demarcation of the boundary between the two countries will further strengthen the peace and security of this region;

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty, and appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries:

For the Chairman of the People's Republic of China: Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

For His Majesty the King of Afghanistan: A. Kayeum, Minister of Interior;

Who, having examined each other's full powers and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

#### Article 1

The Contracting Parties agree that, starting from a peak with a height of 5630 metres (the reference co-ordinates of which are approximately 37°03' N, 74°36' E) in the southern

extremity, the boundary line between the two countries runs along the Mustagh Range watershed between the Karachukur Su River, a tributary of the Tashkurghan River, on the one hand, and the sources of the Aksu River and the Wakhjir River, the upper reaches of the Wakhan River, on the other hand, passing through South Wakhjir Daban (called Wakhjir Pass on the Afghan map) at an elevation of 4923 metres, North Wakhjir Daban (named on the Chinese map only), West Koktorok Daban (named on the Chinese map only), East Koktorok Daban (called Kara Jilga Pass on the Afghan map), Tok Mar Su Daban (called Mihman Yoli Pass on the Afghan map), Sarik Tash Daban (named on the Chinese map only), Kokrash Kol Daban (called Tigarman Su Pass on the Afghan map), and reaches Peak Kokrash Kol (called Peak Povalov Shveikovski on the Afghan map) with a height of 5698 metres.

The entire boundary line as described in the present Article is shown on the 1:200,000 scale map of the Chinese side in Chinese and the 1:253,440 scale map of the Afghan side in Persian, which are attached to the present Treaty. Both of the above-mentioned maps have English words as an auxiliary.

### Article 2

The Contracting Parties agree that wherever the boundary between the two countries follows a watershed, the ridge thereof shall be the boundary line, and wherever it passes through a daban (pass), the water-parting line thereof shall be the boundary line.

### Article 3

The Contracting Parties agree that:

1. As soon as the present Treaty comes into force, a Chinese-Afghan Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission composed of an equal number of representatives and several advisers from each side shall be set up to carry out on location concrete surveys of the boundary between the two countries

and to erect boundary markers in accordance with the provisions of Article 1 of the present Treaty and then draft a protocol relating to the boundary between the two countries and prepare boundary maps setting forth in detail the alignment of the boundary line and the location of the boundary markers on the ground.

2. The protocol and the boundary maps mentioned in Paragraph 1 of the present Article, upon coming into force after being signed by the representatives of the two Governments, shall become annexes to the present Treaty, and the boundary maps prepared by the Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission shall replace the maps attached to the present Treaty.

3. Upon the signing of the above-mentioned protocol and boundary maps, the tasks of the Chinese-Afghan Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission shall be terminated.

### Article 4

The Contracting Parties agree that any dispute concerning the boundary which may arise after the formal delimitation of the boundary between the two countries shall be settled by the two Parties through friendly consultation.

### Article 5

The present Treaty shall come into force on the day of its signature.

Done in duplicate in Peking on November 22, 1963, in the Chinese, Persian and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic.

(Signed)

CHEN YI

Plenipotentiary of the  
People's Republic of China

(Signed)

A. KAYEUM

Plenipotentiary of the  
Kingdom of Afghanistan

## Chinese Government's Statement

- Wholeheartedly Supporting Cambodia in the Struggle to Defend Its State Independence and Sovereignty
- Resolutely Opposing Intervention and Aggression Against Cambodia by the U.S. and Its Vassals

*Following is the full text of the Chinese Government's statement supporting the Royal Government of Cambodia published on November 21, 1963. — Ed.*

RECENTLY, the United States and its vassals, the authorities of south Viet Nam and Thailand, have stepped up their activities of flagrant aggression and subversion against the peace-loving Kingdom of Cambodia, seriously threatening its independence and security and the peace of Southeast Asia.

In disregard of the repeated solemn warnings of the Royal Government of Cambodia, U.S. imperialism has time and again instigated south Viet Nam, Thailand and the so-called Free Khmers composed of a handful of Cambo-

dian traitors fostered by it to carry out frequent intrusions and subversive activities against Cambodia. Since last September, the United States has incited the so-called Radio Free Khmer in south Viet Nam to make virulent attacks on the Royal Government of Cambodia and its Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk. After it engineered the military coup d'etat in south Viet Nam on November 1, the United States has further intensified its aggressive activities against Cambodia. Two "Free Khmer" elements recently arrested by the Royal Government of Cambodia confessed that the United States and its vassal south Viet Nam are plotting a massive invasion of Cambodia by armed bandits and assassination of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cambodia. The Special Congress of the Cambodian People held on No-



vember 19 publicly tried these "Free Khmer" elements, decided to reject U.S. military, economic and cultural aid and demanded the withdrawal of all U.S. organs in Cambodia, military, economic and cultural. These just actions taken by the Kingdom of Cambodia in defence of its state independence and sovereignty and against foreign intervention and aggression have won the hearty support of the Cambodian people and the sympathy and approval of peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and people all over the world. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the just struggle of the Kingdom of Cambodia and oppose any armed intervention and aggression perpetrated by U.S. imperialism and its vassals against Cambodia.

The Kingdom of Cambodia has consistently pursued a policy of peace and neutrality and has made positive contributions to the defence of peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. For this very reason it has been regarded by U.S. imperialism with bitter hostility. In order to push its policies of aggression and war in Southeast Asia, U.S. imperialism has in the last few years tried by every means to wreck the peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia and incessantly directed its vassals to infringe on Cambodia's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. It is explicitly stipulated in the 1954 Geneva agreements that all the countries concerned undertake to

respect the sovereignty, the independence, the unity, and the territorial integrity of Cambodia and to refrain from interference in its internal affairs. The U.S. imperialists' intensified acts of aggression and intervention against Cambodia are the crudest violations of the 1954 Geneva agreements and constitute a serious menace to peace in this area.

The People's Republic of China is a neighbour of the Kingdom of Cambodia and a signatory to and guarantor of the 1954 Geneva agreements. It cannot ignore the flagrant violation of these solemn international agreements by the United States and its vassals and their open acts of aggression against Cambodia. The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares that if the Kingdom of Cambodia which has persevered in its policy of peace and neutrality should encounter armed invasion instigated by the United States and its vassals, the Chinese Government and people will firmly side with the Kingdom of Cambodia and give it all-out support. U.S. imperialism must bear responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom. The Chinese Government hopes that the countries concerned will take the necessary measures to put an immediate stop to U.S. imperialism's armed intervention and aggression against Cambodia and preserve peace in this area.

### International Communist Movement

# Statement of Ten Central Committee Members of the Ceylon Communist Party

*Following is the full text of the statement issued on October 27, 1963, by ten Members (four Full Members and six Alternate Members) of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party in reply to the Party leadership statement of September 26, 1963. — Ed.*

## Reply to the Majority of the Central Committee Of the Ceylon Communist Party

ON the 14th of July 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published an open letter to Party organizations and all Communists in the Soviet Union in which they slandered the correct Marxist position of the Communist Party of China and gave full rein to their revisionist views. Dutifully obeying the baton, the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party on September 26, 1963, issued a statement entitled "On Questions of the International Communist Movement" which faithfully re-echoes the revisionist viewpoint of the open letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

### No Mandate From Party

The undersigned Marxist-Leninists in Ceylon feel that we cannot let this statement go unchallenged not

only because it is incorrect and deviates from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism but also because it does not represent the views of the overwhelming majority of the membership of the Ceylon Communist Party. In the first place we wish to point out that the present Central Committee, with its temporary majority in support of its revisionist policies, has no authority to speak on behalf of the Party. According to the Constitution of the Ceylon Communist Party a congress of the Party should normally be held once in two years. In pursuance of this provision a congress should have been held before the end of December 1962. This provision in the constitution was specifically introduced at the last Party congress held in December 1960 because of the fact that the previous Central Committee had not convened a congress for five years. Despite this specific decision of the last congress, the present Central Committee has flouted the expressed will of the congress and has thus outlived its constitutional span of life. It is not open to the majority of the present Central Committee to argue that it could not hold the congress in terms of the constitution because of any abnormal situation in the country which could have legitimately prevented the holding of such a congress. No such circumstances existed and the Central

Committee never discussed such an eventuality for postponing the congress. The only reason why the Party congress was not held was the fear of the leadership of being repudiated by the membership. Having failed to convene a Party congress in terms of the Party constitution the present Central Committee has no authority to speak on behalf of the Party, particularly on such burning question over which opinions are sharply divided.

### **No Adherence to Democratic Centralism**

Precisely because of the failure to convene a Party congress in time the Central Committee must have been more careful in adhering to the principles of democratic centralism. That is, they should have tested the opinion of the majority of the Central Committee by consulting the views of the Party rank and file before releasing their views as the views of the Party to the general public. The present Central Committee refused all these months to discuss these burning questions that divide the international communist movement despite the repeated request from a section of the Central Committee. Now, at a time when the Party congress is overdue and has been promised for April 1964 the Central Committee, which has outlived its mandate from the rank and file, rushes through a statement with the aid of its mechanical and temporary majority and without consulting the rank and file and completely callous as to the harmful results that may follow such precipitate action. In doing this therefore the majority of the present Central Committee is trebly guilty. That is why we feel that these actions must be exposed and made clear to the rank and file.

## **I**

### **Origins of the Dispute**

The majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party would have us believe that the present controversy in the international communist movement arose as a result of the attempts of the Communist Party of China to re-agitate issues which have already been settled by the two conferences of the world communist movement held in 1957 and 1960. In particular they traced the origin of the dispute to the publication of the articles entitled "Long Live Leninism" in April 1960. This is nothing but an attempt to confuse the cause and effect. The present controversy in the international communist movement was not sparked off by the Communist Party of China or by their publication of the articles, "Long Live Leninism." The Chinese Communist leaders were forced to write these articles "Long Live Leninism" and to vindicate the principles of Marxism-Leninism because the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of certain other European Communist Parties had started slipping down the path of revisionism and away from correct Marxist-Leninist positions — ever since the first major attempt at revisionism was made at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956. Therefore, the correct position is that the present controversy has become necessary and has in fact been forced upon the international communist movement because of the attempt by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and other European Communist Parties to revise the basic tenets of Marxism-

Leninism at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and since. It is important that this fact be kept clear in mind before we proceed further.

