

# PEKING REVIEW

45

November 5, 1965

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報

## Significance of Commemorating Dr. Sun Yat-sen

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's speech at meeting of preparatory committee for Dr. Sun centenary

## Second African-Asian Conference Postponed

- Hsinhua report on the arbitrarily convened foreign ministers' meeting in Algiers
- Indian attempt to wreck Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism is defeated
- *Renmin Ribao* comments

## Premier Chou's Letter to Bertrand Russell



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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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## THE WEEK

### National Agricultural Exhibition

A view of China's thriving farms and the bright prospects ahead can be seen at the national agricultural exhibition which opened in Peking on November 1. Housed in the National Agricultural Exhibition Centre in the capital's eastern suburbs, the exhibition features 52 advanced farming units—production teams or brigades, people's communes, counties or groups of counties in various parts of the country—that have greatly increased output by successfully transforming their once-poor land and improving farming methods in the Tachai spirit.

"Tachai" has become a household word among the Chinese people, the peasants in particular; it is a synonym for achieving prosperity through self-reliance and a scientific approach. The word originated with the Tachai Production Brigade in north China's Shansi Province whose members, by their herculean efforts, achieved remarkable success in transforming denuded hills into stable- and high-yielding terraced fields.

Pictures, charts and models at the exhibition vividly demonstrate the different problems that faced the farming units and the way they set about conquering them. Often against great odds and under intractable conditions, they succeeded in bringing about basic changes in farm production. Their bold undertakings, typical also of many thousands of other Tachai-type units, speak well for the revolutionary enthusiasm and resourcefulness of China's 500 million peasants who, holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and implementing the Party's general line for building socialism, are determined to put an end to the "poverty and backwardness" they have inherited from the past. As *Renmin Ribao's* November 1 editorial put it: Advanced farming units of the

Tachai-type have appeared in every province, every special administrative region, every county and in almost every people's commune. This Tachai spirit—a product of Mao Tse-tung's thinking—has now become a driving force in accelerating the building of China's new, socialist villages. The editorial also expressed the belief that the exhibition would give further impetus to the campaign to learn from Tachai and promote the present upsurge of agricultural production across the land.

Indicative of the Party's and government's great interest in and attention to agriculture was the visit to a preview of the exhibition by Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Chinese leaders.

### Algerian Revolution Anniversary

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message on October 31 to Houari Boumedienne, Chairman of the Algerian Council of Revolution and Premier, greeting the 11th anniversary of the Algerian revolution. The message said:

"The Algerian people are a people with a glorious anti-imperialist tradition. Their valiant struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for winning and safeguarding national independence has won the admiration of the Chinese people. The Chinese people sincerely wish the Algerian people new successes and new victories in their march forward."

Algerian Charge d'Affaires ad interim Khouri Mohamed gave an anniversary reception in Peking on November 1. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-

(Continued on p. 14.)

# Chairman Liu on Dr. Sun Yat-sen

**S**PEAKING at the first meeting on October 31 of the preparatory committee for the centenary commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth, Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi said that Dr. Sun was a great man who deserved to be remembered by the Chinese people for ever. Among those attending the initial meeting of the committee, of which Liu Shao-chi is concurrently chairman, were Soong Ching Ling, Tung Pi-wu, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh.

## Chairman Liu's Speech

Chairman Liu Shao-chi pointed out that it was of enormous significance to honour Dr. Sun's memory. He said: "Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a pioneer of China's bourgeois-democratic revolution and a forerunner of our revolution. It was under his influence and that of the 1911 Revolution that many people in our Communist Party took the road of revolution. Dr. Sun was the leader of the revolutionary democrats of the Chinese bourgeoisie. He devoted his whole life to the struggle against imperialism and feudalism. He was a great man who gave tremendous impetus to China's modern history. He deserves to be remembered by the Chinese people for ever.

"At the time preparations were made for carrying out the democratic revolution in China, Dr. Sun firmly opposed the reformists who stood for a constitutional monarchy. He advocated the overthrow of the feudal autocratic emperor and the establishment of a democratic republic by revolutionary means. This was very daring and revolutionary at that time. To achieve this, he waged a tit-for-tat struggle against Kang Yu-wei, Liang Chi-chao and others of the reformist school. Dr. Sun consistently advocated revolutionary armed struggle. Under his leadership, the 1911 Revolution finally put an end to the feudal empire which had ruled China for more than 2,000 years. It gave birth to the Chinese republic, that is, the Republic of China. This was one of his great historic accomplishments.

"Dr. Sun's other great historic accomplishment was to develop the old-type Three People's Principles into the new Three People's Principles to suit the new situation in China's revolution. After the victory of the October proletarian revolution in Russia and the appearance of the Chinese proletariat on the stage of history, he entered into an alliance with the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party, and, with the help of the latter, reorganized the Kuomintang and put forward the well-known Three Great Policies: alliance with Soviet Russia, co-operation with the Communists and help to the peasants and workers. This provided the political basis for the first instance of co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. It also sparked the tempestuous great revolution of 1924-27. The Chinese revolution at that

time—from the very first day of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party—entered a new historical stage, the stage of the new-democratic revolution instead of a democratic revolution of the old type."

Chairman Liu Shao-chi stressed that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, as a bourgeois revolutionary, had the courage to raise the slogan of "Down with imperialism," to enter into an alliance with the world's first country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to work in co-operation with the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat, to put into practice the policy of helping the peasants and workers and to put forward the slogan of "Land to the tiller," that is, the abolition of the feudal system of land ownership. This, Chairman Liu said, demonstrated Dr. Sun's great revolutionary spirit of being able to "keep in step with the world trends and serve the needs of the community" and advancing with the times. "Dr. Sun was not a scientific socialist or a Marxist," he added, "but he dared to make revolution and fight imperialism. His revolutionary spirit was something which many so-called socialists and Marxists of his day, that is, many social-democrats and old-type revisionists of his time, could in no way measure up to; and, for that matter, it was also something which many so-called Marxist-Leninists and so-called Communists of today, that is, the modern revisionists, could not match in the least.

"The reactionary clique of the Kuomintang betrayed Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary cause. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people thoroughly accomplished the democratic revolution which Dr. Sun had failed to accomplish. And they followed this up immediately with the socialist revolution, which is now developing in depth, and with the great work of socialist construction."

Chairman Liu recalled that in 1905 Dr. Sun had said that China would surely surpass the West. "Our country," he continued, "is now much stronger than at the time of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. But it is still comparatively backward economically and culturally. Several decades of hard work are still required to make our country really strong. The situation in our country today is excellent in all fields. We have made great advances and achievements in the political, economic, cultural and educational, and military fields. There are, however, some shortcomings and difficulties in various branches of our work and we should continue our efforts to overcome them. The present revolutionary situation for the people of all countries is also excellent, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But U.S. imperialism is still playing the bully throughout the world, occupying Taiwan, which is China's territory, and plotting a war of aggression against China. The people of our country and all patriots living abroad

should strengthen their unity further and strive for the complete realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideals of overthrowing imperialism and building a strong China. While carrying on our work of construction, we must ally ourselves on an equal footing 'with those among the peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality,' and unite with all countries and nations that can be united in the common struggle. We must resolutely support the revolutionary struggles waged by the oppressed peoples and nations of the whole world and carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, against the reactionaries in various countries and against modern revisionism."

In conclusion, Chairman Liu Shao-chi said that the commemoration of the centenary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth next year coincided with the beginning of China's Third Five-Year Plan of construction. He called on the people of the whole country to unite still more closely under the leadership of the Communist Party

and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, strive for still greater successes in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and, together with the people of the world, work for still greater victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

### Commemorative Activities

After a speech about the centenary's programme by Liao Cheng-chih, secretary-general of the preparatory committee, the meeting adopted a commemorative programme which included the holding of a national memorial meeting in November 1966 in Peking's Great Hall of the People and visits paying homage to the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanking, the memorial hall in Canton and Dr. Sun's former residence in Shanghai. Invitations to participate in the commemorative activities will be sent to foreigners, overseas Chinese, and compatriots in Hongkong and Macao who were connected with the revolutionary cause to which Dr. Sun Yat-sen devoted his life.

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## Carry Forward the Cause of Afro-Asian Solidarity Against Imperialism

**T**HE forcibly convened African-Asian foreign ministers' meeting finally took the decision to postpone indefinitely the Second African-Asian Conference. This decision accords with the common aspiration of the 2,000 million people of Asia and Africa. It is a victory for the countries and peoples upholding the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism and a failure for U.S. imperialism and its followers who made vain attempts to divide the Afro-Asian countries.

Afro-Asian solidarity was subjected to a severe test in the past few days over the question of whether or not the Second African-Asian Conference be postponed. Should the conference be held to engage in quarrels which would lead to splits among the Afro-Asian countries, or should one attach primary importance to Afro-Asian solidarity and have the conference postponed to a suitable moment? This was a question that has a vital bearing on the great cause of the 2,000 million Afro-Asian people's solidarity against imperialism. In this hour of momentous decision, no statesmen of the Afro-Asian countries could have failed to see their grave responsibility. The people of the Afro-Asian countries firmly demand the upholding of unity against imperialism and oppose a split. The outcome of the meeting reflects this irresistible common desire of the Afro-Asian peoples, and makes it clear that the overwhelming majority of the Afro-Asian countries treasure unity and

cherish their larger interests. The Bandung spirit of unity against imperialism has once again demonstrated its great vitality.

Afro-Asian solidarity is an inevitable outgrowth of historical development. We, Afro-Asian peoples, are bound together by the common experience that we shared in our long suffering under imperialist and colonialist oppression and enslavement. In the past, we Afro-Asian peoples waged common struggles to shake off imperialist and colonialist yokes and won great victories. Today, we still face the common task of combating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, striving for and safeguarding national independence and developing our national economies. The course of events in the 20 postwar years has borne out the truth that it is not only necessary but absolutely possible for the Afro-Asian countries to unite, support each other and wage a joint struggle. All Afro-Asian countries, puppets and lackeys of imperialism excepted, have every reason to unite, and no reason whatsoever to allow our unity to be weakened or undermined.

**T**HE African-Asian conference is a conference of the Asian and African countries to strengthen their unity against imperialism. The First Asian-African Conference — the Bandung Conference — brilliantly fulfilled its historic mission. The great call of unity

against imperialism issued at the Bandung Conference has struck roots deep into the hearts of the people and the struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has had a tremendous growth in the past ten years. The Second African-Asian Conference should raise the Bandung spirit to a new and higher level. It should not weaken but must promote Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism; it should not retreat but must advance; it should not fail but must succeed. China, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Pakistan, Tanzania, Guinea, the Congo (Brazzaville) and other Asian and African countries seriously advocated that the conference be postponed precisely because they consider that the various complicating factors that exist at the present moment are unfavourable to the holding of the Second African-Asian Conference. This position of theirs proceeds from the overall Afro-Asian interest and stems entirely from their sincere desire to safeguard Afro-Asian solidarity. Every country that sets great store by Afro-Asian solidarity will naturally come to the conclusion that the present is not the proper time for the convocation of the Second African-Asian Conference. This was borne out by the fact that the forcibly convened meeting of foreign ministers of Asian and African countries finally decided to postpone the conference, thanks to the unswerving adherence to principle by a number of countries and the support for it by more and more countries.

**T**HE question of postponing the conference should and could have been settled entirely by the standing committee in preparation for the Second African-Asian Conference. Since the objective situation demanded the postponement, the standing committee formed by 15 representative Asian and African countries could, with full justification, have made a decision to postpone through talks with the other Asian and African countries and on the basis of the principle of achieving consensus through consultation. The two previous postponements of the Second African-Asian Conference had both been decided upon by the standing committee. To say that it is beyond the terms of reference of the standing committee to make a decision on postponement does not tally with the facts of the past, nor can it possibly explain why the forcibly convened meeting of foreign ministers also decided at last to leave it to the standing committee to fix a future date for the convocation of the Second African-Asian Conference. Facts have proved that the firm stand taken by China, Cambodia and other Asian and African countries for the settlement of the question of postponement at the standing committee is perfectly correct. If this point of view of ours had been accepted then, the peremptory convening of the meeting of foreign ministers could have been avoided and the delegations of scores of countries would have been spared the need to make a long journey to Algiers to engage in days of heated dispute.

On the other hand, the forcibly convened foreign ministers' meeting is not entirely without its lessons. It once again proves that in the ranks of Asian and African countries, there is a handful of people who willingly act as the Trojan horse of U.S. imperialism in an attempt to disrupt Afro-Asian solidarity from within. Such is the role played by the Indian reactionaries who dance faithfully to the tune of U.S. imperialism. In the past, they did their best to obstruct the convocation of the African-Asian conference when U.S. imperialism feared it. Recently, when U.S. imperialism wanted to use the conference to undermine the solidarity of the Asian and African countries in the anti-imperialist struggle, they had set to work energetically and called vociferously for its convocation as scheduled.

**T**HAT was not all. At the meeting, the Indian delegate unjustifiably demanded that the Soviet Union, which is neither an Asian nor an African country, and "Malaysia," a spawn of neo-colonialism, and some others be admitted to the conference, and he clung to this demand obstinately in a deliberate attempt to make trouble. But the Indian reactionaries' sordid actions were extremely unpopular. Their schemes fell through, lock, stock, and barrel, landing themselves in utter isolation. That is why they, like the imperialists, were "surprised" and "disappointed" about the outcome of the meeting. The Indian delegate had to admit that the result of the meeting was a "blow" to India. For their object failure, the Indian reactionaries have only themselves to blame.

To thrust itself into the African-Asian conference, the Soviet leading group had gone so far as to try to fish in troubled waters at the peremptorily convened foreign ministers' meeting which, in fact, only discussed the postponement of the conference. To attain its aim, it did not even hesitate or feel ashamed to rank itself with that product of neo-colonialism — "Malaysia" — or with the quislings of imperialism in south Viet Nam and south Korea. This is indeed shocking. How can one allow the country born of the Great October Revolution to be placed side by side with puppet regimes that are the offspring of British and U.S. imperialism? Of course, this cannot have been the will of the great Soviet people; it is, in fact, an insult to them. But it graphically illustrates what the Soviet leading group is after in striving to force its way into the African-Asian conference. Like "Malaysia," south Viet Nam and south Korea which also tried hard to gain admission into the conference, what the Soviet leading group wants is to change the anti-imperialist nature of the conference. Not every Asian and African country sees clearly the true character of the Soviet leading group; but the majority of them know what "Malaysia," south Viet Nam and south Korea really are. It is, therefore, by no means fortuitous that, at the meeting, the overwhelming majority of the Asian and African countries refused to discuss the admission of the Soviet Union, "Malaysia," south Viet Nam and south Korea to the African-Asian conference.



