

# PEKING REVIEW

16

April 15, 1966

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報

## **Running Enterprises in Line With Mao Tse-tung's Thinking**

The only correct road for China's industrialization.

## **Severe Punishment for U.S. Provocateurs**

Intruding U.S. heavy attack plane downed by Chinese Air Force.

## **Campaigns Against Chinese Nationals In Indonesia Condemned**

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# PEKING REVIEW

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## Chinese Air Force Downs Intruding U.S. Plane

**A**N air force unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army shot down a U.S. A-3B heavy attack plane over Leichow Peninsula in Kwangtung Province on April 12.

The aircraft intruded into China's air space at about 13:00 hours from southeast of Hainan Island in Kwangtung Province. It then crossed the Hainan Strait and intruded deep into China's territorial air over Leichow Peninsula to carry out military provocations.

Chinese aircraft immediately took off, keeping the U.S. plane under surveillance and closing in many times to warn the intruder. However, it disregarded all warnings and flew deeper and deeper inland. In order to safeguard China's sovereign rights, the Chinese aircraft shot the enemy plane down.

Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, issued an order commending the air force unit for its victory. The order pointed out that the intrusion of the U.S. aircraft was an open encroachment on China's sovereignty and a serious step taken by U.S. imperialism in its attempt to impose war on the Chinese people while stepping up the expansion of its war of aggression in Vietnam. It said that the downing of the plane was a telling blow against the open war provocations of U.S. imperialism. It called on all air force units to be fully prepared and to shoot down all intruding enemy planes.

### Attacks on Fishing Boats

U.S. military aircraft have again bombed and strafed Chinese fishing boats on the high seas. Two fishermen were killed, 15 were wounded and three fishing boats were damaged. The Chinese authorities con-

cerned strongly protested against these piratical acts.

On April 7, two U.S. military planes attacked a fishing boat belonging to the Caotan Commune in Suichi County in Kwangtung Province on the high seas in the Bac Bo Gulf. The planes bombed and strafed the boat, killing a fisherman and wounding four others. Later the same day, two U.S. military planes flew over the fishing grounds in the Bac Bo Gulf from the southwest and attacked two more Chinese fishing boats. They dropped six bombs on the boats and strafed them with machine-guns. One fisherman was killed and 11 others were wounded.

On April 10, when the Chinese merchant ship *Nanghai 156* was sailing northeast of Hainan Island, a U.S. military plane twice dived low over it in a deliberate provocation, endangering the lives of the Chinese seamen.

The repeated harassment of fishing and normal navigation on the high seas by U.S. military planes and the killing of Chinese citizens have aroused great anger among the Chinese people. A spokesman of the Chinese department concerned strongly warned the U.S. Government that its acts of aggression would be punished

### Chairman Liu to Visit Burma

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his wife will shortly visit Burma at the invitation of General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma. They will be accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his wife.

and that all debts would have to be repaid.

*Renmin Ribao* Commentator served a serious warning to the U.S. imperialists in an article on April 13. The intrusion of the heavy attack plane and the deliberate provocations in early April against Chinese fishing vessels, he said, "show that U.S. imperialism is pushing its policy of hostility towards the Chinese people with greater and greater efforts. This has thoroughly exposed the Johnson Administration's talk about its readiness to 'improve' Sino-American relations as utter claptrap. The U.S. imperialists should know that the Chinese people are not to be trifled with. We are well prepared for any provocation. If they should dare to come, we will strike resolutely; we will strike mercilessly any time they arrive. The new victory the Chinese air force unit has won in defending our sovereign rights is another severe punishment for the U.S. aggressors and also another strong warning to U.S. imperialism."

## Anti-U.S. Storm in South Vietnam

**T**HROUGHOUT the past month, huge demonstrations against the U.S. aggressors and the Nguyen Cao Ky regime have swept Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Da Lat, Qui Nhon and other cities under U.S.-puppet rule. The hammer blows of this spiralling political struggle of the south Vietnamese people have sent the Ky

clique reeling. At the same time, the U.S. aggressor troops have been thrown into great confusion and a tormented Johnson Administration is at a loss as to what to do. An atmosphere of crisis hangs over the White House, and high-level emergency meetings are continually in session as cables flash back and forth be-

tween Washington and Saigon. By April 9, a UPI report from Saigon said: "The American Government is drifting towards global embarrassment as the military regime of Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky appeared to be virtually finished."

The explosive situation in areas under U.S.-puppet rule in south Vietnam has filled Washington with alarm, for the spearhead of the current mass struggle there is pointed directly against the U.S. aggressors. Taking advantage of the internal strife among the Saigon warlords, the demonstrators, numbering tens of thousands and including students, Buddhists, workers and puppet soldiers and policemen, have raised such slogans as "Vietnam belongs only to Vietnam!" and "U.S. is oppressing us, down with the Americans!" They demand the liquidation of Ky's traitorous regime and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Vietnam. In early April, people in Saigon were in the streets almost daily. On April 5, demonstrators set fire to an American military jeep and marched towards the U.S. "embassy" and a U.S. army billet. Panicky American military

and puppet authorities had to rush military police and troops to guard them. Two days later, the demonstrating crowds burnt another U.S. military jeep and beat up an American soldier. The next day, they were reported to have concentrated their attacks on Americans. They raided a house occupied by Americans and chased Americans riding in cars. A UPI April 8 dispatch reported that scared "Americans fled for their lives" and an AP dispatch of the same day said that a number of "U.S. soldiers made their way through the crowd carrying a few personal belongings."

Saigon, Da Nang, Hue and other cities where the people turned out in demonstrations are garrisoned by U.S. and puppet forces and are the main bases for U.S. aggression against south Vietnam. These occupied areas contain more than 200,000 U.S. troops plus a huge naval and air build-up. But fire often starts from under one's own feet, and it is these coastal cities that are hardest hit by the anti-U.S. storm. U.S. imperialism's expansion of its war of aggression has intensified the south Vietnamese people's hatred while the puppet Ky clique's sell-out of national interests has added to their wrath. American G.I.s have to "confine themselves to their quarters" and the puppet authorities suffer a bad case of the jitters in face of the worsening situation.

The current whirlwind against the U.S.-propped regime once again proves

Mass demonstration in Saigon against U.S. imperialism and the puppet Ky regime

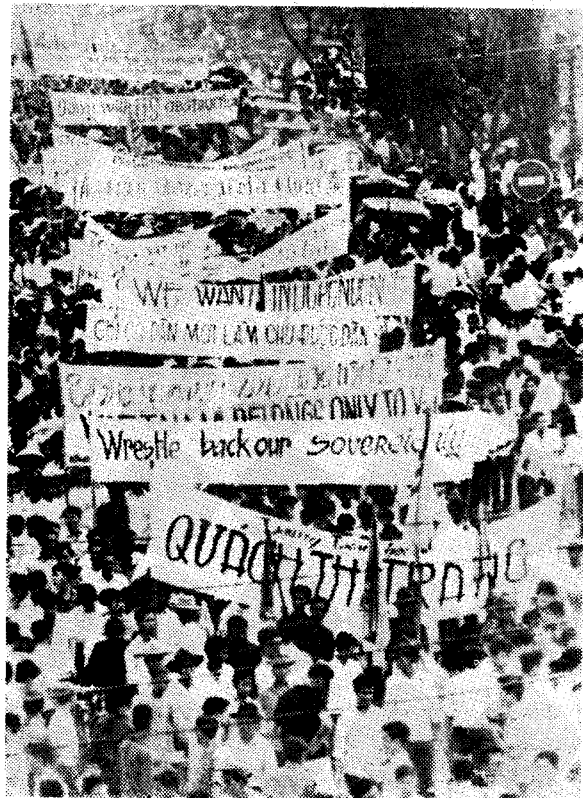
## Laotian Song and Dance Troupe in Peking

The Laotian song and dance troupe of the Neo Lao Haksat gave its premiere in the capital before a packed house on April 9. Described by the Laotian people as a "revolutionary art troupe," the company has grown up in the midst of war. Songs and dances portraying the Laotian people's militant spirit and determination to fight against U.S. imperialism and for national liberation drew repeated curtain calls from the audience among whom was Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien.

Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, attended the performance on April 10. The next evening, Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, of the C.P.C. and Premier, was present.

that it is impossible for the United States to maintain any so-called stable stooges in south Vietnam. Since Ngo Dinh Diem's death in November 1963, 13 coups d'etat and nine changes of "government" have taken place there. The frequent change of jockeys, however, has not improved the situation in the least. Since Ky was installed last June, Washington has gone out of its way to lend his regime "prestige" and "support" to make it a viable "government." But no deception can extricate this hated band from its predicament. Whatever the outcome of the present political struggle, the U.S. imperialists and their flunkys will find things tougher than ever.

There are two battle fronts at present in south Vietnam. While the south Vietnamese people's armed forces are striking hard at the U.S. aggressors and their puppets, the people in the enemy-occupied areas are waging political struggles against U.S. imperialism. The two fronts are complementary, and mounting victories on both signify that the fate of the U.S. imperialists in south Vietnam is sealed.



# China-Afghanistan Joint Communiqué

April 8, 1966

**A**T the invitation of His Majesty Mohammad Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan, Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Madame Liu Shao-chi paid an official and friendly visit to Afghanistan from April 4 to 8, 1966. Accompanying Chairman Liu Shao-chi on the visit were Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Madame Chen Yi, Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other officials.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his party visited Kabul and Herat, took part in meetings held by the citizens of Kabul and by the Afghanistan-China Friendship Association and were accorded a rousing welcome and magnificent reception by Their Majesties the King and the Queen, the Afghan Government and people. This demonstrated the sincere friendship of the Afghan people for the Chinese people. Chairman Liu Shao-chi expressed heartfelt thanks to Their Majesties the King and the Queen, the Afghan Government and people.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi had a friendly meeting with His Majesty and held talks with the Afghan Government. These talks took place in an atmosphere of friendliness, sincerity and mutual understanding. Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were: Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Wang Tung-hsing, Vice-Minister of Public Security; Feng Hsuan, Deputy Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Wang Tao-han, Vice-Minister of the Commission for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries; Chen Feng, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Afghanistan; Lai Ya-li, Director of Protocol Department, and Chang Tung, Director of First Asian Department, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Taking part in the talks on the Afghan side were: Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal, Prime Minister; Ali Mohammed, Minister of Court; Noor Ahmad Etemadi, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Abdullah Yaftali, Minister of Finance; Dr. Mohammed Asef Suhail, Afghan Ambassador to the People's Republic of China; Sardar Sultan Mahmud Ghazi, President of the Afghanistan-China Friendship Association; and Dr. Ravan Farhadi, Director-General of Political Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the course of these talks, the two sides exchanged views on matters of common interest and on mutual relations; they explained to each other their foreign policies and their respective stands on important world issues, including the Vietnam problem. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the results of the talks.

**The two sides reviewed their traditional friendly relations and highly appraised the Treaty of Friendship**

**and Mutual Non-Aggression Between the People's Republic of China and Afghanistan signed on August 26, 1960 in Kabul. Both sides pointed out that mutual respect, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs constitute the firm basis for the friendly relations between the two countries.**

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the development of the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. Both sides agreed that the treaty for the formal delimitation of the Chinese-Afghan boundary signed on November 22, 1963 in Peking, the subsequent completion of the erection of boundary markers in the summer of 1964, the boundary protocol signed in Kabul on March 24, 1965 and the agreement on economic and technical co-operation signed in Kabul on March 24, 1965 are signs of friendly co-operation, understanding and good-neighbourliness between the two countries.