### **Who Has Deviated From Moscow Declaration And Statement?**

The accusation is now sought to be made that it is the Communist Party of China that has deviated from the generally agreed conclusions of the world communist movement as expressed in the two documents, the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960. This is nothing but a travesty of facts. Exactly the opposite is the case. One has only to ask himself the following questions to get a correct answer to the question as to who has deviated from the Marxist-Leninist positions of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement:

a) Who was it who unilaterally revised the unanimous conclusions of the communist movement for the necessity for the exposure of and active struggle against Yugoslav revisionism which was described as a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism?

b) Who was it who violated the principle laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Statement that the relationship between the fraternal Parties and fraternal countries should be guided by the principle of independence, equality and attainment of unanimity through consultation; who was it who first used the platform of one's own Party congress to attack and denounce publicly another fraternal Party, Albania?

c) Who is it that, despite the equal emphasis laid on peaceful and non-peaceful methods of transition to socialism laid down in the Declaration and Statement, today preaches exclusive reliance on the "parliamentary method" and the possibilities of peaceful transition?

d) Who is it that has revised the conclusion in the Declaration that "so long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars" by prattling about "a world without wars and a world without arms" even before the final elimination of imperialism and capitalism?

e) Who is it that, despite the assertion by the Declaration and Statement that "U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war," attempted to prettify imperialism, talk such dribble about "the spirit of Camp David" and extolled Eisenhower, chieftain of U.S. imperialism as a sincere advocate of peace, a man who "sincerely wishes to put an end to the state of cold war" (speech by Khrushchev at a mass meeting on his return from the U.S.A. in 1959); and preached about the possibility of preventing war not by the united struggle of all forces fighting against imperialism, but by agreement and co-operation with imperialism.

One has only to ask these questions to know the correct answers. In the face of these facts it is preposterous for the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party to attempt to suggest that it is the Communist Party of China that has deviated from the Moscow Declaration and Statement. It is the revisionists and their followers all over the world who have done so. As far as we are concerned we like to take this opportunity to re-assert that we take up our

position in complete support of the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

It is equally preposterous to suggest that by their letter of June 14, 1963, the Communist Party of China had violated the agreement to cease polemics and further aggravated the controversy inside the international communist movement. This forces us to point out the following facts. It is the C.P.S.U. which, through Khrushchev, first openly criticized the Communist Party of China.

- (1) it was Khrushchev who, on the eve of his visit to the United States, on September 9, 1959, publicly blamed China for its dispute with India.
- (2) it was Khrushchev who, on his return from his American trip, attacked China openly but indirectly on September 30, 1959, at Peking, on October 6, 1959, at Vladivostok and on December 1, 1959, at the Hungarian Workers' Party's Congress.
- (3) it was Khrushchev who, on February 4, 1960, made a speech at the banquet for the political consultative conference of the signatory countries of the Warsaw Treaty in Moscow wherein he referred to Comrade Mao Tse-tung as "a man old, but unwise, reminds one of a worn-out galosh which can only be put in a corner of a room to be admired."
- (4) it was the C.P.S.U. that unilaterally distributed to fraternal delegates at the congress of the Rumanian Party a "letter of information of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U." which made attacks on the Communist Party of China and repeated those attacks in the presence of correspondents of the imperialist countries and of Yugoslavia.
- (5) it was China which, in 1962, called for a cessation of open polemics and supported the convocation of a world conference of Communist Parties.
- (6) it was the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary, German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia that used the platform of their congresses to openly attack and slander the Marxist-Leninist positions of the Communist Party of China. The climax was reached at the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany when the delegates of the Communist Party of China were hooted and booed and the Korean delegate refused a speech while Yugoslavia was treated as an honoured guest.
- (7) it was the C.P.S.U. and the leaders of certain European Communist Parties who used the columns of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* to attack the principled positions of the Communist Party of China.

### China Exercises Right to Reply

During all this time the Communist Party of China contented itself with merely re-stating correct Marxist-Leninist points of view in the three articles entitled "Long Live Leninism." Even in those articles they never attacked any fraternal Party direct. It was only after the chorus of anti-Chinese attacks had reached its crescendo at the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany when the delegate from the Communist Party of China was subjected to uncivilized behaviour that the Communist

Party of China decided it was time to reply. Even then they first published the long speeches of Khrushchev and the editorials of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* attacking them along with summary of the attacks on the Communist Party of China by 44 Communist Parties before they replied to those attacks in a series of seven articles which have become famous for the clarity of views, simplicity in expression and for the profundity of Marxist thought. It was after these replies which were such a telling refutation of the revisionist distortion of Marxism-Leninism that Khrushchev was compelled to call for a halt of open polemics. This was in effect asking the Chinese comrades to refrain from replying to the slanderous attacks on them by other Communist Parties. But they were even prepared to do this provided there was a complete cessation of open attacks on fraternal Communist Parties including the Albanian Party of Labour. This guarantee was not given by the C.P.S.U. and the polemics continued. It is therefore puerile for the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party to be shocked by the June 14 letter of the Communist Party of China.

### Soviet People Prevented From Knowing the Truth

In passing it may be noted that while the Communist Party of China has published in their press all the important articles of C.P.S.U. and other Communist Parties attacking their position, the Soviet press has so far published only the June 14, 1963 letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of March 30, 1963. Even this was done after world-wide publicity due to a diplomatic incident arising out of the Chinese Embassy in the U.S.S.R. distributing the June 14 letter. This is in itself a clear demonstration of the immense faith of the Chinese leaders in the political consciousness and wisdom of their own people and a lack of faith which borders on fear of their own people by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. The leadership of the C.P.S.U. plainly lacks the courage to let the Soviet people know the truth.

## II

### Imperialism, War and Peace

An acute controversy has now arisen over the nature of imperialism and the question of war and peace. Both the Moscow Declaration and Statement derive their standpoint from the fact that "as long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars." Equally and unequivocally they point to U.S. imperialism as "the main force of aggression and war." But at the same time they pointed out that "at present the forces of peace have so grown that there is real possibility of averting war" and again that "the time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed." This correct assertion which takes into account the changed balance of forces in the world arena and postulates the possibility of the forces of peace and progress preventing the imperialists from unleashing another world war is now interpreted in such a way as to lay emphasis on the possibility of preventing wars even before the final elimination of imperialism rather than laying emphasis on the necessity for the final elimination

of imperialism as the necessary pre-condition for the guarantee of world peace.

### **Imperialism – Source of All Wars**

It was Lenin who taught us that imperialism is the source of all wars and that as long as imperialism existed there was no guarantee of stable peace in the world. This has been amply proved by the fact that imperialism has provoked two world wars within the last 50 years and several local colonial wars since the end of World War II. It is no doubt correct to postulate that a real possibility now exists for preventing the imperialists from unleashing a third world war because of the development of the forces standing for peace and progress. The possibility therefore exists of preventing another world war even before the final elimination of imperialism and capitalism but let us remember that the Declaration and Statement only speak of a possibility, not of a guarantee. But the guarantee for stable peace can only be created by the final elimination of imperialism and the success of the proletarian revolution in at least the major imperialist countries. This point is brought out in the Moscow Statement when it states that the "victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of wars." Therefore, till such time as the achievement of world socialism the prevention of world wars will remain only a possibility, however real. Therefore, the correct tactics should not be to lay emphasis on achieving peace while imperialism is still alive but to lay emphasis on the necessity to finally eliminate imperialism as the only guarantee for stable and lasting peace.

### **How Can Disarmament Be Realized?**

The slogan of general and complete disarmament is raised in such a way by the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party as to suggest that it is capable of being realized even before the destruction and final elimination of imperialism. This slogan is undoubtedly a correct one and helps to bring out the peaceful intentions of socialism and to expose the war-like aims of imperialism. But it is one thing to put forward a slogan to rally the masses in their fight against war and imperialism and quite another thing to spread the illusion that general and complete disarmament can be achieved even before imperialism is finally eliminated.

It was Lenin who pointed out in the "War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" that "only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before."

To suggest as the statement of the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party does (re-echoing a speech of the Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister, Mikoyan in Armenia and repeated in *New York Times* of March 15, 1962) that general disarmament would "deprive the imperialists of the major weapons and armed forces that they now use to threaten new world war and oppress national-liberation movements" is nonsensical and totally unrealistic and is putting the cart before the horse.

The threat of war comes not from armaments as such but from imperialism which uses them. General and complete disarmament cannot be achieved without at the same time destroying imperialism.

### **No Armed Struggles**

In trying to refute the necessity for armed struggle as a means for achieving the liberation of oppressed peoples, as put forward by the Chinese comrades, the statement of the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party comes out with a perfect gem when it states that "many oppressed peoples, including the people of Ceylon, were able to win their political freedom by forms of struggle other than armed struggle." One cannot help but point out the political chicanery by which political freedom is palmed off as the achievement of national liberation from imperialism, calmly forgetting that the Ceylon Communist Party has itself proclaimed on all occasions that our country is still subject to imperialist economy and that our anti-imperialist tasks remain unfulfilled. This is not just a mistake or oversight but sheer political dishonesty. It is necessary to point out in this connection that the only countries that have liberated themselves from the shackles of imperialism in recent times are those where national liberation was achieved as a result of armed struggle against imperialism. The examples of Indonesia, north Viet Nam, Cuba, Algeria easily come to mind. In all cases, like Ceylon where only political freedom was won through the so-called peaceful method, imperialism has been able to retain its strangle-hold in one form or another to the detriment of the peoples of these countries.

### **Imperialism Is a Paper Tiger, Even With Nuclear Teeth**

The statement of the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party questions the validity of the description of imperialism and all reactionaries as paper tigers on the ground that they are armed with nuclear weapons. It also re-echoes the slander spread by revisionists that the Chinese comrades want to destroy half of mankind through a nuclear war and build socialism on the basis of the other half. These slanders and distortions need to be answered.

What did Comrade Mao Tse-tung mean when he described imperialism and local reactionaries as paper tigers? He was not trying to underestimate the strength of imperialism and local reaction. He was merely saying that strategically speaking i.e. from a long-range point of view imperialism and all local reactionaries are like paper tigers, that is, that they all will be destroyed by the people. This concept is necessary to give hope and courage to the masses who are struggling against heavy odds. This conception is not vitiated by the possession of nuclear weapons both by imperialism and the Soviet Union. In fact Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the original statement in 1946 when American imperialism had the monopoly of the atom bomb. But this did not prevent the Chinese people from achieving nationwide victory and defeating Chiang Kai-shek and his patron, American imperialism. The latter in fact proved to be a paper tiger despite the possession of the monopoly of the atom bomb. Today the position is infinitely better because imperialism no

longer holds the monopoly in nuclear weapons. It is therefore essential to reiterate that weapons, however powerful or destructive, are not the decisive factors in history. The decisive factor is man and it is only through the class struggle that he can bring about the desired social change.