It is nothing strange that imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, is disappointed and dismayed over the decision to postpone the Second African-Asian Conference. U.S. imperialism and its followers have always been hostile to Afro-Asian solidarity and have done everything they can to engineer splits among these countries. A few months ago, they did their utmost to obstruct the convening of the Second African-Asian Conference because they mortally feared that it would make powerful anti-imperialist calls. Recently, when they saw that the present conditions were unfavourable for the successful holding of the conference, they did their best to agitate for its convocation as scheduled, in the hope that the Afro-Asian countries would be embroiled in bitter quarrels thus leading to a split. Here Soviet modern revisionists struck up exactly the same tune as the U.S. imperialists. Several days ago, Moscow papers made loud calls for holding the African-Asian conference as scheduled. They were overjoyed, thinking that a golden opportunity for sabotaging Afro-Asian solidarity had come. However, this has proved to be merely wishful thinking on the part of the U.S. imperialists and modern revisionists. Their despicable plot to undermine Afro-Asian solidarity has been smashed by the Afro-Asian countries' decision to postpone the Second African-Asian Conference.

Now that the Afro-Asian countries have not fallen into the imperialist trap and decided instead to postpone the Second African-Asian Conference, the European and American imperialists are once again bellowing in one voice that the Bandung spirit is dead and that the African-Asian conference is finished. But the imperialist bigwigs will do well not to rejoice too soon. As long as you exploit others, you are bound to meet with resistance; as long as imperialist aggression and plunder exist, the anti-imperialist struggle will not cease, not even for a single day.

**N**O force on earth can destroy the Afro-Asian solidarity built on the basis of anti-imperialist struggle. In this the Chinese Government and people have unshakable faith. We are steadfastly loyal to the Bandung spirit and regard the promotion of the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism as our sacred duty. This has been, and will for ever be, our stand. China, together with the other Afro-Asian countries and peoples, will raise still higher the banner of the Bandung Conference of solidarity against imperialism and fight shoulder-to-shoulder and march valiantly forward in building up independent, free, prosperous and strong new Asia and Africa without imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

(“Renmin Ribao” editorial, November 4, 1965.)

## 2nd African-Asian Conference Postponed

### The Bandung Spirit of Afro-Asian Solidarity Against Imperialism Prevails

*Following is a Hsinhua News Agency report dated November 2 on the African-Asian foreign ministers' meeting arbitrarily convened in Algiers. — Ed.*

**T**HE arbitrarily convened Afro-Asian foreign ministers' meeting ended in Algiers in the early hours of November 2. **It adopted a resolution to postpone indefinitely the Second African-Asian Conference and entrust the standing committee with the task of continuing to make preparations for the conference.**

**This result of the meeting shows that the Bandung spirit which gives expression to the Afro-Asian peoples' desire for unity against imperialism prevails once again after overcoming all obstacles.**

#### Meeting Opens

The arbitrarily convened meeting, originally scheduled for October 28, was not opened until 13:00 hours, October 30.

According to an Algerian announcement, the meeting was attended by delegations of 45 countries, with 20 or more delegations led by foreign ministers or officials of ministerial rank. **Absent were the Afro-Asian countries which stood against holding the meeting under the present conditions unfavourable to Afro-Asian solidarity, including China, Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia,**

**Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tanzania, Guinea, and the Congo (Brazzaville).** India and some other countries which previously showed little interest in the African-Asian conference, now suddenly displayed special enthusiasm. **The Indian delegation was among the first to arrive and was impressively large.**

The delegates attended the meeting with different aims and in different moods: some countries sent their delegations to propose a postponement of the African-Asian conference, some others, doubting whether it is suitable to hold the African-Asian conference under the current circumstances, sent their delegations to take stock of the situation so as to determine their stand, and a handful of other countries, for purposes which are opposed to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism, insisted on convening a divisive African-Asian conference to sabotage Afro-Asian solidarity.

At the opening ceremony, Algerian Justice Minister Bedjaoui made a speech of welcome and declared open the “preparatory meeting of foreign ministers” of the Second African-Asian Conference. Algerian Foreign Minister Bouteflika delivered the inaugural speech.

The meeting adjourned after the election of a presidium. Bouteflika was elected chairman of the meeting and the heads of the delegations of the Cameroons and Ceylon were elected vice-chairmen. Salvador

P. Lopez, the Philippine delegate to the United Nations who came to Algiers for the meeting at U.S. bidding, was nominated as rapporteur. He told a UPI correspondent that he preferred the latter post because it was "of greater consequence" to the work of the meeting.

### First Closed Session

The first closed plenary session was held from 18:00 to 21:30 hours, October 30. It was learnt that, **at the beginning of the session, the Indian delegate lost no time in putting forward a motion for inviting to the conference the Soviet Union, which is neither an African nor an Asian country, and "Malaysia," which is a product of British and U.S. neo-colonialism, thus touching off a series of heated arguments.**

The proposal to invite the Soviet Union to the conference had already been turned down because of the absence of unanimous agreement at the preparatory meeting of foreign ministers held in Djakarta last year and the question no longer existed. Nevertheless, India raised the issue again for the obvious purpose of using it to sow discord among the Afro-Asian countries, change the nature of the African-Asian conference and completely destroy the Bandung spirit.

Following this, the Japanese delegate proposed that the puppet regime fostered by U.S. imperialism in south Korea be allowed to take part in the conference and the Philippine delegate proposed the representation of the U.S. puppets in south Viet Nam, in addition to those in south Korea. The Tunisian delegate immediately spoke in favour of the participation of the Soviet Union as well as "Malaysia" and the puppet regimes in south Viet Nam and south Korea. From the very beginning the speeches of these delegates threw the meeting into confusion.

**The Mali delegate emphasized in his speech that the meeting should, first and foremost, discuss the postponement of the Second African-Asian Conference. He proposed a postponement and distributed to all other delegations attending the meeting copies of a draft resolution for the postponement. This draft resolution attracted widespread attention and won the support of many delegations.**

The Uganda delegate in his speech demanded that the conference should, first of all, hear a report on the work of the recent sessions of the standing committee in preparation for the Second African-Asian Conference, which would deal with the Chinese and Cambodian joint proposal for a postponement of the conference. His proposal was supported by many delegates.

**But the Indian delegate who took the floor more than once insisted that his motion for wider participation in the African-Asian conference should be discussed first. He arrogantly demanded that, come what may, the African-Asian summit conference be held as scheduled.**

Thus another heated argument raged at the meeting over the question of which should be taken first:

to hear a report of the standing committee (which was in fact to consider the question of a postponement of the conference) or to discuss the question of wider participation. This appeared to be a procedural issue, but was in fact a substantive one: whether or not the divisive African-Asian conference should be arbitrarily convened.

**The outcome of the argument was that India failed in its attempt.** Upon the demand of many delegates, the meeting heard a report from the chairman of the standing committee in preparation for the Second African-Asian Conference on the committee's work.

At the same time, the Indian and Philippine delegates engineered another plot outside the meeting hall, trying to give the meeting of foreign ministers the name of "Second Bandung Conference." Lopez told a UPI correspondent on October 30 that he planned to ask the foreign ministers at the session "that they go ahead and discuss items on the agenda, adopt resolutions and issue a final communique." He said that he had consulted the Indian and Japanese delegations about this proposal.

### Second Closed Session

The second closed plenary session was held from 11:05 hours to 12:45 hours on October 31. It was reported that the Indian delegate at the session again insisted that the question he had raised about the admission of the Soviet Union and "Malaysia" to the conference be discussed first. He even declared that these countries "to be invited" were awaiting the meeting's decision.

**Obviously there was a wire-puller behind the Indian manoeuvres at the meeting.** An Algiers dispatch in the October 31 issue of the *Times of India* said that on the question of whether the summit conference would take place or not, the Soviet Union "has been doing some quiet lobbying here. The Soviet Ambassador last night [29th] met Mr. Jha [the head of the Indian delegation]. . . . A Malaysian (observers) delegation also arrived here to keep in touch with developments." At the same time, the Soviet Ambassador in Algiers was busily engaged in other activities outside the meeting.

The progress of the meeting apparently did not suit the desire of the Soviet Union and India. At the second closed plenary session on October 31 **India failed again in its move to get the Soviet Union into the African-Asian conference.** At this meeting only the Tunisian and a few other delegations supported India while those in favour of postponing the summit conference increased in number and finally formed the overwhelming majority. The Indonesian delegate explicitly raised the question of postponing the African-Asian summit conference. After heated argument, the meeting decided to discuss this question first.

### Meeting of Heads of Delegations

The two plenary sessions produced no result after much dispute. On the evening of October 31 a closed



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# Resolution Adopted by Arbitrarily Convened Afro-Asian Foreign Ministers' Meeting

November 2, 1965

**T**HE foreign ministers of the Afro-Asian conference meeting at Algiers between October 28 and November 2, 1965,

Having considered the report of the standing committee,

Endorsing the view expressed by the committee that it is beyond their terms of reference to make a decision on certain matters which cropped up during their deliberations, notably the motion for adjournment of the Second Afro-Asian Conference,

Regretting the absence of many invited countries and appreciating the advisability of further examining the question of participation on as wide and adequate a basis as possible,

Noting with satisfaction the praiseworthy efforts made by the Government and people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to bring the Second Afro-Asian Conference to a successful end,

Appreciating the satisfactory and faultless manner shown by the Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria in making the necessary physical and technical arrangements for holding the Second Afro-Asian Conference,

Satisfied that the Government and people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria have done all that they were required to do in the way of preparation and have consequently succeeded in providing the necessary material conditions for the holding of the conference,

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session of the heads of delegations was held instead. Described as a marathon meeting, it began at 18:30 hours and the dispute continued for more than eight hours until 2:45 the next day.

It was reported that 17 countries put forward a proposal at the meeting for the postponement of the summit conference. They were: Ethiopia, Mauritania, Mali, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Kuwait, Ghana, Somalia, the Sudan, Iraq, Syria, Gabon, Nigeria, Nepal, Ceylon, the Central African Republic and Libya.

It was reported that because the disputes over the questions whether or not the conference should be postponed and whether or not the Soviet Union, "Malaysia" and others should be allowed to participate in the conference reached a deadlock, a nine-nation sub-committee was formed to seek a compromise, upon a proposal made by the Moroccan delegate. The nine nations were Morocco, Ethiopia, Mali, the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Nigeria, India, Ceylon and Indonesia.

At the meeting of the heads of delegations, many countries called for a postponement of the African-

Recognizing that in view of the inter-relations between the members of the Afro-Asian world, the existence of serious conflicts in some parts thereof is bound to affect the atmosphere of the Second Afro-Asian Conference,

Noting that, under present circumstances, many heads of state and government are not likely to attend the conference,

Have therefore come to the conclusion that the present time is not congenial for the holding of the Second Afro-Asian Conference,

And have accordingly resolved as follows:

First, that the Second Afro-Asian Summit Conference be now postponed to be reconvened in Algiers at a date to be fixed later,

Secondly, that the standing committee continue to be charged with the task of making the necessary preparations for the holding of the Second Afro-Asian Conference in consultation with the host country and other member states,

Thirdly, to appeal to all Afro-Asian countries to exert every effort in order to create the necessary conditions for the successful holding of the Second Afro-Asian Conference,

Fourthly, to express their gratitude and appreciation for the warm hospitality and the efficient arrangements made by the Government and people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria for the holding of this ministerial meeting.

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Asian summit conference for an indefinite period until conditions become more favourable for the holding of the conference. Only a handful of countries obdurately maintained that the conference should be held as scheduled. But, as AP reported on October 31, the number of such countries was "small and diminishing." Delegates of these countries said themselves that **Washington's backstage directions had put them on the spot.** The same AP report said: "Some delegates in this group said they were embarrassed by an ill-concealed American diplomatic effort in some capitals to whip up support for the summit at the last moment."

The question of wider participation in the conference was a key issue which provoked a heated quarrel at the meeting of the heads of delegations. India insisted on thrusting the Soviet Union and "Malaysia" into the African-Asian conference, while some other countries continued to press for the admission of the puppet regimes in south Korea and south Viet Nam to the conference. Both met with opposition from many countries. Then there were conflicts among those countries them-

selves which wanted to get the Soviet Union, "Malaysia" and the puppet regimes into the conference. The quarrel went on back and forth, and **India did not succeed in its scheme — a result most irritating to the Indian delegation.** A leading member of the Indian delegation who attended the meeting said later that his delegation was "disappointed and surprised about the whole thing."

Thus the meeting which began at 18:30 on October 31 dragged on till the early morning of November 1. It had to be adjourned, for those at the meeting had then to attend the ceremony celebrating the 11th anniversary of the Algerian revolution at eight on the morning of November 1.

The heads of the delegations met again at five that afternoon and discussed the draft resolution for the adjournment of the African-Asian summit conference.

By the end of the dispute at the meeting, only India, Tunisia and two or three other countries insisted on writing into the resolution that the Soviet Union and "Malaysia" should take part in the conference, while more than 30 other countries opposed it.

#### **The Last Closed Session**

The last and closed plenary session took place at 23:00 on November 1. It was learnt that the session

discussed the final draft resolution. By that time, the general opinion of the overwhelming majority was that the Second African-Asian Summit Conference must be postponed. **However, stubbornly resisting this opinion, the Indian delegate, C.S. Jha, continued his unending haggling to get the Soviet Union into the African-Asian conference. He pressed for writing into the resolution of the meeting that the Soviet Union participate in a future African-Asian conference. In addition, he called for a new standing committee in preparation for the African-Asian conference with its members elected from the delegates who attended the meeting, thus barring China from it. His unjustifiable suggestion aimed at undermining Afro-Asian solidarity was rejected.**

At this session, the Philippine delegate Lopez made another effort to thrust the Soviet Union, "Malaysia," south Korea and south Viet Nam into the conference. But his attempt fared no better than Jha's.

The closed session then passed the resolution.

This was followed by a short closing ceremony at which the secretary-general of the meeting read out the approved resolution. Chairman Bouteflika delivered a closing address and the session ended at 01:10 on November 2.

## **Indian Schemes to Sabotage Afro-Asian Solidarity Against Imperialism Fail**

**At the arbitrarily convened African-Asian foreign ministers' meeting in Algiers, the Indian delegation tried to seize the leadership and dictate the course of the conference. It demanded Soviet and "Malaysian" participation in the conference and the convocation of the African-Asian summit conference as originally scheduled. All these schemes failed. New Delhi was embittered by the conference's postponement and acknowledged that this was a diplomatic set-back for India.**

**A**T the Algiers meeting the Indian authorities were thoroughly exposed as plotters opposed to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism.