The two sides affirmed their full support of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, namely, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. The two sides reaffirmed their support of the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference of 1955. They expressed their belief that this great historic conference played an important role in the process of winning independence by the Afro-Asian countries and the liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The two sides expressed their support to the Afro-Asian countries in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence. Both sides agreed that the liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism and the remnants of colonialism and the complete victory of nations and peoples striving for their national independence and the right to self-determination are the basic conditions for assuring peaceful coexistence and lasting peace.

The Afghan side reaffirmed its determined stand regarding China's seat in the United Nations and reiterated that the People's Republic of China is the only representative of the Chinese people and that its legitimate rights in the United Nations must be restored. The Chinese side expressed gratitude for this stand.

Both sides agreed that the exchange of visits by the leaders of the two countries is of great significance to the promotion of friendly relations, good-neighbourliness and mutual respect as well as the consolidation of world peace.

In the name of Premier Chou En-lai, the Chinese side extended an invitation to Prime Minister Maiwandwal to pay a friendly visit to China at a time convenient to him. This invitation was accepted with pleasure.

April 15, 1966

# Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Speech

—At Kabul Citizens' Welcome Rally on April 7

- Afro-Asian countries have favourable factors for developing independent national economies.
- China's aim in providing aid is to help recipient countries gradually embark on the road of self-reliance.

THREE days ago, you gave us such a warm welcome as befitting a festive occasion. The moving scenes have left on us an indelible impression. Today you are holding this grand rally which affords us an opportunity to meet the citizens of Kabul. We wish to express our heartfelt thanks for your hospitality. I would like to take this opportunity to convey to the Afghan people the fraternal greetings and regards of the Chinese people.

The Afghan people ardently love independence and freedom. You have time and again defeated the armed attacks of the imperialists and never yielded to the aggressors. You maintained your independence throughout those years when most of the Afro-Asian countries were subjected to colonial enslavement. Your heroic deeds in safeguarding national independence are the glory of the Afghan people and the people of Asia and Africa as well.

## Chairman Liu Concludes Visit to Afghanistan

CHAIRMAN and Madame Liu Shao-chi and their party concluded a four-day visit to Afghanistan and flew back to Urumchi in China's Sinkiang on April 8. The King and Queen of Afghanistan saw them off at the Kabul airport, and a crowd of more than 2,000 people, waving the national flags of the two countries and shouting "Long live the friendship between Afghanistan and China," bid their Chinese guests farewell.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his party arrived in Kabul on April 4. More than 100,000 people defied rain to give them a rousing welcome. A state banquet was given by the King and Queen in honour of their Chinese guests (see *Peking Review*, No. 15). On the following day, another banquet was given by Afghan Prime Minister M.H. Maiwandwal in honour of Chairman Liu.

Kabul's mass welcome to Chairman Liu was climaxed at a citizens' rally held in the Ghazi Stadium on April 7. A festive atmosphere prevailed. All the 30,000 seats were occupied, many people stood, and more thousands who tried to get in were outside. The crowd gave the guests an ovation as they appeared on the rostrum. Chairman Liu Shao-chi's speech was punctuated with warm applause. Gifts from the municipal government of Kabul and Chairman Liu were exchanged. This was followed by a performance of the *Adan*, the most popular national dance in Afghanistan. Then there was a display of *Buzkashi*, a game for horsemen usually played on festive occasions.

Apart from Kabul, Chairman Liu visited Herat, the third largest city of Afghanistan, where he was

enthusiastically welcomed by officials and citizens. Over 50,000 people lining the route waved and cheered as the motorcade drove into the city. Some of the welcomers climbed trees or on to the tops of buses to have a better view.

On the eve of their departure, Chairman Liu and his wife gave a farewell banquet in honour of the King and Queen. Speaking on that occasion, Chairman Liu reiterated that "the Chinese Government's policy of friendship towards Afghanistan is firm and unshakable. The Chinese Government and people will do their utmost to uphold and strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries."

Chairman Liu's successful visit was warmly hailed by the Chinese press. *Renmin Ribao*, in its April 9 editorial entitled "A New Sign of the Development of Sino-Afghan Friendship," wrote: "The harmonious relations between China and Afghanistan are eloquent proof that it is entirely feasible for countries with different social systems to live in peace with each other in accordance with the Five Principles and to advance steadily their mutual cooperation and friendship. It is imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, expansionism and big-power chauvinism which are preventing and sabotaging peaceful coexistence. That is why, as the China-Afghanistan Joint Communique has pointed out, the liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism and the remnants of colonialism and the complete victory of nations and peoples striving for their national independence and the right to self-determination are the basic conditions for assuring peaceful coexistence and lasting peace."

The Afghan people are industrious and intelligent people. You have created a splendid culture in history. Today you are striving to change the face of your own country. Under the leadership of His Majesty the King, Afghanistan has achieved many successes in developing its national economy and culture. Ancient Afghanistan is appearing on the Asian continent with a new look.

Afghanistan and China have always been good neighbours and friends. The famous "Silk Route" linked our two peoples together as early as 2,000 years ago. There have been no disputes but only a record of friendship between our two peoples in the past.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, there has been new development of our traditional friendship. We have always respected one another and treated each other as equals. We all bitterly hate imperialism for bullying and oppressing us in the past and are determined not to adopt such attitude of inequality towards each other. We are sincerely co-operating with each other in the economic and cultural fields. We have settled our boundary question in an amicable way. We have signed the treaty of friendship and mutual non-aggression and thus confirmed the will of the two peoples for friendship in a legal form.

In the past decade and more, the friendship between our two peoples has been developing despite the various storms in the world. A friendship that can stand such tests is precious. May the people of our two countries make joint efforts and carry this friendship ever forward!

We Afro-Asian countries are all faced with the arduous task of developing national economy and abolishing poverty and backwardness. In their national construction the Chinese people have achieved some successes by pursuing the policy of relying mainly on themselves. However, it still requires protracted and strenuous efforts to make our country really strong and prosperous. We Afro-Asian countries all have industrious and talented people and rich resources. From their own experience the Chinese people realize that if we make full use of these favourable factors, it is pos-

sible to develop an independent national economy and to change the state of poverty and backwardness resulting from prolonged imperialist plunder.

Self-reliance in national construction does not preclude international co-operation. And we Afro-Asian countries should, first among ourselves, supply each other's needs and support and assist each other. China's present economic and technical level is not yet high. Nevertheless, we consider it our bounden duty to provide such economic aid to other Afro-Asian countries as is within our capability. In providing aid, we strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries, attaching no strings and asking for no privileges whatsoever. We are opposed to control and plunder through aid. Our aim in providing aid is to help the recipient countries gradually embark on the road of self-reliance. It is conducive to the cause of the Afro-Asian people's unity against imperialism for the Afro-Asian countries to increase gradually the strength of their national economy through such aid. And this constitutes a support to the Chinese people as well. To regard aid as a unilateral alms-giving and to feel superior for providing aid is a detestable attitude of big-power chauvinism to which we are firmly opposed.

Dear friends! The people of both our countries have made outstanding contributions to ancient civilization. In present-day national construction as well, so long as we work hard, we can surely accomplish what others are able to accomplish and will do it even better. Of course, we Afro-Asian countries will still meet with many difficulties and obstacles along our path of independent development, but we have a bright future. In order to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to promote the cause of independence and progress of the Afro-Asian countries, the 650 million Chinese people will for ever stand together with the peoples of Afghanistan and other Afro-Asian countries, and will render mutual support in the common struggle.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and Afghanistan!

Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!

Long live world peace!

## C.P.C. Central Committee Greet 21st National Conference of C.P.N.Z.

*Following is the full text of the message of greetings to the 21st National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Liu Ning-I, head of the Chinese Communist Party delegation, read the message to the April 9 conference session at the close of his speech. — Ed.*

**The 21st National Conference of  
the Communist Party of New Zealand**

**Dear Comrades,**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China warmly greets the successful convening of the

21st National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

Holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of New Zealand is uniting the working class and progressive forces of New Zealand to fight resolutely against domestic and international monopoly capital and against social democracy, which is an important pillar of the reactionary rule of monopoly capital, and is waging unremitting struggles to safeguard the vital interests of the labouring people, defend national independence and strive for the victory of socialism. It has scored important successes in all these respects.

Holding aloft the banner of struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the Communist Party of New Zealand is leading the New Zealand people in firmly combating the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and firmly supporting the Vietnamese people's just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries. It is thus displaying a lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Holding aloft the banner of struggle against modern revisionism, the Communist Party of New Zealand stands together with the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world in firmly opposing modern revisionism, of which the centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U., and has made important contributions to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The modern revisionists accuse your Party of being "dogmatic." This precisely proves that your Party adheres to a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line. The modern revisionists accuse your Party of being "sectarian." This precisely proves that your Party upholds mutual support and international solidarity among the genuine revolutionary vanguards of the proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries. The Communist Party of New Zealand has defeated the subversive and disruptive activities of the revisionist leading group of the C.P.S.U. and their agents, and has thus strengthened the unity of the Party and consolidated its ranks.

By its principled steadfastness, the Communist Party of New Zealand headed by Comrade Wilcox has set a brilliant example in the struggle between the line of Marxism-Leninism and the line of modern revisionism in the international communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people rejoice over the victories won by the Communist Party of New Zealand on all the fronts of its revolutionary struggle. We are convinced that after the present conference, the Communist Party of New Zealand will further strengthen its fighting capacity and exercise still wider influence at home and abroad, and that the New Zealand people will win still greater new victories in their revolutionary cause.

U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the people of the world. The people the world over must further unite to smash the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war. U.S. imperialism is now waging a frenzied war of aggression in Vietnam. People everywhere should firmly support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors.

The modern revisionists, whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U., have already degenerated into accomplices of U.S. imperialism and set themselves against the revolutionary people of the world. In order to lead the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to new victories, all Marxist-Leninists must draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and the modern revisionists and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism, of which the centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U.

In the common struggle against the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists, a close militant friendship has been forged between the Chinese Communist Party and the New Zealand Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party is proud of having such a staunch class comrade-in-arms as the Communist Party of New Zealand. Our two Parties will for ever closely unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, advance shoulder to shoulder, support each other and fight together.

May the 21st National Conference of the New Zealand Communist Party be crowned with success!

Long live the glorious and heroic Communist Party of New Zealand!

Long live the militant friendship between the Communist Parties and the peoples of China and New Zealand!

Long live ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism!

**The Central Committee of  
the Communist Party of China**

April 5, 1966



# Massive Campaigns Against Chinese Nationals in Indonesia Condemned

- China requests the Indonesian Government to immediately arrange ships to send back to China those persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return.
- Strongest protests lodged against illegal seizure of overseas Chinese institutions and closure of overseas Chinese schools by Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces.

*On the morning of April 12, Hsu Ching-wu, Deputy Director of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, summoned Indonesian Ambassador to China Djawoto and handed him a note which expressed extreme indignation over the organized and planned massive campaigns against Chinese nationals launched by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces. Following is the main text of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's note. — Ed.*

SINCE October 1965 the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have launched massive campaigns against the Chinese nationals in an organized and planned way. In all parts of Indonesia they have organized large numbers of hooligans for the unbridled persecution of innocent Chinese nationals. The houses and shops of thousands of Chinese nationals have been ransacked or burnt up. Many associations and schools of Chinese nationals have been smashed up or seized. Large numbers of Chinese nationals have been beaten up or unwarrantedly arrested. Many have been murdered in cold blood, or even beheaded, disembowelled, dismembered or burnt alive. Not only did the army authorities in some places shield these atrocities, they even issued permits for hooligans to stage "demonstrations" and sent armed men and military vehicles to take a direct part in them. The racist persecution of the Chinese nationals by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces, which grossly violates principles of international relations, has reached shocking proportions. The Chinese people are extremely indignant at the above-mentioned atrocities.