### **Another World War Would Mean End of Imperialism**

The accusation that the Chinese leaders want to bring about the destruction of half of mankind and to build socialism on the basis of the other half is nothing but a gross distortion of a statement by Comrade Mao Tse-tung before the conference of world Communist Parties in Moscow in 1957 and which finds repetition in the articles "Long Live Leninism." In this statement Comrade Mao Tse-tung referred to a conclusion of a foreign statesman that a third world war would mean the end of human civilization. Comrade Mao had pointed out that if the imperialists were mad enough to unleash a third world war it would mean the end, not of human civilization but of imperialism. No doubt it might mean the destruction of half the world but the other half would still remain and on its basis a new civilization based on socialism would be built.

It must be pointed out that Comrade Mao Tse-tung does not advocate a nuclear war to destroy half of mankind and to build socialism on the other half. He is merely pointing out what would happen if the imperialists (not we) were mad enough to unleash a third world war. In doing so he was re-stating a fundamental Marxist tenet. That is: we are against war and will do everything in our power to prevent a world war; but at the same time we are not afraid of war. No one is going to hold an atom bomb in his hand and intimidate or blackmail us to prevent us from carrying out our revolutionary tasks for a radical change of society. It must also be pointed out that the Moscow Statement makes the same point when it says, "but should the imperialist maniacs start war, peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it."

### **Peaceful Coexistence**

The statement of the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party accuses the Communist Party of China for its stand on the question of peaceful coexistence. It is correct to regard peaceful coexistence as an important factor in the foreign policy of socialist countries. That is, all socialist countries take the stand that countries with different social systems must not go to war to settle disputes or differences among themselves. This is a perfectly correct standpoint which receives the support of all Communists. But the policy of peaceful coexistence and the inspiration that oppressed peoples receive from the demonstration of the superiority of the socialist system through successes in peaceful competition with capitalism is no substitute for the struggle of the oppressed peoples to liberate themselves. They can at best act as a spur to revolutions in non-socialist countries.

The undue emphasis laid on peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition by revisionists tends to exaggerate the role played by these factors in the promotion

of revolutions by oppressed peoples and, on the other hand, tends to underestimate the importance of the role of the struggle by the oppressed peoples themselves. For instance, what is the use of preaching peaceful coexistence to the people of south Viet Nam who are engaged in a life-and-death struggle with U.S. imperialism and its puppet Diem; or to the people of Black Africa who are struggling against most brutal forms of imperialism? Can there be peaceful coexistence between the brave Cuban people and the American imperialists who are daily plotting the destruction of Cuban independence? Or, between the peoples of Latin America and the dollar monopolists who extract 4,000 dollars per minute from Latin America and leave behind four people dead every minute due to preventable diseases and hunger and starvation. It must also be stressed, and it needs to be stressed, that there can be no peaceful coexistence between imperialism and the colonial peoples, between the capitalist class and the working class, between oppressors and oppressed.

### **C.P.S.U. Guilty of Adventurism and Capitulation In Caribbean Crisis**

The statement of the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party extols the role of the Soviet Union during the Caribbean crisis, and want us to believe that the Soviet Union saved the world from war by its intervention. But what they forget is that the whole crisis became hotted up because of the adventurist act of the Soviet Union in introducing missiles into Cuba. It was this act which simply played into the hands of the United States imperialists. "The real deterrents to a U.S. attack on Cuba must be the will of the Cuban people to fight to the death, the condemnation of world opinion and the wrath of Latin America; and with regard to these deterrents the missiles could not but do more harm than good." The mistake therefore lay in the stupidity which put the missiles in Cuba, "which could never save Cuba but only provoke attack from America's overwhelming strength, while alienating Cuba's much greater weapon, the Latin American people's support."

Therefore when Khrushchev removed the missiles from Cuba, he was "not an angel saving the world but a comrade correcting a mistake." Even so Khrushchev offended against all principles of equality between nations and respect for the sovereignty of nations when he agreed to the removal of the missiles without consulting the Cubans as well as to the unilateral inspection by the United Nations. In other words, Khrushchev made a deal with imperialism at the expense of another nation's sovereignty. This is what the Chinese opposed and attacked. They correctly accused Khrushchev first for the error of adventurism and then of the error of capitulation. The hollowness of the promise that Kennedy is alleged to have given Khrushchev not to attack Cuba already stands exposed by the recent attacks on Cuba with American support and from American soil.

### **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty — A Deceit**

The attitude of the Chinese comrades to the nuclear test ban treaty seems to amaze and shock the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party. But there is no reason for shock or amazement. The posi-

tion of the Communist Party of China is perfectly plain and straightforward. They stand for the complete ban on the manufacture of all kinds of nuclear weapons and the destruction of all existing stockpiles. It is precisely because the treaty does not guarantee this, but on the contrary, legalizes nuclear tests underground that the Chinese comrades criticized the treaty and exposed this as a fraud which was meant to capitalize on the hunger of the peoples of the world for peace.

The description of the treaty by the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party as the outcome of many years of determined struggle by the peoples of the world is nothing but an attempt to deceive oneself. We cannot help but point out that U.S. imperialism was ready to sign this treaty a year previously when it was the Soviet Union which correctly opposed it. The signing of the treaty now, therefore, is not a victory for the people but a victory for American imperialism. The treaty has not stopped nuclear tests nor has it stopped the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons; while it reserves the right to any country to resume nuclear tests after giving three months' notice.

### III

#### General Line of the Communist Movement

The majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party attempt to find a contradiction between the general line of the communist movement as expounded in the Moscow Declaration and Statement and the "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" put forward by the Communist Party of China in its letter of June 14, 1963. They try to suggest that the Chinese comrades are trying to separate and divide the national-liberation movement from the international working class and the world socialist camp, thereby disrupting the unity between these two main streams of world revolution. Nothing can be further from the truth.

#### Asia, Africa and Latin America — Storm Centres of World Revolution

The arguments of the Chinese comrades proceed from their analysis that the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the weakest link in the imperialist chain" and that therefore the key to the successful fight against imperialism is to be found in the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of those areas. This is what they mean when they say that "the various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America," and that these areas are "the storm centres of world revolution" and that therefore "in a sense, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of these areas who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

This is neither a geographical approach as opposed to a class approach nor is it an attempt to drive a wedge between the national-liberation movements and the socialist countries. This is a realistic and sober appraisal

of the historical developments of the revolutionary forces which in no way contradicts the appraisal found in the Moscow Statement. The description of our epoch found in the Moscow Statement and the description found in "More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Ourselves," though using different words are fundamentally the same in content. The only difference is that while the characterization of our epoch found in the Moscow Statement is general, the Chinese comrades have concretised it in terms of the areas where the contradictions have become most acute. It must also be stressed that when the Chinese comrades are referring to the "revolutionary struggles of the peoples of these areas," they are not merely referring to the national-liberation movements which are led even by "certain patriotically minded kings, princes and aristocrats," but they are referring to the revolutionary struggles of the most downtrodden humanity in the world who inhabit these areas and who are today fighting not only for political emancipation from imperialism but also for a radical change in their social system which shall, once and for all, end the system of exploitation of man by man. They feel confident that the new democratic revolution that is being ushered in these countries, under conditions where world revolution has triumphed over one-third of the human race and where the working class is beginning to play an increasing role in the leadership of the revolution, shall develop as part of the world revolution and proceed without interruption to achieve the socialist aims for which the vast masses of these areas are hungering.

The Chinese comrades are acutely conscious of the interaction and the inter-development of the revolutionary movements in the vast colonial and semi-colonial areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary movement of the metropolitan countries. This is how they postulate their position in their major theoretical work "More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Ourselves": "The proletariat of the capitalist countries of Europe and America, too, must stand in the forefront of those supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In fact, such support simultaneously helps the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat in Europe and America. . . . Therefore the proletarian parties of the metropolitan imperialist countries are duty bound to heed the voice of the revolutionary people in these regions, study their experience, respect their revolutionary feelings, and support their revolutionary struggles. . . . It should be understood that according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, without a correct stand, line and policy on the national-liberation movement and the peoples' revolutionary movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it will be impossible for the workers' parties in the metropolitan imperialist countries to have a correct stand, line and policy on the struggle waged by the working class and the broad masses of the people in their own countries."

It will thus be seen that the movements for the proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are inextricably linked and intertwined and share common interests and therefore cannot be separated one from the other. The success of the revo-

lutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies indirectly helps the movements for proletarian revolution in the metropolitan countries and vice versa. It is hardly necessary to add that the success of the revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonies and the expansion of the areas of world revolution is in the best interests of the countries that have achieved socialism just as the existence of the socialist camp is the spur as well as the source of strength to the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

## IV

### The Transition From Capitalism to Socialism

The statement of the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party accused the Chinese comrades that they now question the unanimous conclusion of the 1957 and 1960 meetings that "in a number of capitalist countries" the working class has the opportunity, given certain concrete conditions, to win state power and accomplish the task of the socialist revolution without civil war.

### Two Eventualities: Peaceful and Non-Peaceful

Both the Moscow Declaration and the Statement speak about the possibility of both eventualities of transition to socialism, the peaceful and the non-peaceful. There can be no quarrel about this. It would naturally be in the interest of the proletariat and the entire people, as the Chinese comrades have pointed out, if peaceful transition could be realized. But "possibility and reality, the wish and its fulfilment, are two different things." Moreover, up to now, "history has not witnessed a single example of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism."

But, "even when it is possible to secure state power through peaceful means, one must be prepared to deal immediately with armed intervention by foreign imperialists and with counter-revolutionary armed rebellions supported by the imperialists. Communists should concentrate their attention on the accumulation of revolutionary strength through painstaking efforts and must be ready to fight back against armed attacks by the bourgeoisie whenever necessary. They should not lay one-sided stress on peaceful transition and concentrate their attention on this possibility; otherwise they are bound to benumb the revolutionary will of the proletariat, disarm themselves ideologically, be utterly passive and unprepared politically and organizationally, and end up by burying the cause of the proletarian revolution."

### One-Sided Emphasis Wrong

On the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism, therefore, we should refer to two possibilities, the possibility of peaceful transition and that of non-peaceful transition, and should be prepared for both eventualities; and in our work we should place the emphasis on painstakingly gathering the revolutionary forces and be prepared at all times to repulse the counter-revolutionary attacks. There is no harm in raising the question of the possibility of peaceful transition; what is wrong is

the view which places one-sided emphasis on the possibility of peaceful transition.