For a long time, the Indian Government had tried by every conceivable means to obstruct the holding of the Second African-Asian Conference. The Indian weekly *Mainstream* on May 8 said that Indian foreign ministry personnel held that India should "stay away" from the Algiers conference. The *Calcutta Statesman* has also said outright that India never wanted another African-Asian conference.

However, with the appearance of some complicated factors in Africa and Asia unfavourable to the holding of the African-Asian conference and some divergences among the African-Asian countries which could not be settled for the time being, the Indian Government sud-

denly changed its attitude and pressed for the convening of the conference as scheduled. The Indian authorities became particularly active after some countries, including China, Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Pakistan, Tanzania, Guinea and the Congo (B), which resolutely uphold solidarity against imperialism, had stood for the postponement of the Second African-Asian Conference.

#### **Indian Attempt to Use the Conference**

The Indian press disclosed that the Indian authorities had intended to make use of the conference to render a big service to U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism and conduct anti-China agitations. "Now the chances of converting it [the conference] into an anti-U.S. rally are dimmer than before," said the *Times of India* in its editorial of October 19 and urged

that the African-Asian countries should "act in concert" inside the U.S.-controlled United Nations. The *Indian Express* said on October 22: "In co-operation with Moscow, New Delhi could play a useful and significant role at this gathering."

"India now holds a strong hand. The campaign against the U.N., froth over anti-colonialism and controversy over nuclear weapons will, if they come up, provide India with trumps to ruff Chinese aces with... India has a splendid opportunity to encompass Peking's total rout," said an INFA (Indian News and Feature Alliance News Agency) October 27 dispatch from Algiers which was carried by several Indian papers.

The *Statesman* disclosed on October 28 that the Indian authorities would fight for leadership at the conference, so as to lead astray the cause of African-Asian solidarity against imperialism. It announced that India would play a "leading" role at the conference, that India was prepared not merely "to set an example but to give a lead" to African-Asian countries.

The Indian delegate hatched a series of intrigues in the course of the arbitrarily held African-Asian foreign ministers' meeting. As noted by Indian papers, India played its "trump cards" one after another in its attempt to "lead" the conference towards the path it desired.

### India Plays Its "Trumps" and Loses

At the very beginning, the Indian delegation led by C.S. Jha, Foreign Secretary of the External Affairs Ministry, played its first "trump card" by demanding that the non-African-Asian country, the Soviet Union, and the neo-colonialist product, "Malaysia," be allowed to attend the conference. Together with the delegations of a number of other countries, Jha called for the convening of the African-Asian summit conference on November 5 as scheduled to enable India to carry out its manoeuvres. Then, he went on to ask the meeting to give priority to the discussion of his motion to expand the membership. When he found that his scheme to hold the African-Asian summit conference on November 5 could not be realized he changed his tactics and attempted to turn this arbitrarily convened foreign ministers' meeting into "a Second Bandung Conference" so as to substitute it for the summit conference. When he realized that the scheme for holding such a conference too would not work, he laid down his last "two trumps" at the final closed session — that a clause for the participation of the Soviet Union at a future African-Asian conference be included in the final resolution and that a new standing committee for the preparation of the conference be set up.

However, all these activities of India were frustrated one by one and all its "trump cards" with which it intended to ruff others were lost.

While the Indian delegation was keeping itself busy both within and without the meeting hall, it had the fervent support of the United States. A U.S. news agency reported that the United States made "ill-concealed" efforts in the capitals of some African-Asian

countries "to whip up support for the summit at the last moment."

However, the delegations of most African-Asian countries rejected this unreasonable demand on which the Indian delegate insisted till the last minute. The Indian press acknowledged the fact that the Indian delegate was isolated and helpless at the meeting. The *Statesman* carried on November 1 a dispatch from Algiers saying, "At the end of this morning's session [October 31], the Algerian chairman once again overrode the Indian objections and decided to give priority to the new Indonesian proposal that the question whether or not the Afro-Asian conference should be held at all should be discussed first. . . . During the morning session many more delegations came out in favour of a postponement. Only Morocco and Nigeria supported India." The dispatch added that in a strongly worded intervention, C.S. Jha said that there was no escape from the question of membership. But his appeal was ignored by most delegations.

### Rebuffed, New Delhi Is Embittered

In the course of the meeting the Indian delegate became enraged as his absurd views were repeatedly rejected by many countries. He "was obviously roused by the moves made by a number of countries to have the conference adjourned before it can decide the question of the Soviet admission," said an Algiers dispatch carried by the *Indian Express* on November 1. The dispatch added, "India was bitterly fighting the hostile and dangerous move to scuttle the question of admission of the Soviet Union to the Afro-Asian conference by having the conference postponed." India protested at the October 31 meeting that "the Afro-Asian foreign ministers' conference in Algiers was sliding towards a decision to postpone the Afro-Asian 'summit' scheduled for November 5," said an AFP report from Algiers on October 31. Indian delegate Jha insisted that India's proposal for admitting the U.S.S.R., "Malaysia" and Singapore to the conference must not be "shelved."

The delegates of many African-Asian countries mocked at the position India took. An Algiers dispatch carried by the Indian paper *Statesman* on October 31 said that the other delegations drew attention to the fact that India itself failed to send its foreign minister to the meeting. With a "sense of humour" they said that "India has been pressing for a foreign ministers' meeting when its foreign minister isn't attending."

India was upset by its failure. AFP reported from Algiers yesterday that a member of the Indian delegation said that his delegation was "disappointed and surprised about the whole thing."

The Indian delegate Jha described the decision to postpone the summit meeting as "a bit of a blow," UPI reported on November 2. He said that India had to agree "with a certain degree of disappointment and regret."

"In New Delhi, the postponement was greeted with bitterness and seen as a diplomatic set-back for India," said AFP in another dispatch.

# Resolutely Uphold Afro-Asian Solidarity, Oppose Creating an Afro-Asian Split

**V**IOLATING the principle of reaching a consensus through consultation, the Algerian representative, chairman of the standing committee in preparation for the Second African-Asian Conference, illegally announced that the conference would be held as scheduled, thereby creating a serious division among the Afro-Asian countries. To resolutely uphold Afro-Asian unity and oppose creating a split among the Afro-Asian countries, the Chinese Government had to make the solemn declaration that it would not attend the conference starting on October 28.

The forcibly convened foreign ministers' meeting in preparation for the Afro-Asian conference of heads of state or government is now going to open in Algiers. At this crucial moment when the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism is seriously threatened, we wish once again to appeal to all countries treasuring Afro-Asian unity to make a joint effort to safeguard the Bandung spirit, immediately end this divisive activity undermining Afro-Asian unity and postpone the Second African-Asian Conference.

In advocating the postponement of the African-Asian conference, China was motivated by the vital interests of the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism. At the standing committee sessions, the Chinese representative cogently explained the reasons why the conference should be postponed. We repeatedly explained that complicated factors existed which would make it disadvantageous to convene the conference at the present time. For example, the conference, above all, must condemn imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism led by the United States, and in particular U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam; it should cancel the illegal invitation to United Nations Secretary-General U Thant; it must not allow the Soviet Union, which is neither an African nor an Asian country, to thrust itself into the conference; it must not invite non-African-Asian countries to the conference as observers, and it must reject the participation of any of the imperialist-dominated puppet countries. On this series of important questions there are differences among the Asian and African countries which cannot be settled for the time being. Furthermore, new tensions and conflicts have occurred between certain Afro-Asian countries. In these circumstances, the conference will definitely not be a success. **A forcibly convened conference will only give rise to disputes right from the beginning of the foreign ministers' preparatory meeting and lead to a split detrimental to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism.**

The Chinese Government's views in favour of postponing the conference have won the support and sympathy of Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Pakistan, Tanzania, Guinea and other countries. Of the 15 countries on the standing committee, five clearly stated their position at committee sessions in favour of postponement of the conference. This is by no means a small matter, still less is it a position maintained by China alone. However, knowing well that serious differences existed among the Afro-Asian countries, that a number of representative Afro-Asian countries called for postponement and still more others sympathized with this view, the representative of the host country unjustifiably rejected the postponement proposal put forward by China and Cambodia and supported by other Afro-Asian countries, and peremptorily insisted on convening the conference as scheduled. The Chinese representative had made every possible effort to save Afro-Asian solidarity. At the last session of the standing committee, he proposed that a special foreign ministers' meeting be called to discuss exclusively the question of postponement. But even this proposal was rejected. According to them, it seems that the question of postponement cannot be discussed at the standing committee session, nor can it be discussed at a special foreign ministers' meeting. The Second African-Asian Conference must be convened! This attitude of the host country is shocking. It is well known that it was precisely because of Algeria that the standing committee had twice reached unanimous agreement on the postponement of the Second African-Asian Conference. But now when some other countries propose a postponement at the standing committee, they become unpardonable. In June this year, although the foreign ministers and representatives of more than 30 countries had arrived in Algeria and even at the meeting hall of the Club des Pins on time, the standing committee, with a view to making a decision to postpone the conference, met and reached unanimous agreement without holding any foreign ministers' meeting. But on this occasion, before the date set for the foreign ministers' meeting was due and even before the arrival of the foreign ministers, the chairman of the standing committee peremptorily ruled that the conference must be held as scheduled without so much as letting the standing committee continue consultations on the question of postponement and without permitting the convening of a special meeting of foreign

ministers to discuss exclusively the question of postponement. How can people accept this?

**It must be pointed out that such a crude violation by the host country for the Second African-Asian Conference of the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation cannot but bring very serious consequences.** To reach a consensus through consultation on the basis of solidarity against imperialism is a glorious tradition of the African-Asian conference and a component part of the Bandung spirit. Frankly, if this principle had not been followed, the First Asian-African Conference could not possibly have made such great achievements as it did, nor could the Djakarta meeting of foreign ministers preparing for the Second African-Asian Conference have yielded such positive results as it did. As a matter of fact, it was in line with this principle that the standing committee in Algiers twice decided to postpone the Second African-Asian Conference. **It can be said that without this principle there would not have been any African-Asian conference, and that violation of this principle means sabotaging the African-Asian conference.**

Why is it that the principle of achieving a consensus through consultation can and should be followed among the Asian and African countries? This principle should be followed because we Asian and African countries are all equal and sovereign states and no country should consider itself superior to others and impose its own will on them. No matter whether it is the majority that imposes its will on the minority or vice versa and no matter whether it is the big nations that impose their will on the small ones or vice versa, this should not be allowed to happen. This principle can be followed because we Asian and African countries have all been subjected to imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression and because opposition to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is the common desire of the hundreds of millions of people of Asia and Africa. Regardless of what serious differences may arise between us for a time, **provided we treasure our solidarity against imperialism, we shall eventually be able to reach unanimity after patient consultation and with the lapse of time.**

**By forcibly deciding to convene the African-Asian conference as scheduled, Algeria has set a bad precedent for violating the principle of reaching a consensus through consultation and imposing its will on others. In fact, this is the application of the voting machine method used in the United Nations to the handling of relations among the Asian and African countries. If this precedent stands, endless trouble will follow.** Thus, if certain countries manage to pull together enough votes at the African-Asian conference, will they not be able to make any decisions they wish, detrimental to the principled stand which other countries can never give up? Will they not be able to substitute realization of the so-called "unconditional discussions" in Viet Nam for a condemnation of U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam and a demand for the withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from Viet Nam, to hook up the African-Asian conference to the United

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## China Will Not Trade in Principles

Dispatches of Western news agencies from Algiers on October 30 said that China would agree to participate in the African-Asian summit conference provided that it was postponed for three months and that the Soviet Union was not invited.

The Hsinhua News Agency is authorized to state that the above story is an out-and-out fabrication. At no time will the Chinese Government trade in principles.

*(Hsinhua, October 31, 1965.)*

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Nations through the invitation to Secretary-General U Thant, to let the Soviet Union, a non-African-Asian country, take part in the conference, to invite non-African-Asian countries as observers, etc? Thus, if certain countries manage to pull together a majority through their relations with other countries, will they not be able to make any decisions they wish, detrimental to the interests of some other countries? Will they not be able to impose on Indonesia a decision to admit "Malaysia," a product of neo-colonialism, to the conference, to impose on many African countries a decision to admit the puppet regime of the Congo (L), and even impose on the Arab nations a decision demanding the recognition of Israel? If this method of turning on the voting machine is allowed to replace the principle of reaching a consensus through consultation, then what guarantee will there be for the sovereignty and interests of the Asian and African countries? In such circumstances, each sovereign country participating in the African-Asian conference would feel itself imperilled, and what Afro-Asian solidarity and the Bandung spirit can there be to speak of?

Clearly, it is Algeria, the host country for the Second African-Asian Conference and chairman of the standing committee, that has crudely violated the principle of achieving a consensus through consultation and forcibly convened the conference, thus splitting Afro-Asian solidarity. Yet, Algeria has tried to shift the blame on to China, making out as if China, a big nation, were trying to impose its will on a small country like Algeria. The Algeria Press Service wrote: "Can one say that in the great Afro-Asian family, the point of view of one country should prevail or be forced on the others simply because it is more powerful?" Algerian friends, such a statement is untrue. You know quite well that many other Asian and African countries besides China advocate putting off the conference, and some of them advocated the postponement long ago; and you simply do not take them into account. In our view, this is where the problem lies. On the other hand, China does not want to impose its views on others. All we said was: in consulting with all the others, we held the view that the present moment is unfavourable to the holding of the conference, and it

should be postponed. Those who agree can say yes; those who don't can say no. There is no question at all of imposing one's will on others. In consulting with our Algerian friends, we expressed the view that a consensus should be achieved through consultation, and no ruling should be made. That is also not imposing one's will on others. You insisted on forcibly convening the Second African-Asian Conference according to your own ruling. We told you that this was not good, the conference would get into endless disputes at the very beginning and faced the danger of leading to a split. But you would not listen. All right, you may convene the conference, but we won't attend a conference which is bound to lead to a split. This is not imposing one's will on others either. If the present issue were one that concerned China alone, we need not have spent so much time in appealing for a postponement. Has not the United Nations excluded China for more than ten years? But we carry on as usual and live much better day after day. **The present question is an important one affecting Afro-Asian solidarity and the common cause of the more than 2,000 million Afro-Asian people against imperialism. We should respect one another, consult each other fully, endeavour to reach a consensus through consultation, and sometimes we have to wait till the time is ripe. An indefinite postponement of the conference has therefore become a question that calls for a most urgent solution by us Afro-Asian countries at present.**

Now, Afro-Asian solidarity is at the critical juncture of facing a split. The question of whether Afro-Asian solidarity is to be maintained and the Bandung spirit upheld is one that seriously confronts every country in Asia and Africa. We know that many countries have to weigh a lot of considerations on the question of whether the African-Asian conference should be postponed. Many countries realize that this is a complicated question and that the time now is unfavourable for the holding of the conference; they are also aware that the Asian-African countries cannot reach agreement at present on the various kinds of differences and

that it is better not to convene the conference than to convene it only to embroil the participants in quarrels and lead to a split. **In particular, serious consideration should be given to the fact that U.S. imperialism and its agents, who have always obstructed the holding of the African-Asian conference in the past, are now showing a keen interest in its being held as scheduled, and have "quietly advised" certain countries in Asia and Africa to insist on holding the conference on the date set. Obviously, U.S. imperialism and its agents aim at stirring up dissension within the great Afro-Asian family and pushing the Afro-Asian countries into fierce quarrels and deep splits. We sincerely hope that none of the Afro-Asian countries will fall into this trap of U.S. imperialism. We sincerely hope that all the countries in Asia and Africa will resolutely postpone the Second African-Asian Conference so as to defend Afro-Asian solidarity and oppose an Afro-Asian split. It is not too late to do so even now.**

It is the sacred duty of all Afro-Asian countries to safeguard Afro-Asian solidarity and develop the Bandung spirit. As a member of this big Afro-Asian family, China has always regarded the common interest of Afro-Asian unity against imperialism as an unalterable principle. We will persist in doing anything that benefits Afro-Asian unity against imperialism and will never do anything which will harm it. On this question of principle, we are firm and unshakable. No matter what happens, China will never attend a conference which will lead to a split among the Afro-Asian countries and will never follow U.S. imperialism in splitting Afro-Asian solidarity. It is the common wish of the millions upon millions of people of Africa and Asia to prevent a split among the Afro-Asian countries and safeguard Afro-Asian solidarity. Together with friendly Afro-Asian countries and the masses of the people of Asia and Africa, the Chinese Government and people will continue to hold high the banner of Bandung and strive jointly for the great cause of unity of the Afro-Asian people against imperialism.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, October 29.)*

## THE WEEK

*(Continued from p. 3.)*

nien and other Chinese leaders attended.