The Chinese nationals have resided in Indonesia for generations. They have always lived in amity with the Indonesian people and have made positive contributions to Indonesia's economic life. They have worked for the promotion of friendly relations between China and Indonesia and actively supported the Indonesian people in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The aim of the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces in wantonly persecuting Chinese nationals is obviously to meet the needs of imperialism and deliberately to undermine the relations between China and Indonesia and the solidarity of the two peoples in the struggle against

imperialism. No matter what pretexts they may fabricate, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces are unable to cover up these despicable designs.

Under the treaty and agreements signed by the Chinese and Indonesian Governments on the question of the overseas nationals of the two countries, the Indonesian Government has the unshirkable obligation to protect the proper rights and interests of the Chinese nationals. But instead of fulfilling this obligation, it has connived at or even shielded the wild persecution of Chinese nationals by the Right-wing reactionary forces and completely ignored the repeated protests and representations of the Chinese Government. Through the military authorities in Djakarta and other places, it has recently gone so far as to issue orders viciously slandering the associations and schools of Chinese nationals as "lairs of saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries" and closed down or disbanded these associations and schools on this pretext. This shows that the Indonesian Government has gone farther in supporting the Right-wing reactionary forces' criminal persecution of the Chinese nationals and thereby assumed the inescapable responsibility for further worsening the relations between the two countries.

At present, thousands of persecuted Chinese nationals, having become homeless and bankrupt and lost the means of living, are urgently asking the Indonesian Government to help them return to their motherland. Their request is entirely reasonable and justified. Having failed either to protect them effectively from persecution or give them relief and rehabilitation, the Indonesian Government naturally has the duty of sending back to China those persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return of their own will. Therefore, the Chinese Government requests the Indonesian Government to do the following:

1. Immediately arrange ships to transport back to China the above-said Chinese nationals who desire to return of their own will.
2. Allow them to bring back their own effects and funds.
3. Ensure their safety on the way to the ports; provide them with food and accommodation while they

are at the ports; facilitate their departure from Indonesia for China.

**4. Protect the Chinese officials to be appointed by the Chinese Embassy and Consulates in Indonesia for assisting in the return of those Chinese nationals who desire to come back to China of their own will; provide the said Chinese officials with the necessary facilities.**

The Indonesian Government is asked to give a speedy reply to the above request.

## Chinese Embassy's Notes

**I**N two notes to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry on April 11, the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia strongly protested against the illegal seizure of overseas Chinese institutions and the closing down of overseas Chinese schools by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces.

On April 8 more than 40 hooligans armed with clubs, iron chains, daggers and other lethal weapons forced their way into the General Association of Overseas Chinese Organizations in Djakarta. Occupying it by force and illegally searching it, they went to the extent of insolently tearing down the Chinese national flag and the portraits of Chinese state leaders and hoisting the Indonesian national flag inside the association's compound. They also illegally detained staff members and more than 120 Chinese nationals who were at the association's clinic for medical treatment or there to solve their personal problems.

The hoodlums set aside a room for illegal interrogation of the detainees one by one. They forced them to answer many questions slandering China, brandished daggers to intimidate them, forcibly searched their person and beat and kicked them. Some Chinese nationals were detained and maltreated for more than ten hours, women and old people not excepted. All their identification cards were taken away. More than 20 cars and motor-cycles owned by the association and its visitors were seized. Huang Mu-he, an association staff member, was illegally taken away because he refused to sign a statement prepared by the hooligans to turn over the association's property.

While this outrage against the General Association of Overseas Chinese Organizations was going on, the offices of ten other overseas Chinese institutions in Djakarta were also forcibly occupied by hoodlums.

Most shocking was the fact that the hooligans openly kidnapped eight Chinese nationals, including staff members of these overseas Chinese institutions, and subjected them to forcible interrogation at a secret torture chamber set up in the Djakarta Overseas Chinese Middle School which was guarded by armed troops. After the hooligans failed to extract confessions by coaxing, they badly beat up the detained Chinese. Some of the detainees were stripped, bound to

chairs and clubbed and whipped on the chest, abdomen and private parts. Some were tortured for six long hours and fainted several times. But they sternly refuted the false charges, refused to yield, and showed no fear even though the hooligans threatened to electrocute them or bury them alive. The soldiers who were guarding the school dropped in at the torture chamber frequently and chatted with the hooligans.

Since the middle of March, over 20 overseas Chinese institutions in Bandung and other places in West Java have been illegally seized by hooligans.

In East Java, the Chung Hua Tsung Hui and five other overseas Chinese institutions in the city of Malang were illegally seized by hoodlums on March 30 and 31.

In its note, the Chinese Embassy demanded that the Indonesian Government immediately take effective measures, return the buildings of the overseas Chinese institutions that have been illegally seized, check the spread of the forcible occupation of overseas Chinese institutions, bring to account the criminals responsible for these incidents and their instigators, return the documents and all property that have been taken away by the hooligans, release the staff members of the overseas Chinese institutions who have been illegally arrested, strictly ensure the security of the overseas Chinese institutions and their staff members, and **guarantee against the recurrence of such incidents.**

**O**N April 5 the authorities of the Fifth Military District issued a decision which arbitrarily ordered the closing down of all overseas Chinese schools in the Djakarta District.

The following day the Djakarta military authorities sent out armed troops which, together with hooligans organized by the Right-wing reactionary forces, forcibly closed down all the 51 overseas Chinese schools in the Djakarta District. This has forced more than 40,000 overseas Chinese students out of school and made over 1,400 teachers jobless.

On April 7 the authorities of the Sixth Military District also issued a decision arbitrarily ordering the closing down of all overseas Chinese schools in the West Java District.

Earlier, on March 30, the Fourth Military District authorities had ordered the closing down of all overseas Chinese schools in the South Sumatra District.

The Chinese Embassy in its note demanded that the Indonesian Government immediately revoke the above-mentioned decisions closing down the overseas Chinese schools, prevent the raiding or seizure of these schools by the Right-wing reactionary forces, adopt effective measures to protect the cultural and educational establishments of overseas Chinese from encroachment, take steps so that the schools may be reopened as soon as possible, ensure the safety of teachers and students, and give assurances that no similar incidents will take place again.

# Running Enterprises in Line With Mao Tse-tung's Thinking

THE State Economic Commission and the Political Department of Industry and Transport of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party jointly convened the recent national conferences on work in industry and transport and on political work in industry and transport. Summing up the experience gained, these two conferences broadly reviewed and debated in a thoroughgoing way the question of how to put politics first in enterprises. These reviews and debates helped to unify ideas and enhance understanding. In order to go a step further in putting politics first in enterprises, it is necessary to make further advances along the road of running enterprises in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This is the conclusion reached by the conferences.

Like that on all other fronts in China, the present situation in industry and transport is extremely favourable. The class consciousness of the mass of workers and staff members is higher than ever before, industrial production as a whole has taken on a new look and tremendous advances have been made in technical innovations and the technical revolution. This is the inevitable result of the past eight years comprising three years of rapid development, followed by three years of readjustment and two years of a new upsurge in production. It is also the inevitable result of a growing, conscious effort to apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking in running enterprises. However, we must make a cool-headed analysis of this extremely favourable situation. We have just begun to accumulate some experience of our own and to transform our state of poverty and blankness. A complete system of enterprise management has still to be worked out and only a part of our cadres understand how to apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking in running enterprises. Compared to our great goal of catching up with and surpassing the world's advanced levels and our great ideal of building communism, our achievements can only make us feel how inadequate are our successes and there is not the slightest reason for us to be complacent.

Our Party's general line for building socialism was mapped out on the basis of the proposals advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Running enterprises in the spirit of the general line means running them in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Through the great practical endeavours of the past eight years, we have acquired a wealth of experience in implementing

the general line in a spirit of self-reliance and enterprise; we have worked out a whole series of principles, policies and methods of carrying through the general line. At the same time the Taching Oilfield and large numbers of advanced, Taching-type units embodying the spirit of the general line have come to the fore. All this offers convincing proof that the road of running enterprises in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the only correct road for China's industrialization.

What are the basic points in running enterprises in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking?

**To run enterprises in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, it is necessary to take class struggle and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism as the key link, to consolidate and develop socialism, avoid revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and ensure the step-by-step advance towards communism.**

Class struggle in enterprises often takes the form of struggles between proletarian and bourgeois ideas and between the socialist and capitalist roads. For instance, in regard to production and technique, management, regulations and systems in our enterprises, shall we go our own way or copy from capitalism and revisionism? Shall we foster the concept of serving the customer, that is, serving the people, wholeheartedly, or shall we adhere to the idea of considering only fulfilling production quota and gaining profit? Shall we work hard and adhere to the principle of running enterprises with industry and thrift, or shall we indulge in an easy and comfortable life and discard that principle? Shall we foster a collective spirit and a communist style, or cultivate bourgeois ideas? Shall we gradually narrow down the differences between town and country, workers and peasants, and mental and physical labour or preserve and widen them? All these are serious questions which have a direct bearing on whether enterprises will advance gradually towards communism or gradually regress to capitalism. We must keep a firm grasp of class struggle, the key link, and persist in a socialist direction for our enterprises.

The formation of a highly proletarian, militant industrial army in our enterprises is a decisive step in persisting in a socialist direction and preventing a capitalist restoration. The building of such an army

demands a serious class struggle to promote proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology. The view that there is only the working class in our enterprises and no serious class struggles not only contradicts the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but is incompatible with reality in our socialist enterprises. On the one hand, socialist enterprises are parts of socialism and maintain a myriad links with society. The class struggle in society will certainly find expression within enterprises, within the working class and even within Party organizations of enterprises. On the other hand, only a section of the workers and staff members in our enterprises are of working-class origin. The greater number of them were not long ago peasants, urban petty-bourgeois elements or intellectuals of various types. Without class struggle in the ideological field, it is impossible to change these workers and staff members coming from non-proletarian classes into proletarians. At the same time, in our enterprises there are still bourgeois elements and people from other exploiting classes. It is still less conceivable that they can be thoroughly remoulded and changed into proletarians without a serious class struggle in the political and ideological fields. The work relating to people that we often speak about means, in essence, taking full consideration of all sorts of living ideas, to carry on the class education for the people and use proletarian ideas to overcome non-proletarian ideas.

Class struggle is frequently linked with the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Class struggle in enterprises is most often reflected in these fields. We stress that the three great revolutionary movements should be carried forward simultaneously. This means that we should promote the two movements — the struggle for production and scientific experiment — by carrying forward the class struggle, that we should analyse and deal with problems arising in these two movements from the viewpoint of class struggle, and that we should carry political and ideological work right into these two movements. In this way the transformation of the objective world and the transformation of the subjective world of people are unified, the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the enterprises are unified, and the three major tasks of enterprises — turning out products, training personnel and providing experience — are unified. Thus, the more enterprises develop their production, the more revolutionary will be the ranks of their workers and staff members. While developing production, enterprises will be preparing not only the material, but ideological, conditions for the future realization of communism. Devoting attention in enterprises to class struggle and the struggle between the two roads is the key factor in building a proletarian industrial army, in fundamentally ensuring that enterprises develop production in a socialist direction, and in fundamentally preventing the restoration of capitalism and the emergence of revisionism.