This is what the revisionists are today propagating. While paying lip-service to the possibility of non-peaceful transition, they are at all times directing their energies and fashioning their tactics with the peaceful method of transition as the only eventuality in sight. The source of this revisionist distortion goes back to the first draft of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. prepared for the Moscow Meeting in 1957. This draft referred only to the possibility of peaceful transition and not at all to the other possibility, namely, non-peaceful transition. It referred only to the parliamentary road and not at all to any other form of struggle. This draft pinned the hope of seizing state power by the parliamentary road on so-called "co-ordinated action of the Communists and socialists." In that document, even the idea of the possibility of non-peaceful transition in some countries was not conceded. That document actually and explicitly regarded the parliamentary road as the only road to socialism.

It is no wonder that the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party who have turned their back on revolutionary struggle and pinned their hope exclusively on the parliamentary method of achieving victory for the working class, derived their inspiration from the original draft of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. This is clearly demonstrated by the complete lack of any reference to, and their failure to define their attitude to the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat which Marxism has taught us, is the only means by which the working class can achieve socialism.

### Workers Must Be Warned About Possibility Of Counter-Revolution

To the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party whose eyes are glued to the portals of the bourgeois parliament we would like to point out that, apart from the fact that history has not given us a single example of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, whenever the working class had become powerful enough to be able to obtain a majority in parliament, the bourgeoisie has always dropped the pretensions of parliamentary democracy and resorted to naked and brutal dictatorship. History abounds with these examples. Therefore, under these circumstances, not to warn the working class to be ready to use revolutionary violence to repulse the counter-revolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie, i.e., in other words to be prepared for the eventuality of non-peaceful transition is in effect to leave the working class disarmed in the face of the bourgeois onslaught.

That is why we must refer to the two possibilities, peaceful and non-peaceful transition. This would place us in the position where we can have the initiative any time. While we must refer to our desire for peaceful transition, it would be wrong to over-emphasize such a possibility. We must fully utilize the parliamentary struggle (not to do so would be sheer sectarianism) but we must realize its limited role. What is most important is to proceed with the hard work of gathering the revolutionary forces. We must take care that peaceful transi-

tion to socialism should not be interpreted in such a way as solely to mean transition through a parliamentary majority. We must realize that the main question is that of seizing state power, smashing the old state machinery, and establishing a new state machinery that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The guarantee for the basic means of production passing into the hands of the people is first of all the seizure of state power by the working class.

### Lenin on Peaceful Transition

It is true that Marx and Lenin did raise the question of peaceful transition under certain historical conditions. However, the "peaceful transition" spoken of by modern revisionists and the peaceful transition mentioned by Marx and Lenin are two fundamentally different concepts. Under whatever historical conditions, with or without the possibility of peaceful transition, Marx and Lenin always proceeded from the standpoint of changing the status quo, the standpoint of revolution and the standpoint of class struggle, and thus arrived at the conclusion that the transition from capitalism to socialism is realized through proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let us clinch the issue with a quotation from Lenin: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is so important that anyone who repudiates it, or who merely renders lip-service to it, cannot be a member of the Social Democratic Party. It cannot be denied, however, that in certain cases, as exceptions to the rule—for example, in a small state adjacent to a big state in which the social revolution has been accomplished—the bourgeoisie, having become convinced that resistance is useless and preferring to save their heads, may surrender power peacefully. It is much more probable, of course, that even in small states, socialism will not be achieved without civil wars, and therefore, the only programme international social democracy can advance is the recognition of such a war, notwithstanding the fact that violence against the person is not part of our ideal."

The section dealing with Yugoslavia is the most confused section of a very confused document. The majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party do not seem to be able to make up their mind as to whether they should follow the baton and openly welcome and embrace Yugoslav revisionism or whether they should accommodate some of their important followers inside the Central Committee who are still squeamish about too openly violating the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

It is only necessary to quote one paragraph from the Moscow Statement on Yugoslav revisionism to demonstrate how far the revisionists have departed from agreed conclusions of the international communist movement: "The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from the U.S. and other im-

perialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of the Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties."

Hardly had the ink been dry on the signatures to this document, within 24 hours, Khrushchev was toasting Yugoslavia as a socialist country. His more recent conduct needs no comment. They provide an effective contrast to the way he handles relations with socialist China and Albania.

Before we conclude we cannot but comment on the reference by the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party to extreme or ultra-revolutionarism. Men who have never been even within a thousand mile distance from any real revolution, men who do not contemplate even the remotest possibility of a revolution even in their wildest dreams, men who are frightened at the very mention of the word revolution and who have turned their backs against all revolutionary struggles—these are the men who are cautioning about ultra-revolutionarism. And, whom are they cautioning?—the tested and tried leadership of the Communist Party of China who did not come to power in the wake of a victorious Soviet Red Army but who, on the contrary, led their Party and country to success in one of the most complicated and protracted revolutions that the world has ever seen. For the majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party to presume to advise such a leadership, from whose advice they had benefited in the past during two particular stages in the history of the Party, is nothing short of impudence.

**N. Sanmugathan,** Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee

**Premalal Kumarasiri,** Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee

**D.N. Nadunge,** Full Member of the Central Committee

**D.K.D. Jinendrapala,** Full Member of the Central Committee

**Higgoda Dharmasena,** Alternate Member of the Central Committee

**N.L. Perara,** Alternate Member of the Central Committee

**K. Kulaveerasingham,** Alternate Member of the Central Committee

**W.S. de Siriwardana,** Alternate Member of the Central Committee

**K.A. Wimalapala,** Alternate Member of the Central Committee

**K. Manickavasagar,** Alternate Member of the Central Committee



# Protesting the Revisionist Leadership of The Ceylon Communist Party

WITH 14 of its 35 members not present, the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party on October 27 passed a resolution to expel Sanmugathasan, Member of its Political Bureau; two full and two Alternate Members voted against the resolution. Two days earlier, the Party's Central Committee suspended another Member of the Political Bureau, Kumarasiri, from Party membership. This unwarranted action followed in the wake of the return of the Party's Chairman S.A. Wickremasinghe from his Moscow visit in mid-August.

Manipulated by some leaders of the Ceylon Communist Party, its Central Committee on September 26 issued a statement entitled "On Questions of the International Communist Movement." Parroting the tone of the C.P.S.U. leaders, the statement attacked the correct stand of the Communist Party of China and also libelled the Albanian Party of Labour.

The leaders of the Party then levelled charges against Sanmugathasan and prohibited him from publishing pamphlets and distributing "Chinese propaganda material." In early October, they dismissed Kumarasiri from his post as editor-in-chief of the weekly *Mawbima*, a Sinhalese organ of the Party, as well as H.M.P. Mohiden, editor-in-chief of the weekly *Deshabimani*, a Tamil organ of the Party.

## Sanmugathasan's Protest

Sanmugathasan issued a statement on October 28 protesting against the Party leaders' action to expel him. "This is unfortunate," he said, "in the sense that it is going to affect the unity of the communist and working-class movement and give encouragement to the reactionaries at a time when the maximum unity of the movement is demanded, both in the political and trade union fields. But, in another sense, this break was inevitable. We could not have gone on for long carrying the dead weight of revisionism inside our Party."

Sanmugathasan pointed out that the majority of the Party's Central Committee were not interested in winning power for the working class except keeping the parliamentary seats of a few of its leaders safe and warm. "The communist movement in this country," he declared, "needs a new and more dynamic and genuinely working-class leadership which can recapture the old revolutionary spirit and take the entire Left movement forward."

In the statement he listed the immediate tasks for his comrades and himself as follows:

"First, translate and publish immediately as many Marxist classics as possible into Sinhalese;

"Second, bring out *Kamkaruwa* and *Tholilali* as good working-class weeklies, with the perspective of turning

them into the first working-class dailies within a year;

"Third, start a Marxist theoretical journal in Sinhalese and Tamil;

"Fourth, build the unity of the trade union movement and achieve a united trade union centre as soon as possible;

"Fifth, organize the peasantry and build up a worker-peasant alliance."

## Kumarasiri's Reply

Kumarasiri published a letter in the *Daily News* of Ceylon on October 26 in reply to the Party's Central Committee's decision to suspend his Party membership. He pointed out that the Party leaders have grossly violated the Party Constitution, democratic centralism and the long-cherished traditions of the Party, and have flagrantly departed from and opposed the agreed conclusions of the international communist movement and dragged the Party into the mire of revisionism.

In his letter Kumarasiri pointed out that the charges the Party's Central Committee levelled against him "are absolutely false." He was even denied the right to put his case before the Central Committee when he was dismissed from the post of editor-in-chief of the weekly *Mawbima* and suspended "forthwith" from his Party membership.

## Widespread Opposition

The anti-China statement of the leaders of the Ceylon Communist Party and the punitive actions against Sanmugathasan and Kumarasiri met with widespread opposition from many Party organizations, rank-and-file membership and popular organizations.

Ten members of the Party's Central Committee issued a statement on October 27 (for full text, see p.9) refuting the Party leaders' anti-China statement.

More than half the number of the Party's district committees protested against the high-handed action of the Party leaders. Cadres of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation and many trade unions affiliated with the C.T.U.F. passed resolutions against the expulsion from the Party of Sanmugathasan, who is General Secretary of the C.T.U.F.

On November 6, the Central Committee of the Federation of the Communist and Progressive Youth League of Ceylon passed resolutions condemning the Party's Central Committee's decision to expel Sanmugathasan and suspended Kumarasiri's membership, and called on members of the youth federation to fight the revisionists resolutely.



# First GANEFO Comes Through With Flying Colours

**T**WELVE days of colourful and friendly contests, which caught worldwide attention, marked the first Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) which came to an end on November 22. In spite of a sudden downpour the final day saw a cheering crowd of 150,000 on hand to watch the parade of 2,200 athletes from Asian, African, Latin American and European countries while national flags flew amidst the glow of a myriad of floodlights. The keynote of the parade—and GANEFO itself—was to be found in one of the huge slogans that draped the grandstand in the main stadium of the Bung Karno sports complex, "Onward, No Retreat!"