Extending his congratulations to the Algerian Government and people, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "There is a deep militant friendship between the Chinese and Algerian peoples. The Chinese Government and people are prepared to work together with the Algerian Government and people for the great cause of Afro-Asian unity against

imperialism and for the further growth and consolidation of friendly relations between our two countries."

The Vice-Premier denounced U.S. imperialism for carrying out aggression, interference, subversion and sabotage wherever possible. He said: "The anti-imperialist struggles of the people of the world form an integral whole. The fight against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war is a fundamental question affecting the destiny of mankind. We must never make concessions or retreat; we must carry on the fight resolutely."

## Soviet Army Ensemble Performs In Peking

The Soviet Army Red Flag Song and Dance Ensemble arrived in Peking from Tientsin and gave its first performance in the capital at the Tienchiao Theatre on November 1. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among those who attended.

The Soviet artists' premiere in Peking delighted the audience. When they performed songs and dances

*(Continued on p. 31.)*



# Call for Postponement of African-Asian Conference

**O**FFICIAL and press opinion in many Asian and African countries has called for the postponement of the African-Asian conference, pointing out that its convocation at the present juncture could only damage Asian-African solidarity and the anti-imperialist cause.

On October 27, Premier Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in a letter of reply to Premier Chou En-lai supporting China's proposal that the conference be postponed, stated: "We consider that a conference convened under the prevailing complex situation will find it difficult to fulfil its historical mission of strengthening the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle and Asian-African solidarity. Therefore, we deem it preferable to hold the Second African-Asian Conference at such a time as will yield the most fruitful results."

A Korean Democratic People's Republic government statement on the same day declared: "The Second African-Asian Conference must necessarily be a conference of strengthening solidarity and co-operation. Or else, the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic will not send its delegate to the foreign ministers' meeting of the Second African-Asian Conference."

Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, in his October 29 letter of reply to Premier Chou En-lai, reiterated his country's stand that the African-Asian conference should be postponed. He declared: "Our Government, like the Government of the People's Republic of China, sees that the current situation is not favourable to the holding of the conference and the achievement of the lofty aims proposed for it. On October 22, 1965, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam informed the Government of the Algerian Democratic People's Republic of the stand of our Government that the Second African-Asian Conference be postponed. . . . If the Second African-Asian Conference is convened in violation of the Bandung principle of achieving a consensus of opinion through consultation and to the detriment of the unity and co-operation of the Afro-Asian countries against imperialism, our Government will not take part."

In Africa, President Nyerere of Tanzania told the press in Dar-es-Salaam on October 29 that the African-Asian conference "should be postponed until conditions are better." "If you think of the Bandung Conference and its impact ten years ago, and if you really want another Bandung Conference and the same kind of impact the Bandung Conference had, then the circumstances are unfavourable," he said. If the Second Afro-Asian Conference was held under the present

circumstances, he went on, it would not be a solidarity conference at all, but a quarrelling conference which was exactly the opposite of Bandung. He pointed out that those countries which formerly had thought the conference was no good now thought the opposite. These countries would attend the conference, not for the sake of the conference, but as a move against China. If this was done, it would not be good.

In Conakry, President Sekou Toure of Guinea reiterated that his government would not send representatives to the conference scheduled in Algiers. He noted that many other African countries were not willing to attend the foreign ministers' and summit conferences as originally scheduled.

In Bamako, Mali, the National Political Bureau of the ruling Sudanese Union Party called for postponement of the conference. In a communique released on October 28 after a special session, it declared: "The present situation makes it necessary to put off this conference till a more favourable time." Noting that to hold the conference on November 5, 1965, as scheduled would result in the weakening of the solidarity of the Afro-Asian people, it said the Mali Republic would abstain from the conference if conditions were not favourable.

In Brazzaville, Congolese (B) President Massamba-Debat declared that under the present circumstances the Second African-Asian Conference should not be held. As the situation stood, he said, "the Congo deems it absolutely inappropriate to foster a split of the Afro-Asian group, or if one wishes to say so, failure, for the conference will not achieve the expected success."

In Phnom Penh, the official Agence Khmere de Presse reported that Cambodia would not attend. Under the present circumstances, the conference would only cause tension and dissension and benefit the imperialists. A commentary published on October 30 said: "The absence of China and a number of other countries with an unequivocal anti-imperialist stand has taken away from the conference its real significance in advance." The *Phnom Penh Presse*, expressing support for China's call for postponement, said: "The Chinese decision, being just, has produced great influence and many countries have followed the Chinese example."

Elsewhere in Asia and Africa, newspapers and radio stations which reflect the great hopes of the people of the two continents that the conference be a success and truly serve as a rallying point against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialist aggression, have come out in support of the demand to put the conference off until a more opportune time.

# Chou En-lai Sends Letter to Bertrand Russell

**P**REMIER Chou En-lai sent a letter on October 22 to noted British philosopher Bertrand Russell, praising his valiant spirit of opposing U.S. aggression and supporting his noble efforts for the cause of international peace and justice.

The letter reads:

"I was very glad to read in the papers the speech you made in London on October 14 exposing and condemning U.S. imperialism for its criminal aggression in Viet Nam and other parts of the world. Prior to this, I had received your letters to me on the Viet Nam situation. At a time when U.S. imperialism is frenziedly expanding its war of aggression against Viet Nam and trying further to spread the flames of its aggressive war to the whole of Southeast Asia, **the Chinese people are deeply moved by your action in stepping forth and speaking out for justice at the advanced age of over 90, demonstrating your valiant spirit of opposing U.S. aggression and fearing no brute force.**

"Just as you have pointed out, **any honest observer of the world scene, conversant with the facts, must come to the conclusion that the chief threat to world peace is U.S. imperialism.** In your recent speeches and articles, you raised your voice against U.S. imperialism, denounced its criminal aggression against Viet Nam as equalling that of Hitler in cruelty, and correctly pointed out that the Americans had no vestige or shred of right to take any part in the affairs of Viet Nam; you also strongly censured U.S. imperialist aggression in the Congo (L), the Dominican Republic and other places, and called upon the American people to rise and oppose the policies of the Johnson Administration. Your just and powerful voice reflects the firm will of the British people and the people throughout the world against

wars of aggression and in defence of world peace. **The Chinese people highly appraise, deeply sympathize with and support your noble efforts for the cause of international peace and justice.**

"In your speech, you sternly criticized the British Labour government's subservience to the United States in its aggression. Indeed, **the British Labour government is playing the most unseemly role of a subservient follower and supporter of the U.S. policies of aggression and war** on all questions concerning Viet Nam or other parts of Asia. Lately the British Government has gone further and offered Hongkong as a base for U.S. war operations in its aggression against Viet Nam and its future aggression against China, thus still more deeply involving Britain in the whirlpool of U.S. adventures of aggression and war. This policy of the Labour government runs directly counter to the wishes of the broad masses of the British people.

"Respected Lord Russell, the struggle against U.S. imperialism is at present the key to the cause of the people of the world defending peace. Now, a mass movement of the people of the world, including the American people, against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Viet Nam is surging forward on a scale never known before, the ranks of the people against U.S. imperialism are becoming increasingly wide, and the U.S. aggressors are becoming more and more isolated. In the end, just punishment is bound to be meted out to U.S. imperialism, and victory is bound to come to the people of Viet Nam and the whole world. I wish you success in making new contributions to the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for world peace.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to wish you good health and long life."

## International Conference

# For Liquidation of Foreign Military Bases

- Delegates of more than 50 countries to the Djakarta conference condemn U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression.
- The Chinese delegate points out that the spearhead of struggle must be directed first of all against U.S. imperialism.
- The Indonesian Right-wing forces' attempts to obstruct and sabotage the conference were frustrated.

**A**N international conference for the liquidation of foreign military bases was held in Djakarta, capital of Indonesia, from October 17 to 20.

The conference was jointly sponsored by mass organizations of Indonesia.

Sudden and drastic political changes had taken place in Indonesia on the eve of the conference. In-

donesian Right-wing forces had tried in every way to obstruct and sabotage it. Nevertheless, the conference still materialized and achieved success, thanks to the unremitting struggle of the progressive forces of Indonesia and the joint efforts of the foreign delegates.

More than 200 delegates from 55 countries and regions of the five continents and delegates of four

international organizations attended. The Chinese delegation was led by Tang Ming-chao, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee.

The conference unanimously adopted a declaration strongly condemning U.S. imperialism, and resolutions supporting the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle of various peoples, condemning India's aggression and supporting the Kashmir people's right to self-determination.

**A**N atmosphere of terror prevailed both inside and outside the conference when it was in session. Fully armed soldiers constantly patrolled around the meeting hall. On its opening day, tanks and armoured cars were seen there with guns trained on the meeting hall and armed troops were posted on each floor of the hotels where the delegates were lodged. Police vans whined past the meeting hall time and again in search for progressives. Plain-clothes men were active inside the conference hall keeping a wary eye on the delegates as well as the working personnel. A number of Indonesian working personnel suddenly disappeared one after another when the conference was in session. It was later confirmed that they had been arrested. The foreign delegates could neither make telephone calls nor send out telegraph messages and had to stay in the hotels at night because of the curfew. All this aroused strong discontent and indignation from the delegates.

To bring the conference under their control and sabotage it, the Indonesian Right-wing forces raised the outrageous demand that the conference be indefinitely postponed and that the Indonesian organizing committee "purge" itself of progressive forces. On the last day of the conference, the Right-wing forces organized an anti-communist, anti-China "demonstration" by hooligans who, in the name of demonstrating in support of the conference, shouted such reactionary slogans as "Dissolve the Indonesian Communist Party!" and "Sever diplomatic relations with China!" They even ordered a group of hooligans to try to get into the conference hall to make trouble.

The progressive forces of Indonesia, however, were not intimidated by the forces of reaction. They persisted in their correct stand for unity against imperialism and categorically rejected the unjustifiable demand of the Right-wing forces to reorganize the organizing committee. They stood against the attempt to divert the conference from its common objective of opposing imperialism by bringing into it questions which were Indonesia's internal affairs. They held that the conference should discuss solely the liquidation of foreign military bases and opposition to imperialism headed by the United States. Defying brute force and braving all risks, they persistently carried on their work to ensure the progress of the conference and make it a success.

To ensure the success of the conference, the delegates of various countries, together with the Indonesian progressive forces, waged a struggle against the Indonesian Right-wing forces. As a first step, the delegates of China and many other countries raised a just demand

to the Indonesian side that it must guarantee that no Indonesian domestic issues should be involved in the proceedings of the conference and that no silent tribute should be paid to any Indonesian. The 58-member Japanese delegation in a written statement also declared in solemn terms that such things should never be allowed to happen.

The day before the opening of the conference a serious incident occurred in which a unit of the Indonesian armed forces attacked and searched the Commercial Counsellor's Office of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Indonesia and threatened and insulted Chinese diplomatic personnel. The Chinese delegation lodged strong protests with the conference chairman and the Indonesian authorities and demanded that effective measures be taken by the Indonesian authorities to ensure the safety of the delegates of China and other countries. As a demonstration of his protest, the head of the Chinese delegation refused to attend the opening ceremony of the conference.

Thanks to a series of actions of struggle as described above, the plot of the Right-wing forces was frustrated and the conference was able to open formally and proceed normally.

Madame Utami Suryadarma, Chairman of the Indonesian Organizing Committee for the International Conference for the Liquidation of Foreign Military Bases, made an opening speech on October 17. She said, "Foreign military bases, or imperialist military bases to be exact, are bases of imperialist aggression led by the American imperialists. They are a threat to freedom, national sovereignty and world peace."

The conference chairman, Arudji Kartawinata, denounced U.S. imperialism for its threats and aggression against the people of all countries in the world.

Indonesian President Sukarno delivered an address at the opening ceremony. He said that the purpose of setting up foreign military bases was "first, to maintain the domination of imperialism. Secondly, to contain us, and if necessary, to crush us. That is why our duty is to try to liquidate the foreign military bases."

The President denounced subversion and intervention by forces like the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency against various countries. He exposed the mental foreign bases established by imperialism everywhere which had brought catastrophe to the people of Indonesia and other countries.

**D**ELEGATES of more than 50 countries spoke at the plenary sessions. They denounced and exposed U.S. imperialism by name. They pointed out that U.S. imperialism was the biggest possessor of foreign military bases. The United States had set up more than 3,000 military bases in more than 90 countries and regions throughout the world. One million and several hundred thousand American troops were stationed in these bases which formed a global network. U.S. military bases were an important component part of the counter-revolutionary American global strategy. The spearhead of the struggle for the liquidation of foreign military

bases must first of all be directed against U.S. imperialism.

Many delegates cited facts to show that U.S. imperialism was making use of its military bases to inflict calamities upon their countries. They expressed their determination to adopt all forms of struggle including armed struggle to liquidate the military bases of imperialism headed by the United States and to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression.