**To run enterprises in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, it is necessary to follow the mass line**

**thoroughly and develop the mass movement on a broad scale.**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders."

Socialist enterprises are not only carrying on socialist construction, but also socialist revolution. The struggle for production and scientific experiment in socialist construction are also great revolutionary movements. Therefore, in running socialist enterprises, it is necessary to follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings, that is: to rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, not on a few persons issuing orders. This makes it necessary to carry through the Party's fundamental line — the mass line — in the three great revolutionary movements in enterprises. This is a basic feature that distinguishes socialist from capitalist enterprises and our socialist from revisionist enterprises.

In developing technique in enterprises as in developing production, reliance must also be put on the masses. Some people still do not grasp this point as they should or still lack a profound understanding of it. The working class of our country is not only the master of the state and production, it must also become the master of science and technique. The rich practical experience of the workers and their proficiency in skill entitle them to a full say on matters of production and technique in enterprises. A multitude of facts prove that whether or not to rely on the masses in matters of science and technique is an important question which is linked to whether or not science and technique can be developed with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking on people's war represents a concrete application of the Party's mass line in warfare. To implement the mass line in developing science and technique, enterprises should also follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking on people's war. In order to speed up the "annihilation" of the "enemy" in scientific and technical development in enterprises, it is not enough to rely solely on the technical personnel — the "regular army." We must at the same time rely on the mass of workers — the "local armed forces" and "people's militia." This is the three-in-one co-operation between the leading cadres, technical personnel and workers that we advocate. Thorough implementation of this type of co-operation means real implementation of the thinking of people's war and the mass line in production and technique. If the mass movement is carried out on a broad scale only in relation to class struggle and the struggle for production in enterprises, but not at the same time in scientific experiment, then the mass line is only being carried out in part and not thoroughly.

Practice in the past dozen years and more has provided our socialist enterprises with rich experience in carrying out the mass line thoroughly and in undertaking mass movements on a broad scale. They have begun to adopt a number of systems to ensure that these aims are achieved. One of these is a fundamental system under which cadres take part in productive labour as ordinary workers alongside the rank-and-file workers, and the latter take part in management as masters of the state alongside the cadres. This system also makes the enterprises' rules and regulations subject to reform in the light of the actual development of production and the practical experience of the mass of workers and staff members, so that rules and regulations are designed to encourage the workers and staff members further to exert their initiative and creativeness and facilitate the growth of production. Another integral part of this system is the adoption of three-in-one co-operation between the leading cadres, technical personnel and workers in tackling problems of production and technique. This is a system for carrying through the mass line in running enterprises, a system that encourages the vigorous development of the mass movement. By seriously carrying out this system, the development of the mass movement on a broad scale in the enterprises can be ensured.

To introduce vigorous development of the mass movement, it is necessary to remove misunderstanding as regards the movement. Some people entertain the idea that a mass movement consists simply of holding big meetings and making a big noise. In acting this way, they are not really carrying on a mass movement, only indulging in formalism. Instead of really mobilizing the initiative of the masses, this will do harm to it. A genuine mass movement is conscious action by the masses under the leadership of the Party. Therefore, the Party organizations of enterprises should undertake thoroughgoing ideological education among the masses. This means solving the varied ideological as well as practical problems among them. This work must be done in a meticulous and down-to-earth way; it is the very foundation work in a mass movement. Only this kind of down-to-earth ideological mobilization can ensure vigorous, conscious action by the masses. And only this type of mass movement can truly play its role in the three great revolutionary movements in enterprises.

**To run enterprises in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, it is necessary to put democratic centralism into practice.**

Democratic centralism has been written into our Party Constitution and the Constitution of our state. It is a basic system for building up our Party and for building socialism.

Democracy is the prerequisite of this system. Centralism means primarily the concentration of correct ideas. If democracy is not practised, the masses have not expressed their views, where can correct ideas come from, and how can they be concentrated?

The circumstances and the problems of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment in enterprises are very complicated. The mass of workers and staff members, who are daily engaged in these three great revolutionary movements, are the ones who really understand the situation and know the problems. Take the question of mapping out plans and working out measures to fulfil these plans. The role of an enterprise's leading cadres is that of a "processing plant." Without adequate raw materials of good quality, a plant will not be able to turn out sound products. Only when the leading cadres of the enterprise fully practise democracy and let the masses put forward their views, truly reflecting the situation and the problems in various aspects, can they concentrate correct views and map out suitable plans and measures. Without practising democracy and letting the cadres and masses speak out their ideas fully, without reaching a clear understanding of the situation and the problems, it is difficult for the leadership to avoid subjectivism in making decisions based on partial or incorrect information. Therefore, centralism without democracy can only be the centralism of bureaucracy and commandism. Of what use is this sort of centralism?

The practice of democracy requires that the masses be permitted to air their views fully and have wide-ranging debates. This is a method by which the masses educate both the leadership and themselves. By advocating this method, it is possible to create in our enterprises a vigorous and lively political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unity of will and personal ease of mind. Such a political situation ensures that the mass of workers and staff members can put forward all their ideas on production, technique and management. It ensures that they are bold in fighting against all phenomena which depart from the Party's line, principles and policies and against all unhealthy signs and trends.

All our organizations and cadres should accept two kinds of supervision, one from the leadership above and the other from the masses below. Neither kind of supervision can be dispensed with. Naturally, our enterprises are no exception. Supervision from the masses below is very important; it cannot be replaced by supervision from the leadership above. Many problems in enterprises are often discovered by the mass of the workers and staff members before they are observed by the leading bodies. With supervision by the masses, prompt discovery and solution of problems in the leading bodies and among leading cadres of enterprises are possible. This is of great practical importance in ensuring that enterprises take a socialist direction. Seen in this light, democratic centralism is also a system for ensuring supervision of the leadership of enterprises by the mass of workers and staff members.

**To run enterprises in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, it is necessary to persist in carrying forward the revolution uninterrupted and in constantly advancing in the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "In social practice, the process of coming into being, developing and passing away is infinite, and so is the process of coming into being, developing and passing away in human knowledge." He also says: "In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience, make new discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing."

This is the theoretical basis for persisting in carrying forward the revolution uninterrupted and in constantly advancing in the three great revolutionary movements. How can we persist in uninterrupted revolution and make such a constant advance? One important method is to sum up experience. The concept "one divides into two" should be applied in summing up experience. Achievements should be affirmed, and shortcomings exposed. Our work at any time will have these two aspects: achievements and shortcomings. Achievements inspire confidence and shortcomings check complacency. Being confident without being complacent naturally keeps one on the move in both uninterrupted revolution and in maintaining continuous advance. Seeing only achievements but not shortcomings closes one's eyes to the need for continued advance.

Every enterprise, in persisting in uninterrupted revolution and constant advance, should have both long-range strategic objectives and short-range tactical objectives. As soon as one task is completed, a new one should be put forward. After scaling one height, one should advance towards the next. The requirements of the national economy are without limit and so is the development of science and technology. Any complacency or halt in the advance is contrary to the thinking of Mao Tse-tung.

As this is true in the struggle for production and scientific experiment, so is it true of class struggle. Class struggle and ideological remoulding cannot be completed at one go. Once we relax our attention on class struggle and ideological remoulding, our ideology may take a wrong road. Only by persisting in uninterrupted revolution in class struggle, can we maintain a constant advance in the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

**To run enterprises in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, it is necessary to ensure absolute leadership by the Communist Party.**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "The core of our strength, which leads us in our cause, is the Communist Party of China." The core of strength which leads an enterprise is its Party organization. This Party

organization must be a Marxist-Leninist one armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Only such a Party organization can persist along a socialist direction, persist in the mass line and in practising democratic centralism, and in uninterrupted revolution—that is to say, persist in running an enterprise in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

To ensure absolute leadership of the Party over the enterprise, it is essential that its leading organ be revolutionized, that is, that it has a revolutionized Party committee. A Party committee which wants to run its enterprise in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking must first of all creatively study and apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works and resolutely change the situation in which the leadership lags behind the masses in this respect. The fundamental way to change this situation is to put the stress on applying what they learn from Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works, on improving work and on ideological remoulding. Only when leading cadres study and apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking at the forefront of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment can their study and application be really creative, can they link themselves with the masses closely, can they closely combine particular guidance with a general call, can they closely combine the transformation of the objective world with the transformation of the subjective world. Only so can they grasp the principal contradiction in an enterprise and solve its most crucial problems. Only such a leading body can be considered a revolutionized one.

Ensuring absolute leadership by the Party over the enterprise calls resolutely for unified leadership by the Party. That is to say, on the one hand, all tasks handed down from higher administrative and other organizations, and mass organizations should, without exception, be put under the unified control of the enterprise's Party committee and arranged according to its actual situation. These organizations should not by-pass the Party committee. On the other hand, work in any sphere of the enterprise, such as that of the Communist Youth League, trade union, women's association or the militia, should be arranged under the unified leadership of the enterprise's Party committee, and not according to the individual wish of each unit. Priority should be given to fulfilment of the central tasks of the given enterprise. Endless experience proves that, without unified leadership, it is impossible to have a strong leadership.

Ensuring absolute leadership by the Party over an enterprise requires that the Party's work at the grass-roots level be strengthened. It demands that the Party get a grip on Party work and not let it go by default. The work of the Party branches and the education of Party members must be strengthened so that every Party branch becomes a fighting bastion in revolutionizing its enterprise and every Party member becomes a revolutionized fighter. With such a force of revolutionized Party members, a revolutionized industrial army and revolutionized enterprises can be created.

At the present time, in China's industry and transport, two upsurges have taken shape. One is in production, the other is in the creative study and application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works. These two influence and impel each other forward. In the upsurge of production, the mass of workers and staff members turn urgently to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works to seek the "highest directives" in solving the problems which crop up and to overcome difficulties. The upsurge in the creative study and application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works, on the other hand, gives great momentum to the advance of the production upsurge. That these two upsurges are taking place simultaneously and are closely linked is no accident. They are the result of the conscious action of the mass of

workers and staff members to develop production by carrying forward the revolution, the result of their conscious effort to run enterprises in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. As long as the leading cadres of enterprises go into the thick of these movements and promote the upsurge in production by taking a firm hold on the upsurge in the creative study and application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works, they will be able to ensure that their enterprises are run in line with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, that the upsurge in production develops soundly, that the tasks of the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan are successfully fulfilled and that China's industrial production advances rapidly along the correct road.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, April 3.)

## Progress Report

# New Victories on the Industrial Front

by CHEN KUANG-CHUN

**L**AST year China's industrial economy consolidated the positions gained and continued its advance. It scored great successes in many fields and speeded up the pace of socialist construction.

1965 saw a high rate of industrial advance. The improvement in the quality of goods, the increase in the variety of industrial products, the results achieved in technical innovations and revolution, the economies in consumption of materials, the increase in labour productivity, and the bigger income from industry were all on a scale without precedent since the founding of New China in 1949.

Output of the great majority of industrial products increased by wide margins in 1965. Basic industries such as coal, iron and steel, petroleum, electric power and machine-building all reported big advances and fulfilled their state plans ahead of time. Light industry, so closely connected with the people's livelihood, had an excellent year. The situation in the textile industry was better than in any previous year since New China was founded. Output figures for textile machines, cotton yarn, and cotton, wool, silk, bast fibre or chemical fibre fabrics all showed considerable increases over those of 1964.