With Indonesian government officials, members of the diplomatic corps in Djakarta and China's Vice-Premier Marshal Ho Lung attending, the closing ceremony was presided over by President Sukarno who declared the first GANEFO a great success. Calling all young men and women of the new emerging countries to go to the second GANEFO, he ended his speech by shouting: "Onward, onward, no retreat! Onward to a new world, to a new world of harmony among the people of all lands, to a new world of mankind's brotherhood!"

## Spectacular Ball Games

Although the days of excitement in Djakarta are now over, they will long remain in the memory of athletes and fans alike. While the first five days of the games saw five world records in track and field, weightlifting and archery fall by the wayside, the last days were highlighted by spectacular ball games.

One of the biggest attractions was the star-studded table tennis tournament, in which 76 players from 15 Asian, Latin American and European countries took part. The deft and versatile Chinese men's and women's teams won all the seven titles contended. The Korean men's team was runner-up, edging out the Japanese team which included Nobuya Hoshino, a former world doubles champion. The Japanese women's team finished second, thanks to such top-notch veterans as Fujie Eguchi. In the men's singles, first and second place went to China's Chuang Tse-tung and Li Fu-jung, twice winner and runner-up respectively in the world championships at Peking and Prague.

The football matches were even more spectacular. The battle in the finals and for third and fourth place kept the crowd on edge throughout. In a match which was extended an

extra 30 minutes, Uruguay played Democratic Viet Nam to a 2-all draw with the former gaining third place only by a flip of the coin. The final between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the U.A.R. came immediately before the closing ceremony. The regulation 90-minute contest was scoreless, each team having strong backs and a shrewd goalkeeper to stave off all onslaughts. During the 30-minute extension, the U.A.R. inside-right slammed home a goal from five metres out. The Korean team squared accounts when its halfback headed the ball into the net. This ended scoring for the day, and the issue was also decided by tossing a coin with the U.A.R. coming out on top.

In basketball, China won the men's title after defeating Indonesia 103:70. Indonesia beat Korea 90:76 to take second honours. Korea won the bronze medal after defeating Brazil by default, the latter placed fourth after going down before Indonesia 80:90, and losing to China and Korea by default in the final round. The women's title also went to China which defeated Korea and Indonesia which finished second and third respectively.

## The New Spirit at GANEFO

The more than 2,000 men and women from four continents who participated in the first GANEFO can look back on a job well done. While some improved on national records in their own countries, others smashed continental records and a few set new world marks. The people of the new emerging forces have thus made great contributions to the development of physical culture and have opened a new chapter in the history of world sports.



Swapping experience for common progress: a get-together of Mexican, Chinese, U.A.R. and Indonesian divers



GANEFO contestants at the main stadium of the Bung Karno sports complex

"We value medals but we value friendship more." This not only was the byword spoken in Indonesian, Chinese, Japanese, English, French or Spanish in Djakarta but also a guide to action on the field. Instances of athletes from all countries learning from each other for common progress during the games were many. In fact, the four-day track and field events were so peaceful that members of the arbitration committee jokingly referred to themselves as "the men who lose their job at the Games of the New Emerging Forces." All the athletes were as good friends off the field as they were keen competitors on the field. On the basis of democracy, unity, equality and mutual help, they learnt from each other so that they all raised their athletic level together.

This new spirit of the first GANEFO was praised by China's Vice-Premier Chen Yi at a Peking reception given by the Afghan Minister of Interior now visiting China. "The first GANEFO," Vice-Premier Chen Yi said, "has fully demonstrated the new spirit and new style of the Asian-African countries. They are: to respect each other instead of giving oneself airs; to learn from each other instead of looking at others with a jaundiced eye; to cooperate and help each other instead of acting in one's own interest at the others' expense; to draw a line between friend and foe instead of acting as a cat's-paw." He believed that as long as this new spirit and new style was carried on by the Asian-African countries, they would be able to create fresh and still greater achievements in other fields as well.

Before leaving Djakarta for home, China's Vice-Premier Ho Lung pointed out that "the first GANEFO is another event of tremendous historic significance after the Bandung Conference, a great victory of the Indonesian people, and the common victory for the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world in their fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism."

Writing editorially to hail the successful end of the first GANEFO, *Renmin Ribao* (November 23), declared:

Today, monopoly, restrictions and political prejudice, which are the practice of the imperialist elements in world sports, have seriously worsened relations between sports circles in various countries and poisoned the atmosphere in world sports. For many years, imperialist elements have held the international sports organizations in

their grip, done things in their own arrogant arbitrary way and done as they please to oust and hit the new emerging forces. In striking contrast, GANEFO is a full display of the spirit of democracy and equality; through democratic consultations, exchange of views and joint decisions, there has been true equality, mutual respect with equal rights for all countries big or small.

The paper predicted that this new spirit of GANEFO will have a far-reaching influence on sports throughout the world.

Sports officials and athletes from various countries also are unanimous in their praise of GANEFO for reflecting the spirit of equality and democracy, brotherhood and mutual respect among athletes of different countries. Officials of GANEFO's organizing and competitions committees disclosed that, in contrast to the imperialist-controlled Olympic Games, GANEFO has no discriminatory rules and regulations. It has drawn up new competition rules by taking into consideration the opinion of the participating nations in the spirit of democratic consultation.

To enable late-comers to take part, new regulations were instituted as regards the deadline for entries. Thus, in track and field competitions, entries could be made two hours before an event began. For instance, Mohamad Abdullah from Iraq, who entered the decathlon event the day it started, emerged a gold medallist. Another case in point was B. Ali of Algeria. Flying in on opening day, he entered the following day and turned out to be the gold medal winner in the men's long jump. The words of Abdel Ramadhan, leader of the Lebanese delegation, are perhaps typical of the impressions of many in GANEFO. He noted that all participating nations, big or small, had the right to take part in GANEFO affairs and to compete on an equal footing. "In other international competitions," he added, "we have often witnessed the big nations bullying the smaller ones. But this never happened at GANEFO."

### Excellent Organizational Work

No evaluation of the success of the first GANEFO, however, is complete without reference to the excellent organizational work of the host country which impressed many people. An illustration was the comment of the

Tunisian delegation head Lassaved Abdelhak who said that the Indonesians "have done everything for satisfactory organization—from living accommodations to technical facilities."

The excellent organizing work was made possible by the enthusiastic support of the Indonesian people. Twenty-five thousand worked for GANEFO to make it a success. Indonesian youths volunteered to serve as typists, interpreters and guides. Many of them put in more than ten hours at a stretch. Government offices and public organizations in Djakarta loaned more than 1,000 cars and buses for the use of the GANEFO participants. Workers, students, office clerks, and housewives as well as businessmen throughout Indonesia donated a total of 2,000 million rupiahs to finance the games.

The fact that it took only eight months to prepare for the games, at which a total of 20 events took place with competitions being held in as many as 14 different locations daily, alone shows that people of the new emerging nations have the will and the ability to organize international sports meets of their own, and organize them well.

### **GANEFO's Permanent Body Founded**

The first GANEFO set the pace for making it a permanent fixture. The peoples of the new emerging countries and the rest of the world deem it necessary to ensure that the games will be held regularly.

On November 24, the first GANEFO congress opened in Djakarta. According to Maladi, Indonesian Minister of

Sports, one of its jobs was to confirm the principle of opposing imperialism and colonialism and other basic principles adopted last April at the GANEFO preparatory conference.

Addressing the opening session, President Sukarno proposed that the next step to be taken was to set up a permanent sports organization for the new emerging forces, which, he said, "can be found in any part of the world, in the new emerging countries as well as in the old countries."

The Chinese people back the carrying of GANEFO forward. Jung Kao-tang, leader of the Chinese sports delegation to GANEFO declared: "The Chinese people and their sportsmen hope that a GANEFO organization and a permanent body will be set up by the first GANEFO congress, so that GANEFOs will continue to be held and the GANEFO spirit will shine for ever."

After a two-day session, by unanimous vote it was decided to set up a permanent organization for the sports movement of the new emerging forces and to formally approve the GANEFO charter. The congress also decided on the founding of the GANEFO Federation and elected an executive board of 14 members as its governing body. The charter stipulates that games shall be held once every four years; in the intervening years members are encouraged to organize competitions among themselves.

A permanent international secretariat will be accommodated at the headquarters in Djakarta and Cairo was named the venue for the second GANEFO in 1967 with Peking as an alternate site.

# **Scenes of an Ili Autumn**

— Visit to Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang

by Kuo Hsiao-chuan

**A**FTER flying over grey stretches of desert, pale yellow croplands and the snow-capped peaks of the Tianshan Mountains, our plane suddenly landed at the edge of a city amply planted with trees.

I was as dazzled as a bird from mountain wastes finding itself in a garden ablaze with colour. It was quite right that this city of Ining, the capital of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, should have been called a "garden city." With its flowers and its fruits, its trees and its roadside streams, it makes a brilliant impression from spring through to autumn. But for the moment I could not appreciate this: I was fascinated by the brilliant and multicoloured clothes of the people passing by which outshone the "garden city" itself.

When I told some new acquaintances about these first impressions of mine they explained to me that there are people of over 13 different nationalities in the autonomous chou and in Ining: Kazakhs, Uighurs, Huis, Hans, Man-

chus, Mongols, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Hsipo, Dahurs and Russians. There are also one or two Koreans, Chuangs, Salas and others living there. The Kazakhs predominate in this rich and colourful multinational area. But the richest and most colourful parts of it are not the towns but the countryside.

### **Colourful Farms Give Good Harvest**

We made a quick start and went along the banks of the Ili to Huocheng where we visited several people's communes and state farms. Then we turned round and went upriver, driving over 300 kilometres along the broad valley of the Ili River and the Gungnais, one of its tributaries. At Hsinyuan we visited two more people's communes and the state farm run by the No. 12 Regiment of the Production and Construction Corps of the People's Liberation Army, famous for its high wheat and maize production.

Wherever I went—to people's communes, state farms or the steppe—I always saw marvellous scenery. In large

fields and in small the fresh green shoots of the winter wheat were already burgeoning, and beside the wheatfields the maize that was still unharvested shone golden in the sun. In the fields where the maize had already been reaped Dongfanghong (East Is Red) tractors and horse-drawn ploughs were busily turning over the dark brown soil.

On the outskirts of villages were threshing-floors where the maize lay piled in rich, yellow heaps and the straw was stacked, and where the air was filled with the sounds of winnowing-fans and threshing machines as people worked. Over the walls and through the gateways of the peasants' houses could be seen red apples in the orchards and grapes the colour of green and purple jade hanging from trellises. Out on the steppe the greens, reds and yellows of the grass were relieved by white flocks of sheep just down from the mountains and the reddish brown of cattle and horses. A painter could not have done better.