Delegates of many countries pointed out in their speeches that revisionism advocated peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism, betrayed the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and became a new accomplice of U.S. imperialism in promoting the latter's policies of war and aggression. Therefore, while struggling against U.S. imperialism, it was also necessary for the people of all countries to wage an uncompromising struggle against the revisionists' capitulationist and divisive line.

**S**PEAKING at the October 18 session, Tang Ming-chao, leader of the Chinese delegation, emphasized that in the fight for the complete liquidation of foreign military bases, the spearhead of the struggle must first and foremost be directed against U.S. imperialism.

"Wherever there are U.S. military bases," he said, "you will find the national independence and sovereignty of that country being trampled upon, democracy and freedom being brutally repressed, and peace and security being seriously endangered. . . .

"The liquidation of U.S. military bases and the withdrawal of U.S. troops stationed on foreign soil is the unanimous demand of the people all over the world. The thunderous roar of 'Yankees, go home!' resounds throughout the five continents. . . .

"The United States has occupied by force our territory of Taiwan, encircled our country with numerous military bases and has been carrying out military provocations and threats of war against us unceasingly. Recently, the Johnson Administration has even made open threats of spreading the flames of war to China. We want to warn the U.S. imperialists: Should they dare to impose war on us, we are determined to fight them to the end. The 650 million Chinese people will rise up as one man, unequivocally shoulder the heavy burden of combating U.S. imperialism and contribute our share to the struggle to achieve final victory over this most vicious enemy of the people throughout the world."

He declared: "The U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war are the root cause of all the troubles of the world today. Therefore, the struggle against U.S. military bases must be closely linked up and coordinated with the struggle against U.S. acts of aggression and war. . . .

"Viet Nam is now the most important battleground in the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism. . . .

"The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation constitutes a great support to the people throughout the world in the struggle against imperialism. All those

who cherish peace and uphold justice should stand firmly on the side of the Vietnamese people. What arouses our indignation is the fact that there are some people who pay lip service to opposing U.S. aggression and who, at times, also give a little aid to the Vietnamese people, but who are actually trying to deceive the people and gain political capital for their dealings with U.S. imperialism. They are openly and covertly collaborating with U.S. imperialism to play up the so-called 'peace talks,' which are nothing but a swindle, in order to serve U.S. imperialism in its continued occupation of south Viet Nam."

He said: "The Chinese people resolutely support the just stand of the Vietnamese people against the 'peace talks' conspiracy and their determination to carry on the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation until final victory is attained. . . .

"The Chinese people firmly support the Indonesian people in their struggle to crush 'Malaysia' and firmly support the people of Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan in their struggle against 'Malaysia' and for national liberation. . . .

"The Chinese people resolutely support the Pakistan people in their struggle against Indian aggression, resolutely support the people of Kashmir in their just struggle for freedom and the right to self-determination."

**Tang Ming-chao roundly condemned U.S. imperialism for aiding and abetting the Indian aggressors through the instrumentality of the United Nations and for its attempt to have the United Nations meddle with the Viet Nam question for the furtherance of its aggressive purposes.**

He pointed out: "U.S. imperialism is the most insolent and vicious aggressor in the history of mankind. But, though outwardly formidable, it actually has many fatal weaknesses. . . .

"Today, the people of all countries are stronger than ever before. As long as the people are united, dare to struggle, and are good at using various forms of struggle, including that of people's war, to fight U.S. imperialism, they will certainly be able to defeat it."

Tang Ming-chao's speech was warmly applauded.

**O**N the strength of massive evidence, the delegate of the heroic South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation exposed the sanguinary crimes committed by U.S. imperialism in its aggression against south Viet Nam. He stressed that the people of south Viet Nam would never yield and would fight U.S. imperialism to the end. He denounced the U.S. "peace talks" swindle and demanded that the U.S. aggressive troops withdraw from south Viet Nam lock, stock, and barrel.

The delegate of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam exposed U.S. imperialism's outrageous acts of aggression in Viet Nam. He pointed out that for 11 years the United States had turned south Viet Nam into a huge military base, an important part of its network of bases in Southeast Asia and the Far East, in order to press ahead with its policies of war and aggression. He denounced the U.S. aggressors' "unconditional

discussions" hoax and their "peace talks" plot through the United Nations.

The delegate of the Korean Democratic People's Republic strongly denounced U.S. imperialism for master-minding the "Japan-ROK basic treaty" and attempting to reintroduce Japanese militarist forces into south Korea. He reiterated that U.S. imperialism must get out of south Korea and that it was necessary to let south and north Korea achieve complete unification without foreign intervention.

**T**HE Japanese delegate said that U.S. imperialism had turned Japan into its biggest military base in Asia, encroached upon Japan's independence and sovereignty and made use of Japan as an important base for its aggression against Viet Nam and other Asian countries. He expressed determination to fight to the end to smash the "Japan-ROK basic treaty," a treaty signed by the Japanese reactionaries in collusion with U.S. imperialism, and their plot to rig up a "Northeast Asia military alliance."

The Japanese delegate revealed that some persons plotted to impose on the people an erroneous line of unprincipled peaceful coexistence with imperialism, a line of compromise and co-operation with imperialism. Such plots would undoubtedly be condemned by history and be thoroughly discredited.

The delegate of Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk said that U.S. imperialism was the trouble-maker and the root cause of all misfortunes and crimes. The Cambodian people under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk were waging a firm struggle against imperialism and would never permit the establishment of any foreign military bases on its territory. They had rejected all U.S. military and economic aid and severed diplomatic relations with the United States.

The Pakistan delegate denounced the Indian reactionaries for collaborating with imperialism and neo-colonialism in pressing ahead with their expansionist and aggressive policy. He said that India had continuously encroached upon Pakistan territory since the signing of the Indo-Pakistan ceasefire agreement. He declared that Pakistan would withdraw from the United Nations if the latter failed to fulfil its promise. He thanked the peoples of China and other countries for their generous support for the Pakistan and Kashmir people's resistance to aggression.

The delegate of the Kashmir Revolutionary Council strongly denounced the Indian reactionaries for suppressing the Kashmir people's struggle for freedom. He reaffirmed the determination of the Kashmir people to achieve national self-determination.

The delegate from Tanzania pointed out that the military bases set up by the imperialists headed by the United States all over the world were part of their global strategy of aggression against the Asian, African and Latin American countries. The national-liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, especially the armed struggle, was a deadly blow to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Tanzanian delegate roundly criticized those who tried to whitewash and defend the U.S. imperialists.

The delegate from Guinea said that the U.S. military bases in the world undermined the security and happiness of the African and other peoples. The imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists would never give up aggression, he said.

The delegate from the Dominican Republic strongly condemned the U.S. imperialist armed intervention in the internal affairs of his country. He declared that his people would fight to the end for liberation. He sternly criticized those who advocated peaceful coexistence with imperialism, pointing out that this was a betrayal of the cause of liberation.

The New Zealand delegate said that U.S. imperialism was the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world and a colossus with feet of clay. In spite of all the efforts of the revisionists in its service, U.S. imperialism was inevitably heading towards its doom.

The famous British philosopher Bertrand Russell in a recorded speech sent to the conference expressed support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. He pointed out that U.S. imperialism was the main menace to world peace. It controlled more than half of the world's resources and was ruthlessly plundering the people of the world.

A congratulatory message from the well-known American writer Anna Louise Strong was read out at the conference. She wrote that ever more American people were rising to oppose the criminal policy of the U.S. Government. U.S. imperialism could be defeated.

Delegates from Ceylon, the Philippines, Australia, Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Malagasy, Guadeloupe, Chile, Panama, Cuba, British Guiana, Italy, France, and Sweden spoke at the conference. They exposed and denounced U.S. imperialism from different angles and expressed the desire to strengthen the struggle in their own countries for the liquidation of foreign military bases and the smashing of the policies of war and aggression pursued by imperialism headed by the United States.

**D**ELEGATES from all countries noted the absence throughout the conference of the Soviet Peace Committee which had been invited and promised to attend. In a congratulatory message to the conference, the Soviet Peace Committee went to the length of stressing the need to bring the struggle against foreign military bases within the orbit of their so-called disarmament. This was actually a move to push their capitulationist line. This message which was contrary to the will of the world's people to oppose imperialism was received coldly.

In face of the unity of the overwhelming majority of the delegates present at the conference and in the midst of severe condemnations of U.S. imperialism, the Indonesian Right-wing forces were utterly isolated. As a last resort, they tried to make use of the phrase "mental bases" — a phrase first used by President Sukarno to castigate imperialism in his speech at the conference — to attack the Indonesian progressive forces and serve the imperialists. This manoeuvre failed after a debate.

(Hsinhua News Agency)

# A Clumsy Forgery, a Foul Plot

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

COPIES of a magazine, *Revolution in Africa*, were distributed in some East African countries some time ago. This magazine is an out-and-out bogus publication. Putting on a "Marxist-Leninist" and "revolutionary" mask, it tries hard to distort and slander China's policy towards Africa, sow dissension between China and the African countries and sabotage the militant friendship between the Chinese and African peoples. It is most obvious that this is a despicable anti-China scheme painstakingly hatched by the imperialists and their agents.

The producers of this bogus magazine have racked their brains in using various kinds of camouflage. A Chinese photo is carried on the front cover. They falsely use the names of ten persons from different African political parties and claim that they have formed a so-called editorial board of the publication. They shamelessly declare that the Sudanese peace champion Ahmed Mohammed Kheir is the "editor." They also use the name of a former counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in the Congo (Brazzaville), Kan Mai, as the author of an article which totally distorts China's policy and stand towards Africa. They also lie that the office of the magazine is in Tirana, capital of Albania. The imperialist intelligence agencies think that by such a disguise the magazine can mislead the African peoples.

## A Contemptible Imperialist Attempt

However, the producers of the spurious magazine cannot bear the light of day. As is generally known, there is a periodical *African Revolution* in Algiers. But no magazine called *Revolution in Africa* has ever been published in Albania. A stern refutation to this effect has been made by the Albanian paper, *Zeri i Popullit*, and the Union of Journalists of Albania. The office of the bogus publication, *Revolution in Africa*, must be in an imperialist country and cannot be anywhere else. The truth has now been revealed even more clearly by the Sudanese peace champion A.M. Kheir, who the forgers alleged is the "editor" of the publication, in a statement which exposed the plot of the intelligence agencies of imperialism. He points out that the bogus publication is "a contemptible attempt by imperialists and their agents to create dissension and confusion; it deserves nothing but strong condemnation."

In fact, a careful study of the articles that appear will readily tell what kind of a publication it is. There are many "revolutionary" slogans in the articles. But they refrain from mentioning that the spearhead of the African revolution should be directed at imperial-

ism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, especially at U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the African peoples. On the contrary, the publication brings out some boundary questions left behind by history between African countries in an attempt to undermine their unity. It should be pointed out in particular that this fraudulent magazine says that Africa should issue a "call for socialist revolution" and that the present task of the African peoples is the "elimination of the bourgeois puppets who now masquerade as nationalist leaders." By quoting a remark of Chinese Premier Chou En-lai that "revolutionary prospects are excellent throughout the African continent," it hands out the lie that "China acknowledges its obligation to lead the revolutionary movements throughout Africa against the feudal rulers and the neo-colonialists who finance these lackeys." All this is a complete distortion and vilification of China's policy and stand towards Africa and is made with an extremely vicious motive.

## China's Policy Brooks No Distortion

China's Africa policy is a clear-cut one which brooks no misrepresentation. We have at no time said that the present task of Africa is "socialist revolution." This is not at all China's viewpoint and position. The Chinese Government and people have always held that the primary tasks of the African countries at present are to combat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, remove the vestiges of colonialism, uphold national independence and state sovereignty and develop the national economy. This is because imperialism has not perished and the struggle against imperialism and colonialism is far from being concluded. In Africa, countries which have already acquired independence are still faced with the threats of imperialist intervention, subversion and aggression. Some African countries are still subjected to the ruthless oppression and armed suppression by the racists and colonialists. Therefore, the first of the five principles guiding China's relations with African countries is to support the African peoples in their struggle to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence.

To combat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is not only the task of the African peoples but also the common task of the Chinese people and the peoples of Asia and Latin America. We are bound together by a common struggle and form an irresistible force which is pounding the rule of imperialism. This is what the imperialists fear most. Today, the revolutionary struggle of the African peoples against imperial-



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## A.M. Kheir Condemns Imperialists' Forged Publication to Slander China

In a statement dated October 19 issued in Peking, A.M. Kheir, Secretary of the Sudan Committee for Defence of National Independence and World Peace, strongly condemned the imperialists and their agents for forging a magazine called "Revolution in Africa" and calling him as "editor." Following is the text of the statement. — Ed.

**A** FORGED publication entitled *Revolution in Africa*, dated January-March 1965, carrying a number of articles and attributed to me as "editor" was widely circulated, particularly in East African countries. I would like to categorically state here that this publication is an out-and-out forgery and a contemptible attempt by imperialists and their agents to create dissension and confusion; it deserves nothing but strong condemnation.

This forged publication carries names of ten persons from different parties of Africa claiming that they are an "editorial board" in addition to my name as "editor." I would like to state here that no contact, direct or indirect, or discussion or any agreement at any time anywhere, among these persons was made on whether to bring out such a publication or not. I hope that once they learn of this forged publication, they would make their stand clear, strongly denounce it and absolve themselves.

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ism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is developing vigorously. It was precisely because of this that during his visit to Africa last year Chinese Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that revolutionary prospects were excellent throughout the African continent, and gave a very high appraisal of the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. He held that an Africa which had for centuries been carved up at will by imperialism was becoming an awakened, militant and advanced continent. But, China's viewpoint which corresponds to the objective situation and China's clear and above-board position are viciously assailed and distorted by the U.S. and British imperialists who allege that China wants to carry out "subversion" in Africa. The phoney *Revolution in Africa* is using exactly the same despicable imperialist methods.

It is the internal affair of each African country to decide what road to take and what political and social system to choose. It is something which the African peoples themselves alone can decide. Revolution cannot be exported. Revolution in any country stems from the demands of its own people and no foreign country can make it for them.

The fake publication carries a number of articles of a sinister nature with the aim of sowing dissension among certain African persons and African leaders in some countries on the one hand, while causing confusion among the African people in general on the other hand. The articles completely distort and openly vulgarize the concept of socialism, the position of African progressives and their approach to African problems. In addition they portray the People's Republic of China in the picture of a conspirator interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and plotting to subvert governments and regimes in Africa. Such a dirty attempt cannot under any circumstances elude the African people. dampen their vigilance or weaken their struggle against the common enemy of all the peoples of the world — imperialism, colonialism, neo- and old led by the U.S.A.