Industry gave agriculture greater assistance than in any previous year. The chemical fertilizer industry surpassed its 1964 output figure by more than 3 million tons. This represented a rate of increase equal to that of several previous years combined. By extending the rural power network in the major grain and cot-

ton producing regions, the electric power industry increased supplies to the farms by 29 per cent. Iron and steel, engineering and the light industries as well as communications and transport each contributed its share of aid to farming. All together this played a big role in boosting farm output last year.

### Better Quality, Greater Variety

Factories and mining industries all over the country last year put particular stress on "doing everything well" and continued the drive for better quality and greater variety of products. Considerable success attended these efforts.

Quality standards of most of the nation's major industrial products were either stabilized or raised. Industry and domestic consumers got better, cleaner coal last year. Some petroleum products were as good as the best in the world and some set new world standards. Of the major industrial products made in Shanghai, one of China's great industrial centres, 98 per cent were first or second grade.

Industry made a bigger range of goods. Over 500 new varieties of steel products urgently needed by the nation were successfully trial produced last year. These included many kinds of high-grade alloy steel products—stainless, irregular-shaped, or resistant to corrosion and high temperatures and pressures; light channel beams and thick, cold-rolled plates for use in the making of new types of tractors. The big range of new steel products produced last year enabled China

to raise further its rate of self-sufficiency in this field. The petroleum industry successfully trial manufactured several dozen new high-grade products. The machine-building industry manufactured over 1,000 new products which were regarded as rather important. This carried China's engineering industry to a new and higher technical level.

### **Technical Innovations and Revolution**

The drive for technical innovations and revolution is integrally related to the nationwide mass movement to compare with, learn from, catch up with and surpass the advanced and help those lagging behind. These movements gathered momentum. More people than ever took part in last year's movement for technical innovations and revolution and its scope too was wider. Participants included engineers, technicians and management staff, veterans and new hands, skilled workers and apprentices. Many new materials, new equipment, new techniques and new technological processes have been produced in the course of technical innovations and revolution. These substantially raised productivity, improved the quality and increased the range of products and economized manpower, material and financial resources. In practically every field of the petroleum industry, for example, innovations and advances were recorded in technological processes, tools, operation, mechanization and automation.

In Shanghai more than 100,000 items of technical innovations were introduced last year. In a burst of ingenuity to overcome difficulties due to outworn or outdated equipment, shortages of technical materials and lack of experience, a large number of factories in this industrial city have succeeded in turning out one advanced product after another and mastered some of the most up-to-date techniques. Its instrument industry, for instance, used to take one or two years to complete the trial manufacture of an advanced instrument. Last year some plants took only six months to master the trial manufacture of fairly advanced instruments of a new type.

In their drive for technical innovations and revolution, Peking's industrial enterprises also obtained notable results. Compared with 1964, they raised labour productivity by 20 per cent and increased profits paid over to the state by 26 per cent.

These facts show that the movement for technical innovations and revolution played a significant part in the new upsurge of industrial production last year.

### **Revolution in Designing**

Last year the revolution in designing, which first started in the capital construction departments, has extended to the machine-building industry. The revolution in the designing of machinery concerns the first link in the development of new products and plays a strategic role in the whole production situation. It is decisive in determining whether our industry can be developed in a greater, faster, better and more economical way and whether China can catch up with

and surpass advanced world levels within a not too long historical period.

The revolutionary new approach to machine designing resulted in important successes last year in designing new products for agriculture, industry and the national defence. These new products, truly conforming to the requirements of the general line for socialist construction, were produced faster and at lower cost than the old and gave better results in performance.

Big successes have also been achieved in industrial capital construction. China's industry had far more capital construction projects under way than in any of the past few years. In the chemical fertilizer industry, for instance, a number of large key enterprises as well as a batch of small chemical fertilizer plants were being newly built or expanded. The designing and manufacturing of their equipment in China has greatly speeded up their construction and improved their quality.

### **Cadres Take Part in Physical Labour**

Chairman Mao has taught that cadres should go to the "grass roots" — to the basic levels of production and into the midst of the masses to see how matters stand there, investigate and study, and integrate themselves with reality. Last year, in accordance with these ideas, leading cadres at various levels of administration on China's industrial front and all cadres of enterprises went regularly to the basic production units to eat, live, work and consult with the workers. This was an immense encouragement to the workers.

Ministers of the various industrial ministries, heads of different departments and bureaux, and leading personnel in the industrial departments of the various provinces and municipalities also went frequently and in large numbers down to the enterprises to organize and lead productive activities. They closely identified themselves with the workers at work and in their daily life, consulted together with them to find solutions for problems that arose in production, and helped improve the well-being of the workers. This has greatly inspired the working masses and reinforced their confidence in fulfilling or overfulfilling the tasks that face them.

The policy that cadres should take part in physical labour is strictly carried out in all enterprises. Apart from those who cannot participate in physical labour for various reasons, all other cadres, no matter what their work or duties, must take part in productive labour at set times, working with certain specific groups and striving to master one or more production techniques. Cadres of the Taching Oilfield, for instance, each worked in this way for an average of 12.5 days per month last year and 70 per cent of those who did the jobs of workers mastered at least one technique.

### **Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thinking**

The successes scored on China's industrial front in 1965 are the result of study and creative application



of Chairman Mao's works by the broad masses of workers and staff of the industrial enterprises.

Last year, workers and staff in industry, like those in other fields, set out to arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. The unprecedented movement to study Chairman Mao's works mounted to a new high among them. By studying and creatively applying Chairman Mao's works, they have reinforced their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, enterprise, hard work and thrift and diligence in building up the country. In applying Chairman Mao's teachings, many of them have, on the one hand, established a bold spirit of creation and scaling the new heights of scientific knowledge. On the other hand, they link their revolutionary enthusiasm with a serious scientific attitude. Many impressive achievements in various industries last year proved that the quicker man's outlook changes, the quicker the situation in production changes.

Through the efforts of the iron and steel workers China is now able to produce itself many products which it formerly had to import. These include high-strength propeller shaft tubes and concave spring flat bars for the motor vehicle industry; heavy gauge alloy steel plates for cracking plants in oil refineries; steel pipes for drilling 3,000-metre deep oil wells; ultra-low carbon stainless steel for making equipment for vinylon plants; steel plates for high pressure vessels, stainless, clad plates and high-pressure boiler plates for chemical fertilizer plants.

China's textile industry workers turned out over 3,600 new designs, varieties and types of cotton, woollen and silk fabrics. Many of these fabrics were as good as the best in the world.

### Further Advances in 1966

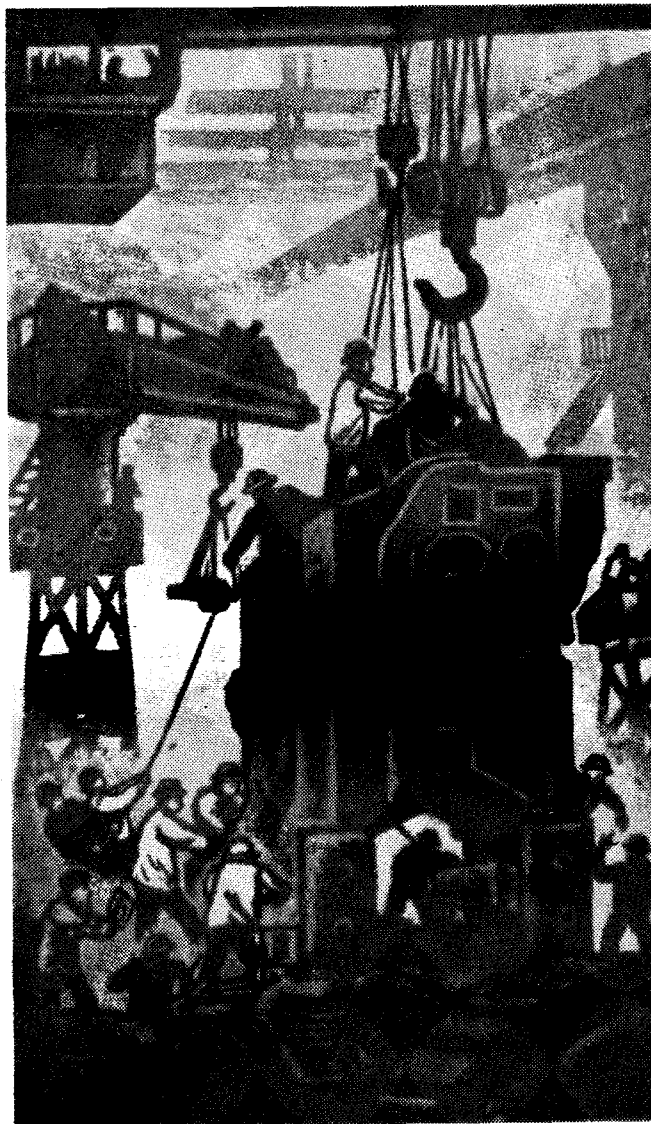
1966 is the first year of China's Third Five-Year Plan for development of the national economy. While the results of the five years depend largely on the first three years, this first year of the three will be decisive.

Guided by the general line for socialist construction, China's industry will continue its advance this year. Workers and staff of the industrial front are determined to work for an all-round fulfilment and overfulfilment of state plans and guide their work by the following principles:

1. Hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, emulate the example set by the People's Liberation Army, and make every effort to put politics first.

2. Develop everywhere the movement to compare with, learn from, catch up with and surpass the advanced and help those lagging behind centred around emulating the Taching Oilfield and fostering outstanding units; and carry out the revolutionization of enterprises.

April 15, 1966



Installing the rolling mill we made ourselves

Woodcut by electric welder Sung En-hou  
and electrician Kung Ching-fa

3. Achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results, giving priority to quality; increase production; resolutely combat waste; and carry forward the new upsurge in industrial production.

4. Continue to develop the mass movement for technical innovations and revolution, and pay special attention to "surpassing" in catching up with and surpassing advanced technical levels both at home and abroad.

5. Make every effort to assist agriculture and to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

6. Give active support to the national defences and ensure that the country's major construction projects are done on schedule.

China's industrial workers are confident that by fulfilling these tasks and adhering to these principles, they will achieve even greater successes this year than they did last year.

# China Supports Cambodia in Resisting Thailand Aggression

ON the night of April 3, a detachment of Thai troops intruded into Preah Vihear Province in Cambodia, attacked and burnt down the Cambodian post at Preah Vihear Temple and kidnapped five guards of the post. This was another grave act of aggression against the Kingdom of Cambodia instigated by U.S. imperialism and committed by its vassal Thailand. In a statement issued on April 7, the Royal Government of Cambodia sternly condemned the Thai aggressors and called on all countries which uphold justice and love peace to stop Thailand's acts of war against Cambodia. The Chinese Government and people firmly support this just stand of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

In order to extend its war of aggression against Vietnam to the whole of Indo-China, U.S. imperialism is increasingly using the Thai reactionaries as its accomplices. Of late, Thai troops, under the instigation of U.S. imperialism, have conducted a series of acts of aggression and provocation against the Kingdom of Cambodia. The Thai authorities have ceaselessly and loudly slandered the peace-loving Kingdom of Cambodia as a grave menace to Thailand. After the Prime Minister of Thailand Thanom visited Vientiane in late March, military and political chiefs of Thailand even repeatedly cried that they would co-operate with the Laotian Rightists and co-ordinate with the United States in launching attacks on the Laotian liberated areas and the Kingdom of Cambodia. All this shows that the Thai troops' attack on the Cambodian post at Preah Vihear Temple was entirely an act planned beforehand by the U.S. imperialists and the Thai reactionaries. As

pointed out in the statement of the Royal Government of Cambodia, it was "a prelude to massive aggression against Cambodia."