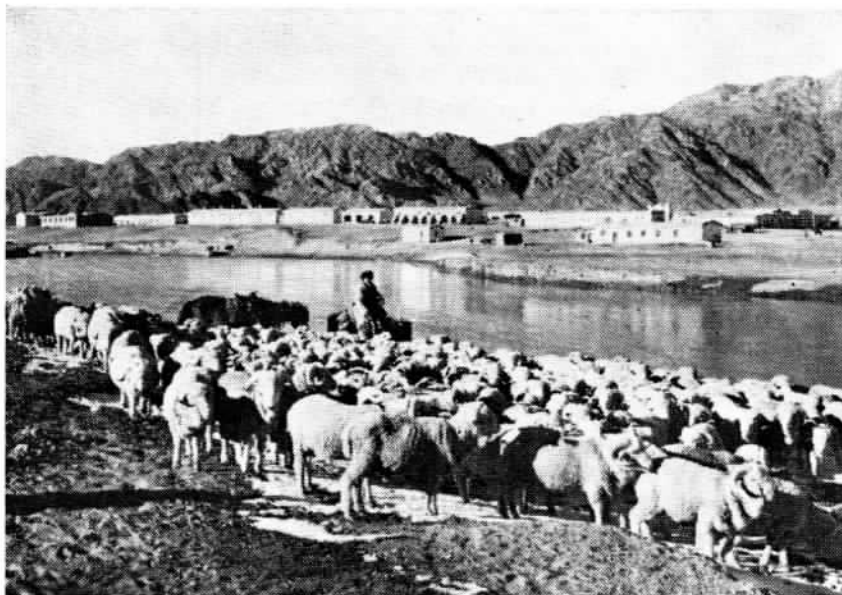
This year's harvest has certainly been a good one for this valley as well as for the rest of the autonomous *chou*. This was proved at every commune and state farm I visited. The Qingshuihe People's Commune in Huocheng, and the October and Red Banner People's Communes in Hsinyuan have all put their grain output up well above last year's. At No. 12 Regiment's Farm the average per-*mu* yield of wheat was over 350 *jin*, while that of maize was over 600 *jin*. Many comrades who knew the district well told me that industry, stockbreeding, farming and cultural and educational work were making rapid progress in the autonomous *chou*. In farming, for example, the cultivated area has been more than trebled since liberation, the average annual harvests for grain from 1950 to 1961 have been 74.4 per cent higher than the 1949 one, and those for oil-bearing crops during the same period were 204.8 per cent above the output of 1949. Although the Ili area suffered natural calamities of unusual severity last year, the harvest was reasonably good. Even before the harvest had all been brought in this year, it was clear that it was better. Stockbreeding has done very well in the past three years.

### Secret of Ili's Success

I asked some of my companions to explain to me how this multinational area has gained these brilliant successes. This is what they told me.

"The most important thing has been putting into effect the nationalities policy and achieving solidarity between nationalities under the leadership of the Communist Party."

They went on to say that without the leadership of the Party and close solidarity between the people of all nationalities such splendid achievements and such rapid development would have been impossible. Experience



A sheep ranch in the Ili area

has shown that the roots of national strife and friction lay in the oppression and exploitation by the reactionary ruling classes, and that while these have been fundamentally abolished the last traces of their influence have not yet been completely wiped out. Different religious beliefs and social customs between nationalities can also lead to disharmony. But now there is mutual respect between different religious beliefs and different customs. They have also learnt from experience that language barriers can prevent understanding. But now many Han cadres and ordinary people have learnt the minority languages, while cadres and masses of the Kazakh, Uighur and other nationalities have learnt Han. Many Han children have such Kazakh or Uighur names as Kamela, Batimai, or Wanlakahan; while some of the children of the minority peoples have Han names like Hsing-fu (Happiness), Ho-ping (Peace) or Chieh-fang (Liberation).

Anyone who has no ulterior motives can see that here the people of all nationalities are united. But what has this unity got to do with the rapid development of all kinds of socialist undertakings and the great successes in farming and stockbreeding?

### National Question Is a Class One

On the morning of the second day after my return to Ining I put this question to the *chou* head Irhal (a Kazakh) and to the vice-head Abdulharman Sulitan (an Uighur). Irhal, able but youthful, was a poor herdsman by origin. He answered my question in an easy manner.

"The national question is really a class one; and national solidarity is basically class solidarity. (In the interests of the working people we must, of course, unite with all possible forces besides them.) All the workers and peasants of the world are one big family, and there exists the basis for close solidarity between the different sections of working people. Our unity shows itself prin-

cially in close co-operation, common development, and common prosperity."

Then the *chou* head went on to elaborate his point. The unity between the minority peoples and the Han people and the help given by the Han people to the minority peoples have been very significant in the development and the prosperity of the minority peoples. Land reform, socialist transformation of agriculture, stockbreeding, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, the formation of the people's communes, and other changes carried out in Sinkiang since liberation have all been carried out through reliance on unity between the nationalities. Through these struggles productive forces have been liberated, political, economic and cultural development has been hastened, and the people of all nationalities have formed very close friendships. It needs both skill and genius to describe this stirring story properly. As this is an agricultural and stockbreeding area, it would be best to look at the present situation in the following two ways.

### Combining Agriculture and Stockbreeding

"First, relationships within the people's communes," Irhal explained. "Inside the communes the most notable ways in which the unity of commune members of different nationalities is shown are in the combination of farming and stockbreeding and in the way these two support each other. This is of the greatest historical significance in the development and prosperity of us Kazakhs, and of considerable significance for the Hans and the other nationalities."

The Kazakhs were originally a nomadic people who did not generally practise agriculture. All that happened was that every spring a few people would dig up a piece of wasteland, scatter some millet from their hats as they rode around on horseback, and then go back to their herds. They did not bother about fertilizing or weeding the land but just came back from the grasslands at harvest time and managed to reap a little grain. As this tiny quantity was not enough they had to sell their sheep, cattle and horses at unfair prices to get grain. As they had to use their animals to get grain this meant that they had to slaughter far too many of them and that the cattle and horses were short of fodder; this was a severe limitation on the growth of stockbreeding. Of course, the main impediment was the oppression and exploitation by the reactionary ruling classes before liberation.

After the formation of co-operatives Ili worked hard at combining agriculture and stockbreeding, and the people's communes made even further developments of this possible. In the present communes there are stockbreeding brigades and agricultural brigades. Agriculture provides the herdsmen with grain and their animals with fodder, while stockbreeding supplies the farmers with manure; thus both do well. With people's communes, farming, and settled habitations the herdsmen also have places to rest and convalesce.

### Medicine and Education

Our conversation turned to the wretched life of the herdsmen in the past. If a poor herdsman fell ill in the

course of his nomadic life, there were no doctors for him: he could only look in a neighbour's felt tent for someone to recite sutras, or a witch doctor. The witch doctors' ways of "curing" illnesses were very barbaric; they often used to flog the invalid with a leather whip or heat a mattock till it was red hot and apply it to the soles of his feet. This was said to be to "drive away the devils." A more "civilized" method was to ladle out a bowl of water, blow on it, and give it to the patient to drink. Another was to kill a sheep and wrap the invalid up in its skin. Irhal himself had been nearly killed in this way during an attack of typhoid fever in 1948.

When a woman was pregnant or giving birth there was nowhere for her to go and rest and nobody to deliver her baby, with the result that mother and child would often both die. The infant mortality rate was over 40 per cent. As children grew up there were no schools for them to go to. Thanks to the Communist Party and the People's Government things are greatly different in the communes of today. When people are ill they can go into small hospitals, and doctors and midwives can even be found on the grasslands. The children can go to school. Primary schools are situated in settled inhabited areas near the spring and autumn pastures, and the children spend their summer holidays in the cool summer grazing lands. There are now more than 13 times as many middle school students in the *chou* as there were in 1949. Before liberation there was not a single college student, but now there is at least one in every commune and even in every brigade.

All this cannot be considered apart from the democratic reform movement, the socialist revolution and construction and the combination of stockbreeding and farming in the people's communes. A nationality relying solely on nomadic stockbreeding cannot be truly prosperous. Combining farming and stockbreeding is an important symbol of the unity of the nationalities. In the communes agriculture is nearly all the work of Han, Uighur and Hui members while the stockbreeding is largely done by Kazakhs. The agriculturally advanced nationalities are helping the Kazakhs to learn how to farm. The use of horse-drawn ploughs is now spreading among the Kazakhs, they are gradually beginning to use cultivators, and some of their youngsters are even becoming tractor drivers. The Kazakhs in turn are helping farmers of the other nationalities to study the raising of livestock.

Farmers and herdsmen supporting each other and studying from each other like this has helped the unity of the different nationalities, while this unity has hastened overall economic and cultural development and that of the Kazakhs in particular.

### Opening Up Wastelands

At this point I asked Comrade Irhal to go on to discuss his second point.

"Secondly, then, there are the relations between the state farms of the P.L.A. Production and Construction Corps and the people's communes. These are relations between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership in agriculture, between the army and the peo-

ple, and between Hans and other nationalities as the Hans make up the vast majority of the corps." Talking about this he was clearly more excited than usual. Sinkiang is vast and thinly populated, Irhal continued, sixteen times the size of Chekiang Province although its population is only just over a fifth of Chekiang's. The land opened up by the Production and Construction Corps was all wasteland, and if they hadn't opened it up, who would have been able to? Their work here has not added to the burden of the people, and they have supplied the state and the people with large quantities of commodities, thus actually lightening the people's load.

Irhal went on to say that the areas in the autonomous *chou* which had been opened up by the corps had been a boundless wilderness a few years previously where only tamarisks and other drought-resisting plants grew. But now your lorry has to go through a broad belt of tall trees before you see the checkered pattern of fields of cotton and maize. In many of these fields not a single weed can be seen. It looks as if all came down from heaven. Many of the cadres and old hands know a lot about agricultural science and technology, are well up in the local soil, climatic and water situation, and have rich practical experience. They have from the very beginning carried on the tradition of working hard and energetically and doing good turns for the people.

"Their influence on the people of all nationalities, particularly the minority nationalities," the *chou* head concluded, "has been inestimable. The people have seen in them a wonderful future and have found many examples to learn from."