As for the attempt to use the name of the People's Republic of China in this forgery to disrupt the friendly relations between the Chinese people and the African people, we are fully confident that no imperialist plot or machination, overt or covert, will distort her image or lower her prestige before the eyes of the fighting African people.

I am confident that all clear-minded Africans will not fall victims to this imperialist plot; on the contrary, they will fight, expose and crush this sinister plot and history will absolve their correct stand.

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The Chinese Government has more than once stated that it supports the governments of African countries in following a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, holds that all countries should respect the sovereignty of African countries, and opposes aggression and intervention from any quarter. This viewpoint and stand of China is unequivocal and consistent and cannot be distorted. The article falsely attributed to Kan Mai in *Revolution in Africa* hurls all sorts of slanders against the Africans, saying that the leaders of African national-independence movements in their revolutionary struggles appeal "to primitive native fetishisms," resort to the "murder of thousands of people" and that the African workers and peasants are ignorant and backward. They, therefore, rely on China's "external assistance" for making "revolution." It even says that "future leaders" should be found among African students in China. This fake publication alleges that all these are China's points of view. This is most despicable. Frankly, these are the familiar tunes of the imperialists and are poles apart from the views of the Chinese Government and people. The imperialists treat the African peoples as an inferior race and call

them good-for-nothings. In the eyes of the imperialists, the African peoples are incapable of ruling their own countries and only personnel sent by the big powers can do so. This is a gross insult to the African countries and their peoples. In attempting to vilify China by such a bogus publication, the imperialist agents have in fact exposed their own ugly features.

### Imperialist Scheme Will Be Defeated

The circulation in Africa of *Revolution in Africa* is only a crude farce by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists after having suffered repeated set-backs on that continent. For fear of being exposed, the miserable "magazine" stopped publication right after the first issue. However, the imperialists have by no means ceased their dirty tricks. Of late, a pamphlet issued in the name of the "People's Front of East Africa" has been circulated by some people in East Africa. The tone of the pamphlet is exactly the same as *Revolution in Africa* and obviously originates from the same mould.

Official circles and the press in Tanzania and Kenya have exposed this bogus pamphlet, and pointed out that

the "object behind this intrigue is to discredit China" and "sow seeds of discord," and that the content of the pamphlet is "malicious and unfounded."

The African peoples are clear-sighted. They are quite capable of distinguishing genuine from pseudo- or counter-revolution, identifying all "revolutionary" liemongers and demagogues and dragging them out into broad daylight.

China has maintained relations of friendship and co-operation with many African countries. The Chinese people are the most faithful and reliable friends of the African peoples. In the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Chinese and African peoples are comrades-in-arms and brothers and have always supported and assisted each other. The great friendship between the Chinese and African peoples will prove invulnerable to the sowing of dissension and defamation by the imperialists. The conspiracies of the imperialists and their agents to cause an estrangement between China and African countries will be of no avail.

("Renmin Ribao," October 28.)

## Indonesian Rightists' Anti-Communist Outrages Condemned

**T**AKING advantage of the September 30 movement, the Indonesian Rightists have mounted wild attacks against the Indonesian Communist Party and other progressive forces. Their outrages have met with strong and widespread denunciation.

### U.S. Imperialism Has a Hand

The Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*, in a commentary on October 30, expressed the view that in their furious attempts to crush the Indonesian Communist Party, the Indonesian Right-wing forces wanted to undermine the country's independence and prevent the advance of its revolution, and the U.S. imperialists and the Khrushchov revisionists were the instigators and supporters of this plot. Earlier, on October 26, the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour passed a resolution, expressing support for the Indonesian Communist Party and strongly condemning the Indonesian reactionaries for their frantic anti-communist campaign.

A resolution adopted on October 25 by the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party pointed out that imperialism headed by the United States, the puppet "Malaysia," and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency — which specializes in the export of counter-revolution — were desperately redoubling their efforts in an attempt to destroy the heroic Communist Party

of Indonesia and the national united front — NASAKOM. This was part of the U.S. global counter-revolutionary strategy. In the resolution the Belgian Communist Party reaffirmed its complete solidarity with the great Communist Party of Indonesia and the glorious Indonesian revolution.

The *People's Voice* weekly, organ of the New Zealand Communist Party, in an October 13 commentary, wrote: "All indications point to the present situation in Indonesia being the outcome of plans by the country's Right-wing, pro-imperialist forces to establish a military dictatorship." "The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has undoubtedly had a hand in plotting the present moves to a Right-wing dictatorship," the journal said. Washington, it added, had long schemed to bring Indonesia's wealth under the control of the U.S. monopolies, the main obstacles to which has been the strength and activity of the P.K.I. "It is significant that a group from the anti-communist rally last Friday shouted pro-American slogans outside the U.S. Embassy in Djakarta."

The Korean paper *Rodong Shinmoon* in an October 27 editorial on the Indonesian situation commented: "To destroy the national unity of Indonesia by an anti-communist campaign is beneficial only to the imperialists. It is not for nothing that Washington and London

are now applauding and cheering the anti-communist campaign of the Indonesian Rightist elements."

### The Correct Stand of the P.K.I.

It was not accidental that the Indonesian Communist Party was made the target of ruthless attacks by the counter-revolutionaries, said *Zeri i Popullit*. The Party has always served the great cause of the liberation of the working class, peasants and the Indonesian people and stood in the van of the relentless struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress, and it has distinguished itself as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in the struggle against the Khrushchov and Tito revisionists, the paper stated. *Zeri i Popullit* added that the Indonesian Communist Party which had long historical experience in class and political struggle would fight courageously and stand the grave test victoriously.

"The Communists and people of Albania express their full solidarity with the heroic Indonesian Communist Party, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Indonesian people, and their unreserved support for its correct and principled position and its resolute struggle for the interests of the Indonesian people and against domestic reaction and the American imperialists," said the resolution by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour.

*Rodong Shinmoon* said that the Indonesian Communist Party with over 40 years of glorious history of struggle has consistently rendered devoted service to the interests of the working people of Indonesia and is a Party which enjoys, because of this service, the profound confidence and love of the broad masses.

*Akahata* wrote on October 17: "In the course of the drastic development in the domestic and external situation in the last few years, the Indonesian Communist Party has organized and led the peasants in the struggle for agrarian reform, which has a profound influence in the countryside. It has initiated a movement to confiscate American and British enterprises and ban American films. It has also become a motivating force behind the struggle against U.S. aggression in Viet Nam and to smash 'Malaysia,' the product of U.S. and British imperialism."

### The P.K.I. Will Weather the Storm

"Steeled against all forms of provocation and attacks and having grown into the biggest Party in the non-socialist world, the Indonesian Communist Party will weather all storms and lead the Indonesian revolution forward," *Akahata* commented.

"The Indonesian people, the Indonesian Communist Party and all the revolutionaries know, in this difficult moment, how to defeat the attacks of the reactionaries and to advance the cause of the Indonesian revolution," declared the resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour.

"Whatever the situation, it will not take the Indonesian Communists by surprise. They have never fallen victim to the illusions spread by the revisionists that the transition to socialism can be accomplished peacefully," said an October 6 commentary by the *People's Voice* weekly, organ of the New Zealand Communist Party.

## Social Science

# How to Appraise the History of Asia?

by LIU TA-NIEN\*

## I. Reactionary Bourgeois Scholars of the West Distort the History of Asia

ASIA is one of the cradles of the world's oldest civilizations. The Asian people have their honoured place among the people of the world. They have made outstanding contributions to the world's advanced cultures, both in ancient and modern times. Many of the winds of change in the modern world have swept out of Asia. Rich historical records and material remains furnish eloquent proof of the fact that Asian history has its brilliant and important place in the history of world civilization.

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But, it must be said that for quite a long time the history of Asia has not, in general, been appraised objectively. Reactionary bourgeois scholars of the West and their followers have in many ways wilfully distorted Asian history and minimized its importance. Up to the present time, one cannot discern any decisive change in this regard.

### Unscientific Attitude

The majority of Western historians still have an entirely unscientific attitude towards the history of Asia. They have no real interest at all in a true scientific appraisal of that history. From their writings, one finds it hard to get a real picture of many important Asian events, much less understand how history really develops.

**Histories of Asia, of the East and of the various Asian countries written by such Western bourgeois scholars usually propagandize two concepts. Firstly, that Asia has been "barbarous," "backward," "immoral" and "uncivilized" in all its ages. Secondly, that the progress and civilization of Asia in modern times have been favours generously bestowed on her by the West.** Deliberately distorting Chinese history in the U.S. White Paper of 1949, Dean Acheson, the former U.S. Secretary of State, wrote: "Then in the middle of the 19th century the heretofore impervious wall of Chinese isolation was breached by the West. These outsiders brought with them aggressiveness, the unparalleled development of Western technology, and a high order of culture which had not accompanied previous foreign incursions into China."<sup>1</sup>

That is how the Western bourgeois scholars generally approached Chinese history as well as the history of Asia. Did the West brutally invade Asia? This is not apparently what happened; the West "brought . . . a high order of culture" with it to bestow on Asia. The second concept is stressed in dealing with the modern history of Asia while the first concept is stressed in regard to both ancient and modern times. It would be unfair to say that such historical writings on Asia by venal bourgeois scholars of the West possess no striking features. These works invariably fling mud at the peoples of Asia and their culture, while doing their best to ignore or whitewash the innumerable crimes committed by imperialism in Asia. This is their most striking feature.

In the present paper, I propose to confine myself to modern Asian history. How shall we appraise it? We must analyse all problems in this field in accordance with the standpoint of historical materialism.

## **II. Two Aspects of Asia's Modern History**

**The modern history of Asia (18th century to the present time) records many events and struggles. But the main current of that history can be summed up in one sentence: This was a period of criminal activities by colonialist marauders and imperialists invading Asia and turning it into a colony or semi-colony and of struggles waged by the Asian people to oppose and expel these invaders and their lackeys. This is the central theme of the modern history of Asia.** All other struggles are inevitably subordinate to the struggle between these two opposites and their course of advance inevitably hinges on circumstances in that developing struggle.

Invaded and dominated by Western colonialism, Asia lived through a dark period of history. This lasted for more than a century.

<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of State, *United States Relations With China*, 1949, p. v.

Colonialism and imperialism changed the colours of the maps of vast areas of Asia. From westernmost Persia and Turkey, through Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India to Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines in South-east Asia and the countries of Indo-China, to China and Korea in the East—with the exception of Japan in the extreme East—these countries and nations with ancient cultures were successively turned into colonies or semi-colonies of Portugal, Spain, Holland, Britain, France, Russia, Germany and of the arrogant, present-day imperialism of the U.S.A. They were dismembered, their territories were cut away or annexed and their sovereign rights were seized by foreign hands. The final concentrated expression of the seizure of a nation's sovereignty by the imperialists is seen in the ruthless plundering of its material wealth.

Colonialist penetration and conquest in Asia, and the reducing of Asian countries to colonies and semi-colonies was accompanied by crimes and tyranny unprecedented in history. The rule of the colonialists and their lackeys is more ruthless and terroristic than that of ancient Rome. More than 100 million Asians were killed. Whole populations were wiped out. Magnificent palaces, temples and other structures, some of the finest in the world, were destroyed or reduced to ruins. Historical records and valuable works of art were put to the flames. Production stagnated or declined, industry and agriculture remained backward and social development was retarded.

In his 1834 report describing how the British machine-building industry had disrupted Indian social life, Lord Bentinck, the then British Governor-General of India, said that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton-weavers are bleaching the plains of India." And this admitted crime was only one of those, uncountable as the sands in the Ganges River, committed by the colonialists. What part of the vast lands of Asia is not littered with the bones of Asian people murdered in modern times by the colonialists?

This phase of the history of Asia stands out glaringly. It is wrong not to give an adequate exposure of it or to relate its true facts. It is impermissible to conceal or gloss it over.

### **Record of Anti-Colonialist Struggles**

However, this picture of darkness and decline is only part of the reality of modern and contemporary Asia. The whole picture of these times in Asia contains a record of magnificent and militant struggles of the oppressed. The Asian peoples are by no means standing on the flanks of the historical stage as unimportant actors, they are at the forefront or take the centre of the stage playing one of the leading roles in the drama of history. It is wrong to belittle this aspect of Asian history; it is all the more wrong to deny this aspect of Asian history.

**Modern Asia is, first of all, the most extensive battlefield in the anti-colonialist struggle being waged by the people of the world.**

The Asian people began their struggle against colonialism when Portugal, Spain and Holland first invaded Asia. The more ferocious became the subsequent attacks by the colonialists, the fiercer the people's resistance grew. The modern history of the various Asian countries is a lengthy chronicle of the people's struggles against colonialism. The insurrections of the people against foreign aggression and oppression and against feudal rule in their own countries have been almost continuous in the past centuries.

The struggles of the Asian peoples were formerly waged independently, but in the 19th century they began to be interlinked and one upsurge of the national-liberation struggle after another has followed. The first upsurge was in the middle of the 19th century. Among the large-scale struggles of that time were the Babist Revolt (1844-52) in Persia, the Taiping Revolution (1851-64) in China and the revolutionary uprising of the Indian people (1857-59). There was a succession of resistance movements in other parts of Asia. Marx at that time pointed out: "The revolt in the Anglo-Indian army has coincided with a general disaffection exhibited against English supremacy on the part of great Asiatic nations, the revolt of the Bengal army being, beyond doubt, intimately connected with the Persian and Chinese wars."<sup>2</sup>

At the end of the 19th century, a second upsurge of national-liberation struggles took place in Asia. The nationalist movement led by Malkom Khan (1890-91) in Persia, the revolt against the tobacco monopoly by the Persian people (1891), the people's uprisings in Assam and Manipur (1891) and the nationalist movement led by B.G. Tilak (1895-97) in India, the anti-French uprising led by Hoang Hoa Tham of Viet Nam (1891-98), the Dong Hak Party Uprising of Korea (1893-95), the resistance struggle of the people of the Ottoman Empire, the early Young Turkey Movement (after 1894), the Philippine revolution to overthrow Spanish rule (1896-98), the Chinese revolutionary movement led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (after 1895) and the Yi Ho Tuan Movement (known as the "Boxers" in the West) (1899-1901) — all these are major manifestations of this upsurge. The broad masses of the labouring people and the political forces of the bourgeoisie took part in these struggles. Their common characteristic was that their spearhead of struggle was directed against imperialism.

The year 1905 was followed by the third upsurge of the national-liberation struggle. The Persian revolution (1905-11), the anti-British struggle by the radical wing of the All-India National Congress (1905-08), the

Turkish revolution (1908-09) and the Chinese 1911 revolution to overthrow the Ching Dynasty (1911-12), all belong to this time. In commenting on the significance of this upsurge, Lenin said: "Hundreds of millions of the downtrodden and benighted have awakened from medieval stagnation to a new life and are rising to fight for elementary human rights and democracy."<sup>3</sup> This was described by him as "the awakening of Asia."