The Thai troops' attack on the Cambodian post at Preah Vihear Temple constitutes an act of flagrant aggression. The site of the said temple is on territory under the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and this is an internationally accepted fact. While verbally recognizing this fact, the Thai authorities sent troops to attack the Cambodian post there and for a time occupied Preah Vihear Temple. This has once again exposed the Thai reactionaries' designs on the territory of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The aim of the Thai authorities is obviously to fish in troubled waters while the United States expands its war in Indo-China.

Under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the heroic army and people of Cambodia have resolutely rebuffed every intrusion and provocation by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, punctured the arrogance of the aggressors and safeguarded the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia. In the latest incident, the armed forces of the Kingdom of Cambodia won another important victory by repulsing the Thai troops' attack and recovering Preah Vihear Temple. **The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Cambodian people's just struggle against aggression and serve the following warning: U.S. imperialism and its Thai lackeys must stop their acts of aggression against the Kingdom of Cambodia; otherwise, they will have to face the consequences of their action.**

(April 9, 1966.)

## A Dirty Political Plot

by OBSERVER

*The "Ministerial Conference for Economic Development of Southeast Asia" took place in Tokyo on April 6 and 7. It was attended by representatives of Japan, the Philippines, the south Vietnam puppet group, the Vientiane authorities of Laos, Thailand, "Malaysia" and Singapore. Controlled by the Right-wing generals' clique, the Indonesian Government was represented by its newly appointed ambassador to Japan who served as an "observer."*

*The following is an abridged translation of an article which appeared in "Renmin Ribao" on April 10. — Ed.*

THE "Ministerial Conference for Economic Development of Southeast Asia" called by the Japanese Government was the first "international conference" openly convened by the Japanese militarists since their defeat a little over 20 years ago. It was a new and important step towards the complete revival of Japanese militarism and for foreign expansion. It was also a dirty political conspiracy worked out between the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries in their aggression against Asia and opposition to China.

The Sato government has lauded the conference to the skies, but its praise is just cheap publicity. To

put it bluntly, all the talk about "peace and prosperity" in Southeast Asia and about Japan's "expanded aid" to the region is aimed at strengthening, to a still greater extent, the colonial status of the economies of those Southeast Asian countries already in the grip of foreign monopoly capital. The six items on the agenda can be boiled down to a single idea: "an agricultural Southeast Asia and an industrial Japan." The conference communique blatantly asked the Southeast Asian countries to "improve their conditions for investment." Many of the participants in the conference have long been the objects of the insatiable plunder and exploitation by imperialist monopoly capital, especially American capital. They are already greatly impoverished. Now the Sato government wants them to "improve their conditions for investment," and tries to make them a complete appendage to American and Japanese monopoly capital. Obviously, the "development project" it has worked out for them is nothing short of a plan for enslavement and colonial expansion.

### U.S. Imperialism Behind the Scenes

As a matter of fact, the real stage managers of the Tokyo conference were not the Japanese financiers but the Wall Street monopoly groups. Everybody remembers that in April 1965, U.S. President Johnson proposed a 1,000 million-dollar "development plan for Southeast Asia," as part of his "stick and carrot" policy. The purpose of the plan is to co-ordinate with the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam, to give still more support to U.S. puppet regimes in south Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia and to enslave the Southeast Asian peoples, thus stabilizing U.S. aggressive positions in this region. As soon as Johnson trotted out his proposal, the Sato government responded positively. It openly declared that it would "contribute" to the proposed plan. Tomisaburo Hashimoto, Chief Cabinet Secretary of the Sato government, did not mince words when he said at a press conference during the Tokyo meeting that the capital for "the development of Southeast Asia" would include that offered by the World Bank and Johnson's 1,000 million-dollar promise in his

"Southeast Asian development plan." This exposed the nature of the so-called "Asian co-operation."

### Prelude to Aggressive Alliance

The Sato government only succeeded in pointing to the obvious when it declared time and again that the Tokyo conference was purely an "economic" conference "without any political motive."

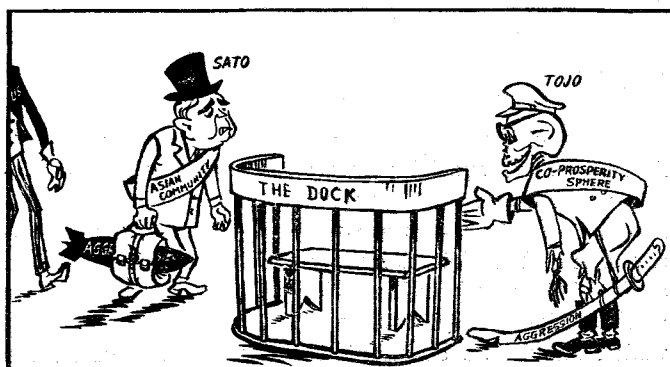
Today, U.S. imperialism has adopted Japanese militarism as a chief accomplice in pushing ahead its policies of aggression and war in Asia. U.S. imperialism is at the end of its tether in its war of aggression in Vietnam, and its colonial rule in Southeast Asia is being rocked to its foundations. The SEATO bloc has been virtually paralysed. It is in this precarious situation that U.S. imperialism has instigated the Sato government to rig up a new alliance of the reactionary forces in Southeast Asia to prop up the U.S. puppet regimes and stamp out the national-liberation movements there and build a military enclosure around China.

Prior to the Tokyo conference, the Johnson Administration had successively dispatched Mansfield, William Bundy, Harriman, Humphrey and other top officials to Japan and other Asian countries on busy manoeuvres. In this connection, the *Washington Post* (February 14) noted that the United States wanted to "shape a new alliance" in Asia, while *Asahi Shimbun* (February 17) revealed that, "in the minds of the United States, Japan had become the central stabilizing force in Asia which could unite the countries around China in a common front against it." Obviously, the conference was a prelude to the establishment of a new U.S.-sponsored aggressive alliance in Southeast Asia with Japan as its core.

### Bait for Peaceful and Neutral Countries

Judging from the participants at the Tokyo conference, people can clearly see what sort of stuff makes up this "Asian unity" which the Sato government boasts about. Most of them are lackeys and puppets of U.S. imperialism, representatives of the most reactionary and rotten forces in the Southeast Asian countries. It is not at all surprising for the Japanese militarists to want to "join hands in feelings of close unity" with them. But the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries also hope to use the Japan-as-a-"member-of-Asia" sign-board and the bait of "economic aid" to drag step by step some peaceful and neutral Southeast Asian countries into the cesspool of the U.S. anti-China alliance. This political conspiracy will naturally alert those Southeast Asian countries which cherish their national independence, as well as all Southeast Asian peoples.

The convening of the "ministerial conference" also revealed the Japanese militarists' own mad ambitions for colonial expansion. Nurtured by U.S. imperialism, these militarist forces are being speedily revived. Japanese monopoly capital, which is the economic basis



Tojo's old seat

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

NEWS ITEM: During the Tokyo conference, a Japanese delegate who was a foreign ministry department chief under Tojo, recalled how that war criminal, "in military uniform, had sat in the chairman's seat" at the "Greater East Asia Conference" 23 years ago.

of militarism, has also been growing apace under the wing of U.S. monopoly capital. While stepping up attacks on the working people at home, it is carrying out colonial expansion and aggressive activities abroad with still greater ambition. Since it came into office the Sato government has further accelerated Japanese militarism's expansion abroad. Last year, it concentrated its efforts on colonial expansion in Northeast Asia, mainly through the "Japan-South Korea Treaty" and collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek gang, which enabled the Japanese militarist forces to return to south Korea and China's province of Taiwan. Now the Sato government has again sounded the bugle for the Japanese militarists to march on Southeast Asia.

### "Co-Prosperity Sphere" Refurbished

It seems that the Japanese militarists have quite an appetite. Already Sato has bragged about the need for Japan to organize a so-called "Asian community." And the Japanese bourgeois propaganda machine has enthusiastically compared the present conference to

the "Greater East Asia Conference" held in 1943. In their complacency, Japan's ruling circles unwittingly let out a big secret, that is, in their eyes, this "Asian community" is merely a refurbished version of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" of over 20 years ago. The only difference is at that time Japanese militarism itself was the boss, while now the United States is the boss and Japanese militarism only functions as its foreman and errand boy. This is the whole truth of the farce of the "ministerial conference" staged in Tokyo.

History never repeats itself. The Asia of today can only belong to the Asian people and not to U.S. imperialism, Japanese militarism or any other reactionaries. Whatever tactics U.S. imperialism may employ, whether taking the field itself or through Japanese militarism, it will never be able to avert its fate of utter defeat in Asia. If the Japanese militarists intend to revive their old dream of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" with the help of U.S. imperialism, they will only end up being buried along with it.

## INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

# Communist Party of China Is the Shock Brigade Of World Revolutionary Proletariat

—Peruvian Communist Party Organ

**T**HE People's Republic of China is now a gigantic socialist power in the world arena and is "a powerful base for supporting the nationalist and revolutionary movements," says an article published recently in *Ban-dera Roja*, organ of the Peruvian Communist Party.

The article says that "all the dirty intrigues hatched by the imperialists, reactionaries and revisionists against the People's Republic of China and its leaders will fail. Final victory belongs to Marxism-Leninism."

Entitled "Our Tribute to the Great Chinese Revolution," the article points out that the Chinese revolution was a historic event second in its significance only to the great Bolshevik revolution.

It says: "By applying Marxism-Leninism in a truly creative manner, the Chinese Communist Party led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has correctly solved the most important problems in China's socialist construction. Both its socialist industrialization and agricultural co-operation have taken a correct path in difficult conditions and circumstances. The building of socialism in China has been carried out mainly on the basis of the efforts of its own people wisely guided by the Communist Party."

Internationally, "the People's Republic of China has today become a base for supporting all the nationalist and revolutionary movements. Its leaders genuinely apply proletarian internationalism and firmly adhere to Marxism-Leninism. In its practice, the Communist Party of China has been for years the 'shock brigade' of the international communist movement and the world's revolutionary proletariat. This is the reason why the Yankee imperialists and their allies, the modern revisionists and their followers, have unleashed a veritable offensive of lies, calumnies and provocations against the People's Republic of China."

"The oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have special reasons for stressing the importance and world significance of the great Chinese revolution. These peoples are suffering from the same oppression and exploitation from which the Chinese people suffered before their liberation. Obviously, the lessons of the Chinese revolution constitute a great contribution which should be assimilated and made use of in the light of concrete reality in each country. This is precisely what is happening today, to the exasperation and fear of the revisionists and to the anger of the imperialists."

# China in the Forefront of the Struggle Against Imperialism and Revisionism

— Elias Seman, Political Secretary of the Communist Vanguard of Argentina

A PAMPHLET by Elias Seman, Political Secretary of the Communist Vanguard of Argentina, was recently published in Argentina. Entitled "China in the Fight Against Imperialism and Revisionism," it strongly denounces the modern revisionists for colluding with U.S. imperialism and betraying the world revolution of the proletariat, and warmly praises the Communist Party of China (C.P.C.) for adhering to the principles of proletarian internationalism, standing in the forefront of the world people's struggle and carrying out a determined fight against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism.