At this point the burly vice-head, a man of peasant origin, broke in and said:

"The relations between the corps and the people have been very close. When the units first came to Sinkiang to start building the farms, the local minority peoples helped them by acting as guides, and assisted them in surveying the wastelands; they also helped them to get to know local conditions and taught them how to cultivate. The Production and Construction Corps then gave the minority peoples even greater help by training technicians, giving technical advice on farming, carrying out water conservancy projects, building houses, and ploughing the land with their machinery, as well as in many other ways too numerous to mention. Their help, in short, has done a lot to boost agricultural production and much of the credit for this year's bumper harvest must be attributed to it."

### A Story of Mutual Help

Then I told them about how on my visit to the Hexi brigade of the East Wind People's Commune. I saw what good terms they were on with No. 20 Regiment's Farm and how they helped each other. The units came in 1951, braving the winds and the cold, and the local Uighurs, Kazakhs and Huis gave them places to stay, acted as their guides as they surveyed the wastelands, showed them how to plough, and lent them cattle, horses and seeds. When the armymen were busily opening up the wasteland, the canal used by the peasants got blocked with mud and

would no longer let water through, so a company of soldiers struggled for eight days to clear the 5,000 metres of canal.

In 1952 the newly cleared land yielded a good harvest, and this enabled the peasants to understand the value of collective strength and the outstanding revolutionary spirit of the Liberation Army. That year a mutual-aid team was set up with Maudan as its head. The army gave the team modern ploughs, horse-drawn seeders and seeds and sent it technicians, so that the peasants, like the soldiers, reaped a good harvest that year.

In 1953 No. 20 Regiment's Farm planted cotton east of the river. Maudan's team thought that it would be impossible to grow cotton on their land west of the river, but the comrades from the farm helped them to choose a small plot of land on which to plant cotton, taught them how to look after it, and gave them practical help while it grew. This resulted in a good crop, and so cotton has been grown west of the river every year from then on.

From 1954 onward No. 20 Regiment's Farm sent more technicians and doctors to live in and help the co-op. One commune member described the support given to the Hexi brigade as being "as immeasurable as the stars in the sky." The dozen or so courses run by the farm in cotton growing, irrigation, plant protection, farm tools, accounting, keeping records of work, and other subjects have trained over a hundred members. . . .

When I'd told them this the vice-head burst out laughing: "Many other things like that have happened, very many indeed!"

### Revolution – The Vital Thing

The *chou* head went to say more seriously:

"It's true — many other things like that have happened. But such things could only happen under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao and of the Party's policy of regional autonomy for nationalities, and its other nationalities policies. I believe that with building solidarity between nationalities, with the common development and prosperity of the different nationalities, or with the socialist revolution and socialist construction it is fundamentally necessary to follow a revolutionary line and revolutionary policies and to educate the people of all nationalities with the revolutionary spirit. Without this vital thing 'revolution,' nothing can be done well and all will end in failure. This is the secret of our success."

Realizing that it was past noon I took my leave of them. As I walked down the street the voice of the *chou* head was still going through my mind. I looked at the many colours of the clothes of the passers-by, at the rows of lofty poplars, at the leaves of the maple trees turning red, at the plentiful apples and grapes in front of the shops, at the red blooms in the flower beds. . . . All this made me think that Ining city in autumn was as flourishing and splendid as the countryside. This autumnal scene was a symbol of the unity of the different nationalities, of the rich harvest, and of the common development and prosperity of the different nationalities.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Cambodia

### Red Faces in Washington

Faces were red—and furious—in Washington when, after a mass rally in Phnom Penh at which two “free Khmer” traitors publicly identified the U.S. as their master and source of weapons and radio transmitters, the Cambodian Government sent a note to the State Department demanding that the U.S. terminate its military, economic, and cultural “aid.”

Washington has been forced to agree to Cambodia's request. It will withdraw its military and economic missions. But just the same it is trying lamely to deny its guilt. This lack of shame is all the more brazen since the evidence is overwhelming. And the American press itself is taking the wraps off Washington's real intentions towards Cambodia. Typical is the *Washington Post* editorial of November 21 which says: Prince Sihanouk “may well fear that, having helped to overturn one regime in Saigon, the U.S. may now be encouraging coups elsewhere. It must be acknowledged that Prince Sihanouk has earned the right to be suspicious—especially about radio transmitters. In 1959, a United States embassy aide was expelled from Cambodia for providing gold and a transmitter to an opposition provincial leader. And the C.I.A. has long tended to regard the non-aligned Sihanouk as a pernicious fellow.”

Prince Sihanouk has again requested a 14-nation conference to give an international guarantee of Cambodia's neutrality. This is the same proposal which the Cambodian Head of State made in 1962 but which did not materialize because the United States and its satellites would not participate. Said Prince Sihanouk, if the “free world” again refused this proposal, it had no right to question the authenticity of Cambodia's neutrality. At the same time, he has noted, after receiving China's expression of unreserved support for Cambodia (see page 8), that “People's China for many years has been the only country fully supporting us, without reservation and without hesitation. And today again we have

shining proof that China is our Number One friend.”

## Sahara Border Dispute

### Africans Seek Peaceful Solution

The extraordinary session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) called in Addis Ababa to consider the border dispute between Algeria and Morocco has reaffirmed the determination of the African states “always to seek a peaceful and fraternal solution of all differences that may arise among them by negotiation and within the framework of principles and institutions included in the O.A.U. Charter.” It has named a 7-nation commission (Ethiopia, Mali, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Tanganyika and Nigeria) to examine the problem of frontiers between Algeria and Morocco, submit concrete proposals to the two parties for a final settlement of the dispute and fix responsibility for the outbreak of the hostilities.

Armed clashes between Algeria and Morocco took place on several sectors of the Sahara border in mid-October. As a result of a meeting in Bamako of the heads of state of Algeria, Morocco, Mali and Ethiopia, a ceasefire became effective on November 2 and a foreign ministers' conference of the O.A.U. arranged. Meanwhile, a mixed military commission of the four countries has been working to maintain peace along the border.

It is welcome news that the Algerian-Moroccan dispute is being solved by the Africans themselves, through peaceful negotiations and without interference from the imperialists. Like the Asian countries, the African states need friendship and solidarity to wage a common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. While force can settle none of their disputes, they can all be resolved by peaceful negotiations. The imperialists must not be allowed to set newly independent states at loggerheads.

## Sao Paulo Meeting

### Shaky Alliance, No Progress

The northern colossus got a tongue-lashing at the mid-November meeting

of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Washington intended to use the ministerial meeting to undermine Latin American resistance to the limping “Alliance for Progress” programme. But the Latin Americans made the conference a forum in which to attack both the alliance itself and the U.S. policy of buying cheap and selling dear.

Thus, while U.S. delegate Harriman told his salesman's story of the alliance, the Latin American representatives pointed to the irreparable harm Yankee cut-throat practices have done to their economies.

Jose Antonio Mayorbe, Secretary-General of the Latin American Economic Council, told the conference that Latin America incurred a foreign trade deficit of more than \$10,000 million from 1951 to 1961. The average rate of production growth for the Latin American countries, he noted, dropped to 3 per cent in 1962, the year after the “Alliance for Progress” programme started, as against 5.7 per cent between 1945 and 1950.

“The financial situation of the entire continent is deteriorating. Eleven countries are suffering from inflation. Foreign debts incurred by some countries have reached serious proportions,” complained Felipe Herrera, President of the Inter-American Development Bank.

Peruvian Vice-President Seoane Coralles did not mince his words when he charged certain U.S. monopolies with establishing “real economic dictatorships” in Latin America.

Finally there was the unsuccessful attempt of the Brazilian delegation, supported by Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Uruguay, to set up a Latin American bloc independent of the United States. This was of course a move even more unwelcome to Washington than the airing of grievances, embarrassing as this proved to be.

Manipulated by the United States, the conference could not achieve anything positive. Yet it did accentuate the seriousness of the Latin American economic situation and the growing opposition to the U.S. After the recent Argentine move against U.S. oil firms, the Brazilian restrictions on the remittance overseas of foreign profits and the continuing Chilean



and Peruvian quarrel with the U.S. over territorial fishing waters, it was another telling sign that the Latin Americans have had enough of Yankee shenanigans. As Brazilian Finance Minister Carvalho Pinto warned at the conference's closing session, "the broad sections of our population in their dire poverty are neither to be lulled by lies nor flattered by friendly remarks."

## Burma

### Peace Talks Break Down

The negotiations between the Revolutionary Council and the National Democratic United Front (N.D.U.F.) to bring internal peace to Burma broke down on November 14. General Ne Win who heads the Burmese Government leads the Revolutionary Council while the N.D.U.F. comprises the Communist Party of Burma, the Karen National United Party, the New Mon State Party, the Karenni Progressive Party and the Chin Supreme Organization.

In a statement, the Revolutionary Council declared: "Despite protracted talks, the N.D.U.F. has not displayed any sincerity and honesty in its efforts for the realization of true peace. Instead, it has been firmly established that the N.D.U.F. delegation, taking advantage of the Council's concessions made in the larger interest of internal peace, had tried to put pressure on the Council through political, military and organizational activities of its parties during the talks. In the light of these facts, the Council placed before the N.D.U.F. delegation certain guiding principles for continued negotiations, but the representatives of the Central N.D.U.F., giving various reasons, rejected them. Hence, the Council had to break off the peace talks."

The Burmese Government also released statements by the Communist Party of Burma and the N.D.U.F.

The C.P.B. statement said that the talks had been spoilt by the grave suspicion with which the Revolutionary Council had lately regarded the N.D.U.F. This suspicion grew when the N.D.U.F. proposed the territorial status quo for areas held by the underground organizations. The object of this proposal, it said, was to

facilitate the control of the situation in these areas, but the Council regarded it as an attempt to seek recognition for a rival government.

The Council, the C.P.B. statement went on, required that the N.D.U.F. suspend all its organizational activities during the ceasefire period, stop collecting funds, disclose the location of its armed forces and send them to an area specified by the Council from which they would not be allowed to move without government approval. This proposal went beyond the scope of the ceasefire arrangements and also involved political problems. It amounted to a move to hamstringing the N.D.U.F. parties which the C.P.B. delegation could not accept. It was therefore suggested that it be discussed with the respective central committees of the N.D.U.F. parties.

The C.P.B. statement pledged continued efforts to restore peace. The Party would make the utmost concessions so long as its right to organize

was not tampered with, it said. It would also try to preserve the present eased situation and urge the Council to resume peace parleys with individual parties even though talks with the N.D.U.F. as an entity were stranded.