The anti-colonialist struggle of the Asian people at that time not only encompassed vast areas but drew unprecedented numbers of people into the battle. The struggle was extremely fierce, with one upsurge following another. That is why we say that modern Asia became the most extensive battlefield of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world. Africa and Latin America were also important battlefields of the world anti-imperialist struggle. The people's struggles in Egypt and the Sudan alarmed the imperialist world and voiced support for each other and were linked with the people's struggles in Asia because they all had a common aim.

Of course, many of those revolts, uprisings and revolutions were quickly crushed. But this does not in the least diminish their significance. **The frantic attacks launched against them by the colonialists and imperialists faced the Asian people with a question: whether or not to dare to fight and deal with and defeat the aggressors. The answer of the Asian people is: dare to fight and dare to make revolution; believe in the justice of your cause and be assured that your strength and wisdom will prevail over the aggressors.** The "authority" of the colonialists has been held in contempt, and the spirit of revolution has developed. Each struggle waged by the peoples has paved the way for their next struggle. The colonialists and imperialists turned Asia into a bastion of the colonial system and each struggle waged by the peoples has made another breach in the walls of that bastion, presaging its final and complete collapse. In their steadfast struggle, the masses of the people have become more awakened and grown stronger, while one by one the reactionary rulers are being driven off the stage of history. Thus, even if the people's struggles failed, the people have won in the final count. This is why these uprisings and revolutions have left their indelible mark on history.

## Two Main Currents in Modern Asia

Two major historical currents of the world meet together in modern Asia.

Since World War II, there have been great developments in the history of the people's revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These areas have become the focus of various types of contradictions in the world. Imperialist rule in these areas

<sup>2</sup>"The Revolt in the Indian Army," *The First Indian War and Independence 1857-59*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup>Lenin, "The Awakening of Asia," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Vol. 19, p. 86.

has steadily weakened and one after another great movements of the people's revolutionary struggles have emerged and developed vigorously. **The national democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America together with the international socialist revolutionary movement form the two major historical currents of the present-day world.**

With these two massive forces of world history come together in Asia, no force on earth can now prevent Asia from advancing with giant strides. Since World War II, more than 50 countries in Asia and Africa have declared their independence. In Asia, independence was declared by some ten countries, including Indonesia, India and Pakistan — countries with large territories and populations, which were subject to colonial rule for several centuries. Since World War II, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have embarked on the road of socialism. These are changes of epoch-making significance in the history of Asia as well as in the history of the world.

### **Significance of Chinese Revolution**

Among the changes which have taken place in Asia since World War II, the victory of the Chinese people in their democratic revolution and the start of the socialist era in Chinese history are historical events of the first magnitude. They have not only influenced Asia but have deeply influenced the whole world. The Chinese revolution has, in the first place, fundamentally changed the world's balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution, between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. The victory of the Chinese revolution delivered a crushing blow to imperialist domination. Yesterday's great rear of imperialism has been turned into a base area, into a forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle. Everything is turning into its opposite. China's area is approximately the same as that of Europe. China's population is larger than that of Europe. The forces of the world's revolutionary camp obviously exceed those of the world's counter-revolutionary camp.

In the second place, the victory of the Chinese democratic revolution and the advent of socialism in Chinese history have set a brilliant example for the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world. The victory of the Chinese people over imperialism and its lackeys and the founding of the People's Republic of China have greatly inspired the people of many colonial and semi-colonial countries in their struggle for national independence and the complete victory of their people's democratic revolution. The Russian October Socialist Revolution served as an example for revolution in the oppressor nations, that is, for revolution in the imperialist countries; while the Chinese revolution set an example for revolution in the oppressed nations, that is, the colonial or semi-colonial countries. In studying the changes in Asian history since

World War II, we need to make an adequate appraisal of the path as well as the influence of the Chinese revolution. For it is of significance for the whole world, far beyond the East or Asia.

While the Asian people are attacking the imperialists and carrying history forward, the imperialists and reactionaries are not sitting back with folded arms. Since World War II, far from abandoning colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the imperialists are hanging on wherever they can. In this regard, U.S. imperialism is the most cunning and desperate. In face of the powerful struggles of the people of the world, the U.S. and other imperialists and colonialists have been compelled to change some of the old methods of direct colonial rule and introduce the "new" methods of neo-colonialism. They foster puppet regimes and practise various subtler methods of colonial control; organize military blocs and build up military bases, and plunder the wealth of countries by means of economic "aid" and various other forms of economic "exploitation." They engage in "spiritual" infiltration and cultural aggression; organize subversion and engineer military coups d'etat; they engage in direct armed intervention and launch large-scale armed aggression. U.S. armed aggression against Korea and the current U.S. armed aggression against Viet Nam and Laos are only two of these examples.

**In brief, imperialism has not perished, the anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian people is not over. Asia has been and still is a stormy battlefield of the anti-imperialist struggle.**

The modern history of Asia today appears at once more complicated and simpler than ever before. On the one hand, it has witnessed the impact of the two great historical currents of the national democratic revolutionary movement and the international socialist revolutionary movement; on the other, it is seeing the death-bed struggles and desperate attacks put up by U.S. imperialism and all the old and new colonialists.

### **Focal Point of Struggle**

Asia has become a focal point of struggle in the present-day world. The struggle between the two opposed forces mentioned above, its development and outcome, has a bearing not only on the destiny of the Asian peoples but on the destiny of the peoples of the whole world. The modern history of Asia is by no means a local question but a question that concerns the immediate course of world history. In commenting on modern world history it is impossible to get to the heart of things if one avoids mention of the two above-mentioned historical currents. Similarly, in commenting on the modern history of Asia, if one avoids touching on the operation of the two big currents of history in this area, on the relentless struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, which affects the whole picture of world history, one will not be able to give an insight into the truth of things.



What conclusion is to be drawn from the above analysis? It is that since the invasion by Western colonialism, there actually exist two Asias, one is a dark and backward Asia under colonialist and imperialist rule, and the other is a great and militant Asia, making brilliant advances. They exist side by side, but stand sharply opposed to each other. There is little truth about this in the works of those reactionary Western bourgeois scholars. By exaggerating Asia's backwardness, they try to cover up and whitewash the unprecedented crimes and obscurantism of the rule of the colonialists and their lackeys in Asia; using the same methods, they have also tried to obliterate knowledge of the struggle of the Asian masses and to denigrate the people's role in carrying forward mankind's history. The dark things in the history of Asia have been masked and falsified by them; the bright things have been obscured by them.

Now, with the fabrications and distortions exposed, the history of Asia presented to us is one which encompasses not only enslavement, darkness and humiliation on the one hand, but struggle, and great and brilliant advances on the other. The veil has been torn off and the true features of history are being revealed. As time goes on the opposing forces and the trends of development of the two Asias will be revealed more clearly.

In this short review I cannot deal with the outstanding contributions made by the Asian people in the cultural and spiritual fields, and the fact that the feudal society of the Asian states was itself pregnant with the embryo of capitalism and that even without invasion by Western capitalism, they would have gradually developed into capitalist societies.

### III. Colonialism's Western Centred History

Reactionary Western bourgeois scholars invariably refuse to admit that history other than that of Europe — to which North America is now added — has much importance in the history of world civilization. The golden rule followed by such Western bourgeois historical science is that history must be centred on Europe or West Europe. This "theory" is rotten to the core, but it is still being spread and still enjoys a certain audience.

Take the following lines from *Modern History* by two American authors for example. "From the time of the ancient Greeks and Romans down to the present day, the leading roles in the drama of human history have been taken by the white men of Europe. It was in Europe, the smallest of all the five continents, that what we call modern civilization arose; that the common people first dared wrest the sceptre of government from diademed autocrats; that nations learnt patriotism; that inventors harnessed nature's forces to drive machines of iron and steel or to move man's ships and cars; that bullets and explosives were first made deadly weapons

of warfare; that scientists explored the heavens with their telescopes or learnt the secrets of chemistry, physics, biology, and medicine; that public schools and automatic printing presses opened to all the kingdom of knowledge."<sup>4</sup> It uses insulting labels for Asian and African peoples speaking about the "retrogressive yellow race in the Far East" or the "illiterate African Negroes." This pernicious propaganda is widely spread in cheap editions.

The absurdity of this theory held by many Western historians manifests itself in teaching practice, which simply excludes Asia from world history. Chester Bowles states in his *Ambassador's Report* that lectures given at American schools on so-called "world history" start from Egypt and Mesopotamia, go on to Greece via the Island of Crete and then through Rome, to end in France and Britain. Students are asked to memorize one hundred of the most important dates in "world history." Only one of them concerns Asia — 1857, when Commodore Perry, an American naval officer, "opened up" Japan.

The way the Western bourgeoisie look at world history is just the way the ant, described in the fable, looks at the world. The ant thinks itself ruler and sole master of the world. In its eyes everyone else is insignificant. The historical idealists have surpassed all records in this respect.

For quite a long time, such historians have described Europe or West Europe as occupying the centre of world history. This is simply a product of the views of the egocentric, out-and-out aggressive forces of Western capitalism. It strikingly reflects the view of Western colonialism which constantly commits aggression against the Eastern countries and seeks to enslave the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In ancient times, imperial Rome looked on the Germans and Gauls (French) as "inferior races" and "barbarians" and concluded that these peoples should for ever submit to the rule of the "superior race," namely, the rule of the Roman Empire.

### Bourgeois Historians Serve Their Class

This is exactly how the Western colonialists regard the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They look on Asia as a place without any "genuine civilization" or history, as a place to dump their goods, plunder raw materials and exploit cheap labour. The European-centred approach to history is a blatant reflection of such a colonialist view. According to this view, the Western colonialists' domination of Asia and all other "backward" regions is perfectly reasonable. This is how bourgeois historians serve their own class. This is exactly how matters stand whether or not those historians are aware of it.

<sup>4</sup>Carlton J.H. Hayes and Parker Thomas Moon, *Modern History*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1928, p. 651.

Social consciousness is determined by social being. Decadent conceptions will all finally and inevitably be shattered by convincing facts. This outcome is only a matter of time. The struggle being waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to transform the world is shaking the earth. No matter how he may try to seal himself off from the outside world, no one can escape this cataclysm. Confronted with this fact, these Western bourgeois ideas of a world centred on Europe or West Europe will come to quick end.

When we say we must oppose such ideas of a European-centred world, we naturally do not mean that the history of Europe should be treated with indifference, not in the least. To do so would cause people to swing from one anti-scientific extreme to another.

The history of Europe enjoys a fixed position. The bourgeois revolution in the Netherlands in the 16th century, the British bourgeois revolution in the 17th century, and especially the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the 18th century added lustre to the history of Europe. The French bourgeois revolution particularly did a great service to the bourgeoisie. It can be said that the 19th century as a whole passed under the sign of the French revolution. The era of ascending capitalism and bourgeois revolution in Europe witnessed a rapid advance in world history. There is not a shadow of doubt about this. However, no sooner did it gain power, than the European bourgeoisie began to change quickly into a conservative and reactionary class. With the advance of the proletarian revolutionary movement in Europe and the development of the national democratic revolutionary movement in the East, the European bourgeoisie has become more and more reactionary, clinging desperately to the world order which is based on backwardness, barbarous cruelty, privilege and the exploitation of man by man.

It is because the advanced European proletariat entered the historical arena that the history of Europe has continued to advance. Holding high the banner of socialist revolution in utter opposition to the desires of the bourgeoisie, they continue to carry the history of mankind forward. The proletariat of Asia will always be grateful to the advanced proletariat of Europe.

The proponents of a European-centred world have been energetically publicizing the leading role of Europe, but judging from so-called Christian civilization and the like which many people talk so glibly about, they do not, in fact, really know where the progressive nature of Europe lies. This is why the bourgeois remains a bourgeois.

### **Our Tasks as Historians**

As the subject of scientific research, history has its objective course as well as its objective laws of development. Events do not change according to the likes and dislikes of historians. It is unthinkable that any serious historian should "transform" history in accordance with his subjective ideas. In appraising Asian

history objectively, the aim is to restore its original features which have been besmirched and distorted and not to prettify or whitewash them. In studying the history of a region or an age, we must adhere to historical materialism and oppose historical idealism. The same holds good for the appraisal of Asian history. It is futile either to embellish or to blacken history, this would be an anti-scientific approach.

History is all inclusive. The development of the social productive forces and class struggle, oppression by the rulers and resistance by the masses of the people, the dark and backward things left over from the past, the bright and forward looking things representing the advancing line of history — all these are closely interwoven, sometimes sharply distinct and sometimes obscured in a maze of confusion. The historians' weighty duty is to give an accurate judgment on these questions, putting things in their right place and correctly expounding their mutual relations.

**To present the history of Asia in the light of this requirement, we hold that the following essentials must be fulfilled:**

**First, we must elucidate the world significance of the long and bitter class contradictions and class struggle in this region;**

**Second, we must give the masses of the people their rightful place in history;**

**Third, we must affirm all the bright and new-born things which represent the line of the advance of history;**

**Fourth, we must unremittingly repudiate and expunge all distortions and fabrications of Asian history by the Western colonialists and their followers.**

The history of Asia has long been described as dark and circumscribed. But, in fact, those who break out from the blind alley of bourgeois idealism and lift their heads, see a magnificent sight, and vast new vistas unfold before them.

The history of Asia forms an integral part of world history. A scientific appraisal of Asian history will help the people of the world to a correct understanding of world history and of the present situation. In spite of all difficulties, the oppressed people throughout the world are waging a struggle to transform the present situation and the world. It is imperative that they understand the present situation in the struggle of the people throughout the world and have a scientific approach to world history. The rewriting of the history of Asia to elucidate its true features will help people to free themselves from mental enslavement by imperialism and fully emancipate their minds. Therefore, it may be put this way: the way one looks on the modern histories of Asia and of Africa and Latin America, is not only a question of one's approach to history, it is also a question of one's approach to the present struggle.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Laotian Manifesto

### Defeat U.S. Aggression

American planes based in Thailand and Laotian territory under the control of the pro-U.S. regime, have kept up bombing and strafing the Laotian liberated areas. Washington's military "advisers" in Laos, moreover, have had several secret meetings with their puppet officers in preparation for intensified attacks on the liberated areas during the coming dry season. All this, of course, is part of the U.S. plan to extend its war of aggression in Laos and the whole of Indo-China. However, the fully prepared Laotian people have shown their determination to defend the liberated areas and defeat the American invaders and their Vientiane lackeys.