"If the Party of Lenin and Stalin was able to liberate the fatherland occupied by the fascist invaders and pursue them right to Berlin," the writer says in the preface, "the C.P.C. today is in the forefront of the most magnificent cause confronting the people of the world — to combat U.S. imperialism and revisionist capitulation. If the policy of an anti-fascist united front brought victory to all peoples and Communists the world over participated in its execution, then the policy of a united front against U.S. imperialism can enable the revolutionary forces to take the strategic offensive to destroy the rear of imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Hence, the fundamental task of the present era is to support and develop the national-democratic struggle on these three continents in order to smash the regimes of U.S. imperialism and its allies."

"The C.P.C.," the pamphlet says, "has made great contributions to achieving this objective. **The works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, *On Practice and On Contradiction*, enrich the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge and increase the capacity of the Communists to change and transform reality.** The capacity to understand reality through the dialectical method, a capacity which has reached its highest expression, enables the C.P.C. to carry forward the theory and practice of the international communist movement and, at the same time, to bring this theory and practice to the highest level in all spheres of the Party's activities. In this context, the principles of conducting a people's war against imperialism, which the C.P.C. has elaborated, basing itself on the experiences it has gained in a protracted revolution, constitute an essential instrument and a decisive aid for the Marxist-Leninist Communists of Asia, Africa and Latin America in realizing the revolutionary task of this historical period. . . .

"The Communist Vanguard is rallying Marxist-Leninists for reconstructing the Communist Party of

Argentina. In this task, it is inspired by the revolutionary spirit of the 650 million Chinese people who are engaged in a struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, and by the revolutionary spirit of the Vietnamese people who dare to fight and defeat the armed strength of the imperialist enemy that is hated and attacked by the masses everywhere."

Recalling the glorious course of the Chinese revolution led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China, the pamphlet points out: "Only a Party tempered in such raging struggles, only a Party steeled in the powerful flames of struggle such as the C.P.C. is, can resist revisionism and be qualified to take the place abandoned by the present leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that is to say, to take the place of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. . . .

"The principal legacy of the entire revolutionary experiences of China is the revolutionary principles expounded in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works — principles which today provide great theoretical and practical criticism of the policy of coexistence between imperialism and revisionism. **The great legacy of the history of the Chinese revolution is embodied in the principles of people's war — a theoretical and practical development in the history of Marxism-Leninism and an indispensable instrument for the furtherance of revolution in all dependencies of imperialism.** The C.P.C. has defended this legacy in its activities to oppose imperialist aggression and revisionist capitulation."

The revisionists' alliance with the imperialists, the pamphlet says, "serves the interests of U.S. imperialism on the one hand and those of the privileged strata in the Soviet Union on the other. These privileged strata, in quest of their own selfish interests, have betrayed the interests of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the world."

Comparing the imperialists and revisionists to the hunter and his hounds, it says: "Modern revisionists are the hounds of imperialism; and the way to separate and divide them is to step up the struggles of the oppressed peoples against U.S. imperialism and not to permit the imperialist hunter to defeat and cripple the national-liberation struggle. At the same time, the struggle against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism will sharpen the contradiction between the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Party and Soviet state and the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces within the Communist Party, the proletariat and people of the Soviet Union."

# Soviet Leadership Exposed Itself as Accomplice of U.S. Imperialism

**T**HE meetings of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace and the Representatives of National Peace Committees were held in Budapest from March 17 to 21. More than 100 representatives from 57 countries attended.

The Soviet representatives at both meetings tried their best to peddle the capitulationist and divisive line of the modern revisionists centred around the Soviet leadership. They acted as the willing stooges of U.S. imperialism and served its interests in every possible way. This once again revealed their ugly features as accomplices of U.S. imperialism.

In an interview with a Hsinhua correspondent, a responsible member of the Chinese delegation related how the representatives of China and other countries waged a sharp struggle against the Soviet representatives and their followers on a number of important questions.

The Soviet representatives and their followers took great pains to sell the scheme jointly concocted by the United States and the Soviet Union on the "prevention of nuclear proliferation." They served up a programme for worldwide activity on "Hiroshima Day" against "nuclear proliferation" and asked the World Council of Peace to place the question of "prevention of nuclear proliferation" on the agenda of its next meeting.

The representative of Japan rejected the idea of any worldwide activity on "Hiroshima Day" against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Such activity, he declared, would go against the will of the Japanese people, who must have their say in this matter.

The Soviet representative asserted that only those who were interested in the "balance of nuclear horrors" would oppose the "prevention of nuclear proliferation." He went so far as to ascribe the poverty of the oppressed nations to the development of nuclear weapons, instead of oppression and exploitation by imperialism and colonialism. These reactionary arguments were refuted by the Chinese representative who pointed out that the Soviet representative was harping on the same theme as that of the U.S. imperialists.

The manipulators of the meetings tried to peddle the "peace talks" scheme to help U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary dual tactics in its aggressive war against Vietnam.

During the meetings, a so-called "Statement of the World Council of Peace at the Meeting on Vietnam" was distributed at a mass rally, declaring that efforts should be made to compel the Americans to "negotiate" in Geneva. At the Meeting of the Representatives of National Peace Committees, the Chinese representative said that that statement was obviously designed as a response to Johnson's "unconditional discussions" scheme.

At the Meeting of the Representatives of National Peace Committees, Guinean representative Diallo Abdoulaye requested time to speak on the African situation. The Chinese delegation supported his request.

Diallo in his report condemned the U.S. and British imperialists for carrying out aggression, intervention and subversion in Africa and appealed for solidarity with the African people and solidarity with the Ghanaian people.

The representatives of China, Korea and other countries supported the African people's struggle and spoke out strongly against the recent aggression, intervention and subversion in Africa by the U.S. and British imperialists. But the Soviet representative did not utter a single word when the African situation was discussed. He dared not express his attitude towards the crimes of aggression and subversion now being committed by the U.S. and British imperialists against the independent African countries.

The modern revisionists centring around the Soviet leadership made use of the renegades from the Japanese Communist Party to help their divisive activities against the Japanese and other revolutionary peoples. Their despicable attempt was exposed and opposed by many representatives.

On the opening day of the Meeting of the Representatives of National Peace Committees, the manipulators of the meeting distributed two statements from a handful of Japanese splitters, which maliciously assailed the Peace Committees of China, Albania, Indonesia and Japan and the Japanese Communist Party. The Japanese representative was the first to lodge a strong protest against this, pointing out that the two documents were manufactured by renegades who had been expelled by the Japanese Communist Party. The Chinese representative supported the demand of the Japanese representative to have these documents withdrawn and taken back. The Indonesian, Korean and south Vietnamese representatives also opposed these slanderous documents and supported the demand of the Japanese representative. The Soviet representative, however, remained silent throughout. The Executive Chairman of the meeting finally declared that the two documents "are considered as withdrawn and taken back."

Naturally, the role which the Soviet representatives played as the accomplices of U.S. imperialism should be relentlessly exposed by the representatives of China and other countries. The Chinese representative warned the Soviet representatives at the meeting: "So long as you do not cease to sell out the interests of the people of the world, we shall not cease exposing you."

# The Great Lessons of the Paris Commune

— In Commemoration of Its 95th Anniversary

by CHENG CHIH-SZU

*This is the third and last instalment of an article originally published in "Hongqi," No. 4, 1966. The first and second instalments appeared in our last two issues. — Ed.*

## **The Proletariat Which Has Seized Power Must Prevent The Transformation of Its State Organs From Servants of Society Into Masters of Society. High Salaries and Multiple Salaries for Concurrently-Held Posts Must Be Abolished Among All Cadres Working in Proletarian State Organs, and These Cadres Must Not Enjoy Any Special Privileges**

How to prevent degeneration of the state organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat? The Paris Commune took a number of exploratory steps in this matter, and adopted a number of measures which, tentative as they were, had most profound and far-reaching significance. These measures provide us with important revelations.

Engels said: "Against this transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society — an inevitable transformation in all previous states — the Commune made use of two infallible means. In the first place, it filled all posts — administrative, judicial and educational — by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, subject to the right of recall at any time by the same electors. And, in the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers. The highest salary paid by the Commune to anyone was 6,000 francs. In this way an effective barrier to place-hunting and careerism was set up, even apart from the binding mandates to delegates to representative bodies which were added besides."<sup>26</sup>

The masses were the real masters in the Paris Commune. While the Commune was in being the masses were organized on a wide scale and they discussed im-

portant state matters within their respective organizations. Each day around 20,000 activists attended club meetings where they made proposals or advanced critical opinions on social and political matters great and small. They also made their wishes and demands known through articles and letters to the revolutionary newspapers and journals. This revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative of the masses was the source of the Commune's strength.

Members of the Commune paid much attention to the views of the masses, attending their various meetings and studying their letters. The general secretary of the Commune's Executive Committee, writing to the secretary of the Commune, said: "We receive many proposals every day, both orally and in writing: some are from individuals and some are sent in by the clubs or sections of the International. These are often excellent proposals and they should be considered by the Commune."<sup>26</sup> The Commune, in fact, seriously studied and adopted proposals from the masses. Many great decrees of the Commune were based on proposals by the masses, such as abolishing the system of high salaries for state functionaries, cancelling arrears of rent, instituting secular education, abolishing night work for bakers, and so on and so forth.

The masses also carefully checked up on the work of the Commune and its members. One resolution of the Communal club of the third *arrondissement* said: The people are the masters . . . if men you have elected show signs of vacillation or stalling, please give them a push forward to facilitate the realization of our aims — that is, the struggle for our rights, the consolidation of the Republic, so that the cause of righteousness shall triumph. The masses criticized the Commune for not taking resolute measures against the counter-revolutionaries, deserters and renegades, for not carrying out immediately the decrees it passed, and for disunity among its members. For example, a letter from a reader appeared in the April 27 issue of *Le Pere Duchene* saying: "Please give members of the Commune a jolt from

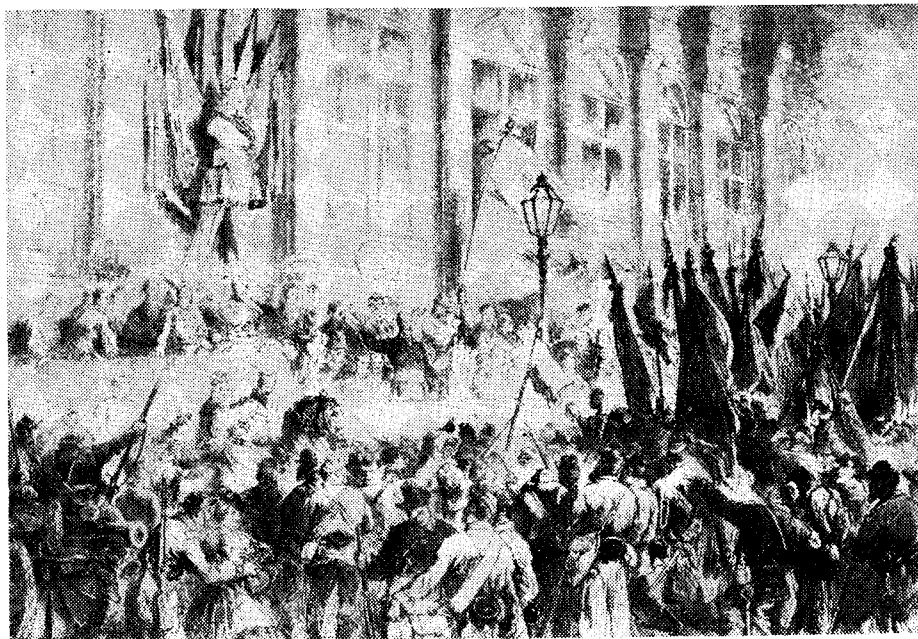
time to time, ask them not to fall asleep, not to procrastinate in carrying out their own decrees. Let them make an end to their private bickering because only by unanimity of view can they, with greater power, defend the Commune."