The N.D.U.F. statement expressed its regret that the Council should have ended the talks, especially as so much headway had already been made. It noted that agreement had been reached on 10 of the 12 points submitted to the Council. According to the N.D.U.F., the main differences lie in the Government's demand that the N.D.U.F. stop its organizational work and cease collecting funds and that all its armed forces assemble at places specified by the Council. The N.D.U.F. has counter-proposed that it undertakes not to conduct organizational activities or collect funds outside its own domain and that special committees consisting of representatives of both sides enforce the ceasefire in the areas as at present held.

## THE PASSING SHOW

### "Don't Open the Door, Lady!"

New York city's fair sex has been given helpful hints on how to guard against an ever increasing crime rate. Here are some excerpts from a police department pamphlet which, according to *U.S. News & World Report*, "apply equally well elsewhere" in the U.S.

At night, walk where it is well lighted.

If awakened by an intruder, don't try to apprehend him—he might be armed. Don't panic. Lie still, observe carefully. At the first chance call police.

Never open the door automatically when there's a knock—insist that callers identify themselves. Install a peephole window in the door.

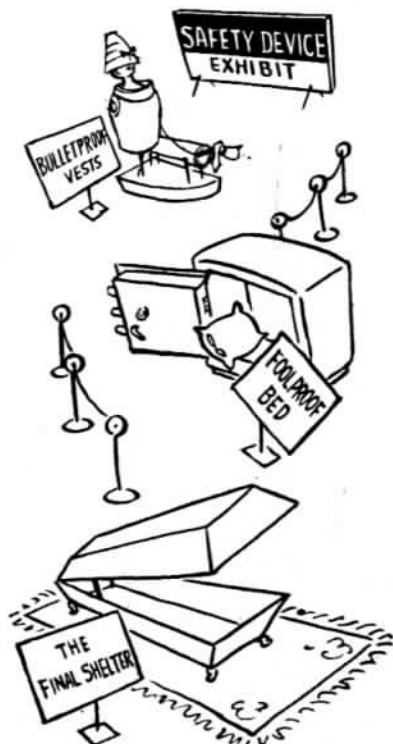
At night, double lock your door and use a chain lock, too.

Put locks on windows that will make them secure even when partly open.

Don't put keys under the mats, in a mailbox or other receptacles by the door.

When shopping, don't leave your purse lying on a counter. In a theatre, keep your bag on your lap.

Keep your door locked at all times.



# DANCE-DRAMA

## Korean "Red Flag" on Chinese Stage

China's production of the Korean dance-drama *The Red Flag*, "an epic woven out of music, dance, painting and drama" as President of the Chinese Dramatists' Union Tien Han put it in *Renmin Ribao*, climaxes a year of busy cultural interchange between Pyongyang and Peking, a year which has already witnessed the success of Korea's *Red Propagandist* in China and China's *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights* and *The Dream of the Red Chamber* in Korea. This latest production, which started on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Korean Agreement on Economic and Cultural Cooperation, has added another bond between the two fraternal peoples.

### State Leaders Attend Premiere

The Peking premiere of the Chinese Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre's presentation took place on November 21. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, and Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Peng Chen and Lin Feng attended the performance. Korean Charge d'Affaires ad interim Zung Bong Koo and his wife, members of the Korean Embassy, and members of the Korean



Father

dance-drama delegation headed by Merited Artist Chang Woong Hwan also attended. The delegation had been received by Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Chairmen Peng Chen and Lin Feng the same evening.

Like the distinguished Chinese and Korean guests, the rest of the audience of 1,500 who packed the Tianqiao Theatre responded warmly to the dance-drama which had won a People's Prize, the highest honour in Korean science, art or literature.

The plot of the four-act drama is based on Korean revolutionary history. Revolutionary fighter Choi Byung Hoon, following the instructions of Comrade Kim Il Sung, who was leading the Korean guerrillas against the Japanese aggressors in northeast China between 1935 and 1937, becomes a district head under the Japanese while secretly serving the cause. Despite the scorn of the village people, his best friend and even his young daughter, in whose eyes he is a traitor, Choi carries on his underground work and eventually leads a large Japanese detachment to destruction in a guerrilla encirclement.

In Choi Byung Hoon the dance-drama reflects the tradition of the Korean people of fighting against imperialism. Through this single dramatic episode, it illuminates the entire period of the 1920s and 30s when, with armed resistance carried on under the leadership of General Kim Il Sung, the Korean revolution surged forward and the foundations for the final victory of the Korean people's liberation were laid.

Artistically, the drama creates some unforgettable characterizations; music and choreography are entrancing and have a strong Korean flavour.

### Two Forceful Characterizations

Choi Byung Hoon, the central character, is portrayed with great force and feeling. Filled with an implacable hatred for the Japanese who have ravaged his country and his home and murdered his wife, he is forced to serve under them. In doing so he incurs the bitter loathing of his countrymen and even his own daughter. His inner conflicts and emotional stress, clearly shown in the play, make his true character all the more impressive.

Offsetting the image of the father is the image of the daughter. The two harmonize in the development of the dramatic conflict. Bok Sun is a gentle, guileless, dreamy young girl. Her character takes on proportion as the drama develops. Shunned by her best friends and ashamed of a father she has hitherto loved and esteemed, she is at first bewildered and stunned. A strong patriotism and a growing hatred of the aggressors finally makes her denounce her father and run away. In a moving scene in the woods where she has wandered she has a dream in which she sees her dear father as a staunch revolutionary once more and her friends loving and trusting her. When finally she discovers her father's secret in the third act, she grows up rapidly. She takes up the gun he has left behind and follows him on his dangerous mission to destroy the enemy. When she takes over the red flag from her father's hands in the



Daughter

Sketches by Ah Lao

final act, she has herself become a mature revolutionary.

Apart from costumes and decor, the national character of *Red Flag* lies in its creation of a setting and events typical of the Korean people's fight of the 30s, in the characters and emotions of the people in the play, and in the life, customs and cultural heritage of the Korean people as reflected in the drama.

The choreographers of *Red Flag*, Kim Ki Heung and Wooi Byung Jaik, have been particularly successful in using Korean national dances to express the emotions of the characters. In the prologue, set on the snow-covered banks of the Yalu River,

white-robed Korean girls tell of their yearning for their homeland with their dance movements of their bodies, shoulders and hands; the duet of father and daughter in Act II is splendid: the soft, pleading movements of the daughter's hands and body entreating the father not to serve the enemy, recalling to him the trust and love between them of former days, and telling him of her grief and hopes; meanwhile the father, wanting to comfort her but unable to tell her the truth, struggles with conflicting emotions.

The very Korean music by composer Pak Ki Sup, an important factor in the success of the dance-drama, subtly modifies the characterizations and events. The theme for Choi Byung Hoon is sober and steady, portraying the inner strength and resolution of the man; that for his daughter is clear, lyrical and sometimes whimsical. The music for the enemy is nervous, savage and ungainly.

#### Korean Help

The Chinese cast, with the young artists Sun Tien-lu and Wang Shu-yun as father and daughter, gave able performances. This would not have been possible without the help of their Korean colleagues. The Korean State Dance Theatre had put its experience and knowledge at the disposal of Chinese artists when the latter visited Korea in May. Korean friends drew for them a complete set of designs for costumes, stage settings and properties. The Korean dance-drama delegation which came over earlier this month brought Chang Woong Hwan and Hong Jung Wha, the talented leading players in *Red Flag* in Korea, choreographer Wooi Byung Jaik, conductor Chai Ki Duk and decor artist Whang Ryong Soo. In helping to stage the dance, the Korean visitors worked as hard as any in the Chinese cast. They will be pleased to find their efforts repaid by the tremendous success *The Red Flag* promises to achieve in China.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### Treasury of Stone Sculpture

A unique museum of ancient stone sculpture has recently opened in Sian, the provincial capital of northwest Shensi, a city well known for its

splendid relics of ancient civilization. It contains the biggest collection of Chinese stone sculpture anywhere apart from those in the caves at Yunkang (Shansi Province), and Lungmen (Honan Province).

On display are more than one hundred stone carvings in the round, in relief, and incised of rare merit dating from the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) to the Tang Dynasty (618-907). The bulk of the exhibits has been selected from some 2,270 pieces found in Shensi Province since liberation.

The Han carvings make good use of the natural forms of rocks and are executed for the most part with firm, bold lines. Their style is at once simple, dynamic and strong. The "Two Lions" of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) excavated at Hsienyang in 1959 are typical of the sculpture of the period. Also on exhibition are stones with relief decorations of the Yung Yuan period (89-105) of the Eastern Han Dynasty which were discovered in northern Shensi. They are thought to be rather earlier works.

The sculpture of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589) was greatly influenced by Buddhism which was spreading in China at that time. Very many huge Buddhist statues, sculptures and shrines on cliffs and in caves were made then. On show are some of the most representative carvings of the Northern Wei (386-534), which are both vigorous and eloquent.

But the more mature stone-carvings of the Tang Dynasty attract the most interest among the items on display. The six magnificent chargers in high relief from Chaoling (the tomb of Emperor Tai Tsung) at Lichuan, Shensi, are highly regarded in China and throughout the world for their artistic value. Two of them which were stolen by U.S. imperialists in 1914 can only be shown in the form of casts, and the other four had to be pieced together as they had been broken to pieces by the U.S. imperialist thieves in an unsuccessful



One of the "Two Lions" of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) excavated at Hsienyang in 1959

attempt to get them away. The individuality and even the experience in battle of each horse are wonderfully expressed.

#### SHORT NOTES

"Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" (Vol. III) in Uighur. The Uighur edition of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume III, recently came off the presses of the Nationalities Publishing House in Peking. This completes publication in the Uighur language of all four volumes of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. From its first appearance in the Hsinhua Bookstores in Urumchi and the other cities of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, it has enjoyed great popularity among Uighur workers, cadres, soldiers, students and citizens, who are eager to study the revolutionary teachings of this great leader of the Chinese people.

Huo Chu-ping Tomb Carvings Exhibited. In Hsingping County, Shensi Province, 16 massive stone sculptures, among China's earliest and best preserved, have recently been put on display to the public. They date back over two thousand years to the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.).

The exhibition centre is housed in two covered porticos in front of the tomb of Huo Chu-ping (140-117 B.C.), a patriotic general who died young. These massive life-sized sculptures which include a horse 168 cm. high and 190 cm. long, a reclining ox 260 cm. long and 160 cm. wide, crouching tigers, elephants, and monsters were carved as decorations for the tomb of the young general.

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