A political consultative conference of the Neo Lao Haksat led by Prince Souphanouvong and the patriotic neutralist forces was held somewhere in the liberated areas between October 3 and 13.

After a review and full discussion of the political situation in Laos, the conference issued an important manifesto to make known the Laotian people's stand on the settlement of the Laotian question, its solution and their immediate tasks.

### Anti-U.S. United Front

The past 11 years, the manifesto said, were years in which U.S. imperialism, using the puppet government and its troops as a prop and an instrument, carried out "special warfare" in Laos. Through "special warfare," coupled with vicious political measures, Washington pushed its neo-colonialist policy of aggression in Laos ahead bit by bit. The result was that the farther Washington went in its aggression against the Laotian people, the clearer they came to see its true nature and the firmer they became in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. This gave birth to a broad anti-U.S. united front to save the country. Growing in strength in the course of fighting,

the patriotic armed forces were able to deal telling blows to the puppet troops on all battlefields and had thus far liberated two-thirds of the country peopled by half of the population.

In the course of struggle, the manifesto pointed out, some people in the neutralist faction, of whom Prince Souvanna Phouma is typical, wavered, and, out of their own selfish interests, began tailing after Washington and its lackeys step by step and finally broke away from the neutralists' ranks to betray the people's interests. Although they now still claimed to be "neutralists," they had in actual fact descended to the point of becoming the hangers-on of U.S. imperialism and its stooges, the manifesto said.

In order to successfully complete the struggle against U.S. imperialism to save the country, the manifesto stated, the conference reaffirmed the firm determination of the Laotian people to defend the peace, neutrality, sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos on the basis of the 1962 Geneva agreements, the 1961 Zurich agreements and the 1962 Plain of Jars agreements reached between the three political forces in Laos. While fighting to defeat U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression in any form, the Laotian people's stand, the manifesto added, was one to ensure their right to settle free from U.S. imperialist intervention their internal affairs by peaceful negotiation among the parties concerned. They would also stand firm for the realization of the political programme of the tripartite National Union Government, so as to make Laos a peaceful, neutralist, independent, democratic, unified and prosperous country.

### Way to Solve the Laotian Situation

The manifesto put forth the following as a solution to the present Laotian situation:

- withdrawal from Laos of all armed forces, military personnel, as well as the disguised para-military organizations, and all war materiel

of the U.S. and its satellites and the removal of all U.S. military bases;

- immediate cessation of U.S. and puppet attacks on the liberated areas;

- putting an end to the collusion among the U.S. stooges in Vientiane, Bangkok and Saigon and the use of Thailand and south Viet Nam to intervene in Laos;

- tripartite talks to solve pending problems among the three political forces in Laos; and

- restoration of the organizational structure and the principle of unanimity in the Laotian tripartite National Union Government.

The conference, according to the manifesto, defined the immediate three-fold tasks of the Laotian people as follows:

Politically, to strengthen the anti-U.S. united front represented by the solid alliance between the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces while, under the banner of peace, neutrality, national independence and democracy, uniting with the broad masses of people, including those in areas under the control of the pro-U.S. regime.

Militarily and economically, to augment the political and military power of the patriotic forces and build the liberated areas into strong bases for a protracted war of resistance with also emphasis on economic self-reliance and improvement of the people's livelihood.

In foreign relations, the task of the Laotian people was, on the one hand, to strive to win the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world and, on the other, support the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They reserved the right to call for, if necessary, "the practical support in all aspects, including material support, of the people and governments of peace-loving countries and of peaceful and democratic organizations throughout the world so as to increase our potential for self-defence and to protect the lives and property of the Laotian people."

## Victories in S. Viet Nam

### Clipping the Enemy's Wings

Just as Washington was preening itself on its "recent military suc-

cesses" in south Viet Nam, the Liberation Armed Forces have struck again, this time bearding the enemy in his den.

On the night of October 27 until dawn the following morning, American airfields in Da Nang and Chu Lai were lit up by flames when the South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces launched simultaneous attacks on them. "Impenetrable" Da Nang thus proved to be no more secure than it was last July when the people's forces destroyed 47 American planes and 3 missile launching pads there. This time the target was the newly constructed helicopter base at Marble Mountain.

Guarded by some 2,000 U.S. marines and 2,500 Seabees (construction battalions), the base was twice pounded by shells of the Liberation Armed Forces. "A white glare covered the sky from burning aircraft metal," a Western report said. The enemy losses: 70 helicopters destroyed or damaged, an ammunition dump blown up, a military storehouse burnt down, and 70 Americans killed.

At Chu Lai, which is about 50 miles south of Da Nang and a stronghold garrisoned entirely by Americans, at least 40 planes, including 31 jet fighters, were damaged or destroyed; the 200-odd American casualties included a number of aircraft pilots caught on the ground. After shelling the airfield the Liberation Armed Forces penetrated the base to blast the planes with parcels of explosives. They also blew up

armoured vehicles guarding the air-planes and the hangars. It was close fighting after dark, one of the tactics of people's war, in which the people's forces utilize their strong points to attack the enemy where he is weak—the people's forces are brave and have a deep hatred for their foe who is taken completely by surprise and chicken-hearted.

At Plei Me in central south Viet Nam earlier, the puppet troops had borne the brunt of the fighting. On October 19, the Liberation Armed Forces began besieging a puppet "special forces camp" under U.S. command; its foremost position at Chu Ho was wiped out within five minutes. Four days later, on October 23, the enemy dispatched from Pleiku as reinforcements the 21st Ranger Battalion, which fell into an ambush laid by the liberation army and the irregulars. After hours of fighting, the whole battalion was annihilated with an enemy loss of 17 tanks and armoured cars, a whole convoy of 42 other vehicles and three 105 mm. howitzers. Half of the U.S. special forces team in the camp were killed or wounded.

Commenting on the fighting, Reuter noted that the liberation army's "much-tested tactic of attacking an isolated outpost and then ambushing the relief forces has once again proved a success." But, it added, "they seem to have gone one step further. Instead of withdrawing after completing their pattern of attack, they remained in their positions." Thus, in the first seven days of the siege, the U.S. First Cavalry Division at nearby An Khe dared not come to the rescue. They arrived by helicopter on the eighth day only, October 26, but failed to prevent the Liberation Armed Forces from again attacking the garrison; a number of liaison officers with the rescue party were killed.

The people's forces do have their

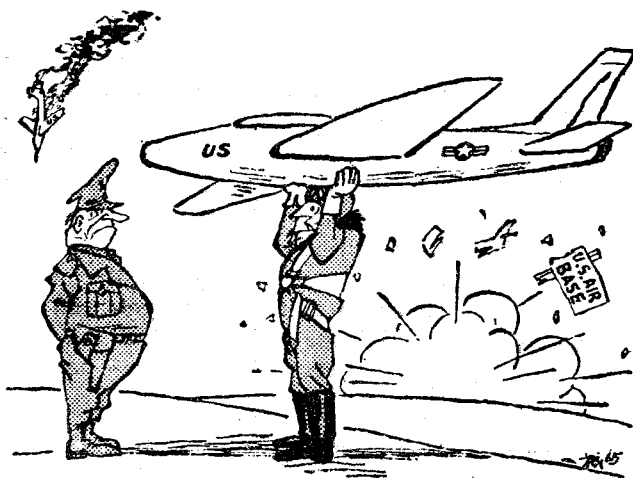
own way of fighting and their tactics are so flexible that the enemy can never make head or tail of them. Victories at Da Nang, Chu Lai and Plei Me, said a recent editorial of the Hanoi paper *Nhan Dan*, pointed to the fact that the operational strength of the Liberation Armed Forces is being built up continuously. While fighting guerrilla warfare to wear out and wipe out the enemy wherever he may be, they are also concentrating their forces to engage the enemy in prolonged battles, annihilating his effective strength and storming his lairs by surprise.

Let Dean Rusk boast about "encouraging signs of a lift in morale" in the south Vietnamese countryside; to quote a Pentagon official, "not one square mile of south Viet Nam is truly pacified." Indeed, every inch of the land there will serve as a burial ground for the imperialist invaders.

### This England

#### Half Empty and Half Filled

Sometime ago, the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson was introduced to a meeting by mistake as the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan. It was a mere trifle and was soon forgiven and forgotten. There was a world of difference between Wilson the incumbent Labour P.M. and Macmillan the former Conservative P.M. But, after a year of the Labour Party in office, people are beginning to wonder what difference, if any, there is between a Labour government and a Conservative government. One Tory VIP answered the question with the comment that when the Conservative Party says a bottle is half filled, the Labour Party will insist that it is half empty; such is the case with the two major political parties in Britain, the sinews of the mother of parliamentary democracy. Their difference, or lack of it, may also be gauged by their equal sharing of the seats in the Commons, the Labour Party's already water-thin majority of three votes having now been threatened by the deaths of a Labour M.P. in August and of the Speaker of the House of Commons in the following month.



— What the . . . ?  
— Well, sir, it's not safe in the air and it's worse on the ground!

Cartoon by Fang Chen

This September and October also saw the holding of the two parties' annual conferences, Labour's 64th in Blackpool and Conservative's 83rd in Brighton, to work out their "different" policies both on the home and international fronts. On domestic questions, Labour, while complaining of its "dreadful inheritance" from the Tories, adopted a programme for restricting wage increases. This was done despite massive opposition, including that of the two biggest unions — the Transport and General Workers Union and the Amalgamated Engineering Union. The Conservative Party, for its part, wanted to provide "real incentive" for "individual enterprises" through, for instance, company tax reductions, thus clearing the way for bigger monopoly profits. Now that the Tory's catchword "you never had it so good" has lost its appeal to the British public, another promising to "create a nationwide capital-owning democracy" has been coined.

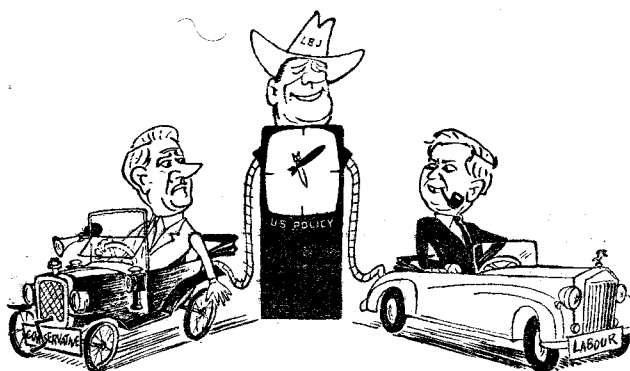
In foreign affairs, both parties continue to subscribe to a pro-U.S. policy. The Conservative's Douglas-Home stated that the alliance with the U.S. must "have the strongest priority" and defended the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam as "gaining time for the whole free world." Emulating

their political "opponents," both Wilson and Foreign Secretary Stewart indicated that the British Government would continue helping the U.S. in "peace talks" hoax. Wilson even told people demonstrating outside the conference hall in opposition to the U.S. war in Viet Nam "to take that banner . . . to the Chinese Embassy [the Office of the Chinese Charge d'Affaires]"!

The Labour government's policy of toeing the U.S. line was opposed by many Labour M.P.'s and delegates from local party organizations. John Mendelson, M.P., asked why Stewart had made so many "statements completely identified with American policy"? Extremely dissatisfied with Labour's attitude on Viet Nam, famous British philosopher Bertrand Russell recently tore up his Labour Party membership card and renounced his 51-year-old membership. Earlier, Labour M.P. Frank Allaun resigned his government post in protest against Wilson's subservience to Washington on the Viet Nam question.

The British people's resentment against Wilson's policy in Viet Nam was reflected in the Labour Party's heavy losses during the local elections in May: 590 seats in borough and urban councils. Commenting on the defeat, Ian Mikardo (M.P. Labour) had this to say: "Labour supporters who condemned the Tory government for its subservience to Washington now find that their own government is even more subservient to Washington." "That's why," he added, "many of them didn't come out to vote."

People in Britain are now saying the actions of the Labour government cannot be supported and are the equivalent of political suicide. Wilson will reap as he sows.



Tanking Up

Cartoon by Ho Cheng

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 14.)

depicting the Soviet people's heroic struggle against the German fascist invaders, the audience burst into tremendous applause, expressing the Chinese people's deep friendship for the people and army of the Soviet Union.

During the intermission, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen received Boris Alexandrovich Alexandrov, head of the ensemble, and other leading members and principal artists and had a friendly conversation with them. The Chinese leaders went on stage after the final curtain and congratulated the Soviet artists for their fine performance.

November 5, 1965

## Thailand Independence Movement Anniversary

A reception celebrating the first anniversary of the founding of the Thailand Independence Movement was given in Peking on November 1 by Mon Kon Nanakon, liaison representative of the Thailand Independence Movement. Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and leading members of other Chinese people's organizations were present.

In his reception speech, Mon Kon Nanakon said that the Thailand Independence Movement was born in circumstances in which patriotic and democratic Thai people had risen to oppose the U.S. occupation of

Thailand and the turning of the country into a new-type colony, and to oppose the Sarit-Thanom-Prapas dictatorial regime of traitors. He described the rapid growth of the patriotic struggle in Thailand against U.S. imperialism and condemned the collaboration of the U.S. imperialists and the Thanom and Prapas regime in suppressing his people. He called on his compatriots to unite in the struggle, drive out the U.S. imperialists and overthrow the Thanom and Prapas traitorous regime.

Liao Cheng-chih, in his speech, praised the Thailand Independence Movement for its contribution to the Thai people's patriotic fight against U.S. imperialism. He proposed a toast to their victory in this struggle.

# RADIO PEKING

Presents:

## WHAT WE SAW IN TIBET — Interview with three recent visitors to Tibet

ISRAEL EPSTEIN author of *The Unfinished Revolution in China* (1947)

DOUGLAS LAKE New Zealand journalist

FLORENCE RUSSELL\* Australian visitor

On the air: November 12, 1965

Selections from the new Chinese dance-drama

## ROAR, RIVER CONGO!

Scheduled for November 21, 1965 after our "Sunday Programme for African Listeners"

\* Misprinted as Flora Russell in "Peking Review," No. 43

## RADIO PEKING'S English Language Transmissions — DAILY —

EAST & SOUTH AFRICA			23:00-24:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	42, 41, 30
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands		20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan)	
00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	42, 30, 25		21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan)	
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	42, 30, 25		20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)	
WEST & NORTH AFRICA			AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	50, 43, 31	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19
04:30-05:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	50, 43, 31	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19
SOUTHEAST ASIA			EUROPE		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 19:30-20:30 (Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	252, 224, 32 31, 25, 19	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.) 21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	58, 51, 48, 42
21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)	224, 32, 31 25, 19	05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.) 22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	51, 48, 42
SOUTH ASIA			NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	42, 41, 30	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19
			09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19
			10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19
			NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
			11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
			12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 19