The provisions for the replacing and recalling of elected representatives who betrayed the interests of the people were not empty words. The Commune did, in fact, deprive Blanchet of his position as a member of the Commune because he had been a member of the clergy, a merchant and a secret agent. He had smuggled himself into the ranks of the National Guard during the siege of Paris and had sneaked into the Commune under a false name. The Commune deprived Cluseret of his position as a military delegate in view of the fact that "carelessness and negligence on the part of the military delegate nearly led to the loss of Fort Issy." Earlier, the traitor Lullier had also been dismissed and arrested by the Central Committee of the National Guard.

The Paris Commune also resolutely did away with all the privileges of state functionaries, and in the matter of salaries it made an important reform of historic significance.

We know that states ruled by the exploiting classes invariably offer their officials choice conditions and many privileges so as to turn them into overlords riding roughshod over the people. Sitting in their high positions, enjoying lucrative salaries and bullying the people—such is the picture of officials of the exploiting classes. Take the period of the French Second Empire: the annual salaries of officials were 30,000 francs for a deputy to the National Assembly; 50,000 francs for a minister; 100,000 francs for a member of the Privy Council; 130,000 francs for a Councillor of State. If someone held several official posts at the same time, he received multiple salaries. Rouher, for instance, a favourite of Napoleon III, was at once a deputy to the National Assembly, a member of the Privy Council and a Councillor of State. His yearly salary amounted to 260,000 francs. A skilled Parisian worker would have to work 150 years to earn this amount. As for Napoleon III himself, the state treasury gave him 25 million francs a year; with other state subventions, he had a yearly income of 30 million.

The French proletariat detested this order of things. Even before the founding of the Paris Commune, it demanded on many occasions that the system of high salaries for officials be abolished. With the founding of



Announcing the establishment of the Paris Commune

the Commune, this long-time wish of the working people was realized. On April 1, the famous decree was issued that the highest annual salary paid to any functionary should not exceed 6,000 francs. The decree stated: Before, "the higher posts in public institutions, thanks to the high salaries attached to them, were the object of solicitation and given out as a matter of patronage." But "there should be no place for either sinecures or high salaries in a truly democratic republic."<sup>27</sup> This sum of 6,000 francs was equivalent to the wage of a skilled French worker at the time. According to the eminent scientist Huxley, it was just a little less than a fifth of what a secretary to the London metropolitan school board received.

The Paris Commune forbade its functionaries from getting paid for multiple posts, and the decision of May 19 said: "Considering that under the system of the Commune, the remuneration attached to each official post must be sufficient to maintain the well-being and dignity of the one who carries out its functions . . . the Commune resolves: It is forbidden to give any extra remuneration for functioning in more than one post; officials of the Commune, who are called upon to serve in other capacities in addition to their usual one, have no right to any new remuneration."<sup>28</sup>

At the same time as the Commune abolished high salaries and forbade salaries for multiple posts, it also raised the lower salaries so as to narrow the gap in the salary scale. Take the post office for example: the wages of the low-salaried employees were raised from 800 francs to 1,200 francs a year, an increase of 50 per cent, while the high salaries of an annual 12,000 francs were cut by half, to 6,000. In order to ensure the livelihood of low-salaried personnel, the Commune also forbade by express provision all monetary deductions and fines.



Members of the Commune were models in carrying out its regulations regarding the abolition of privileges, high salaries and multiple salaries for those occupying several posts. Theisz, a member of the Commune in charge of the post office, should have received a monthly salary of 500 francs according to regulations, but he would agree to take only 450. General Wroblewski of the Commune voluntarily gave up his officer's pay and refused to move to the apartment offered him at the Elysee Palace. He declared: "A general's place is with the troops."

The Executive Committee of the Paris Commune also passed a resolution abolishing the rank of general. In its April 6 resolution, the committee said: "In view of the fact that the rank of general is incompatible with the principles of democratic organization of the National Guard . . . it is decided: the rank of general is abolished."<sup>29</sup> It is a pity that this decision failed to be carried out in practice.

The leaders of the state received wages which were equivalent to that of a skilled worker; they had the obligation to do more work but no right to receive more pay, still less to enjoy any privileges. This was an unprecedented thing. It truly translated into reality the catchword of "cheap government"; it removed the aura of "mystery" and "particularity" from the so-called conduct of state affairs—a means employed by the exploiting classes to fool the people. It turned the conduct of state affairs simply into one of a worker's duties and transformed functionaries into workers operating "special tools." But its great significance lay not only in this. In the matter of material rewards, it created conditions for preventing the degeneration of functionaries. Lenin said, "This, combined with the principle of elective office and displaceability of all public officers, with payment for their work according to proletarian, not 'master-class' bourgeois standards, is the ideal of the working class."<sup>30</sup> He added, "The abolition of all representation allowances, and of all monetary privileges to officials, the reduction of the remuneration of all servants of the state to the level of 'workmen's wages.' This shows more clearly than anything else the turn from bourgeois to proletarian democracy, from the democracy of the oppressors to that of the oppressed classes, from the state as a 'special force' for the suppression of a particular class to the suppression of the oppressors by the general force of the majority of the people—the workers and the peasants. And it is on this particularly striking point, perhaps the most important as far as the problem of the state is concerned, that the ideas of Marx have been most completely ignored! . . . The thing done is to keep silent about it as if it were a piece of old-fashioned 'naivete.'"<sup>31</sup>

And this is exactly what the leading clique of Khrushchov revisionists has done: They have completely ignored this important experience of the Paris Commune. They chase after privileges, make use of their privileged status, turn public activities into opportunities for per-

sonal gain, appropriate the fruits of the people's labour and receive incomes that are tens of times, or even over a hundred times, greater than the wages of ordinary workers and peasants. From political standpoint to mode of living, these people have turned their backs on the working people and imitated what the bourgeoisie and the bureaucrat-capitalists do. In an attempt to strengthen the social basis of their rule they also use high salaries, high awards, high fees and stipends and other diverse methods of making money to raise up a highly paid and privileged stratum. In an attempt to corrode with money the revolutionary will of the people, they talk wildly about "material incentives," saying that rubles are "powerful locomotives," and that they should "use rubles to educate people." Compare the Khrushchov revisionists' activities with the "naivete," as they see it, of the Paris Commune and one can see clearly what is meant by servants of the people and masters of the people, what is meant by state organs being turned from servants of society into masters of society. ". . . Do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like?" Engels wrote. "Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."<sup>32</sup> Similarly, we can say: Do you want to know what a degenerated dictatorship of the proletariat looks like? Then look at the "state of the whole people" of the Soviet Union under the rule of the Khrushchov revisionist clique.

### **The Proletariat Should Be on Guard Against the Enemy's Phoney Peace Negotiations While He Is Really Preparing for War, and Employ Revolutionary Dual Tactics to Deal With Counter-Revolutionary Dual Tactics**

The Paris Commune bequeathed us great and inspiring lessons. Many are positively valuable; others offer the lessons of bitter experience.

Leadership of the Commune was shared by the Blanquists and Proudhonists. Neither were revolutionary parties of the proletariat. Neither understood Marxism or had experience in leading the proletarian revolution. Impelled forward by the proletariat, they did certain things correctly, but because of their lack of political consciousness, they also committed many mistakes. One of the chief of these was that they fell victim to the enemy's peace negotiations fraud while he was really preparing for war. They had the enemy pinned to the wall but they failed to press home their victorious attack and wipe him out. They let the enemy gain a breathing space under cover of his sham peace negotiations and in that time he was able to reorganize his forces for a counter-attack. They had the chance to expand their revolutionary victory, but they let it slip through their fingers.

All exploiting classes in history employ the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of violent suppression and deceitful talk of peace either alternately or simultaneously. While their preparations to attack the



Decree of the Commune on the National Guard

people are not yet complete, or when they themselves are under attack by the revolutionary forces, they frequently resort to a "peace" intrigue to deceive the people. Once they think themselves strong enough to defeat the revolutionary people, they raise their butcher's knife and start a bloody slaughter. These were exactly the dual tactics Thiers used against the Paris Commune.

After Thiers' hasty flight to Versailles, he had only some 15,000-16,000 troops and police left. These remnant forces, few in number and low in morale, were no match for the armed forces of the workers of Paris who had the advantage both in numbers and morale. In addition, Paris was only 18 kilometres from Versailles, and the Parisian workers' armed forces could easily have covered that distance in one day. Speaking of the situation at the time, Thiers himself had to admit: "Those were the worst days of my life. The view spread around Paris was: 'Versailles is finished; as soon as we get there the soldiers will refuse to fight.' I was certain it would not be this way, but meanwhile, if we had been attacked by 70,000 or 80,000 men, I would not have wished to answer for the firmness of the army, riddled as it was by a feeling of overwhelming numerical inferiority."<sup>33</sup> In this situation, in order to maintain his foothold in Versailles and gain time to reorganize his counter-revolutionary forces, Thiers, crafty as he was, vigorously pressed ahead with his deceitful "negotiations" and laid down a smokescreen of "peace."

First of all, he instructed the various mayors of the Paris *arrondissements* to hold talks with the Central Committee of the National Guard on the question of the Commune elections. They were to complicate matters as much as possible during the talks so as to drag them out and absorb the Central Committee's attention till such time as Versailles was ready to attack. The National Assembly, colluding with the mayors of the *arrondissements* in their phoney "talks," also agreed to hold municipal elections in Paris. As a result, the talks dragged on for eight days, but the date of the Commune elections was put off again and again. This

gave Versailles a breathing space, while the Commune lost its opportunity to strike at this counter-revolutionary lair and clear it out. Later, the mayors disclosed the truth about these fake negotiations which covered preparations for war. Tirard confessed: "The main aim that we pursued by this opposition was to prevent the Federalists from marching on Versailles . . . our resistance for several days gave the government a chance to organize its defence."<sup>34</sup> Desmarest, too, divulged: "I considered it necessary to continue to take the risk, thereby winning time for the Versailles government to arm itself."<sup>35</sup>

Secondly, Thiers loudly harped on his "peace" theme of "not interfering in Paris" and professed he was resolved to "maintain the Republic." As Marx pointed out, Thiers was, from the very beginning, anxious to accompany his banditti-warfare against Paris with "a little by-play of conciliation. . . . On the 21st of March, when still without an army, he had declared to the Assembly: 'Come what may, I will not send an army to Paris.' On the 27th March he rose again: 'I have found the Republic an accomplished fact, and I am firmly resolved to maintain it.'"<sup>36</sup> With this talk, Thiers was trying to rally the old Republicans around him and prettify his reactionary regime; to dupe the provinces and inveigle the middle class; to throw Paris off its guard and isolate the proletariat. His "non-interference" cloaked an insatiable lust for slaughter; his words about "maintaining the Republic" were another way of saying that he was going to strangle the proletarian republic.

While pushing his fake "negotiations" and laying down a smokescreen of "peace," Thiers was also feverishly preparing for armed suppression of the Commune. He collected a motley crew of soldiery and begged Bismarck to release French war prisoners; he sent his agents among the prisoners to incite them against the Commune and to give them training; he formed groups of gendarmes, cavalry and bombardiers needed for his attack on Paris. He sent a large number of secret agents into Paris to collect military intelligence. To blockade Paris he ringed it with fortifications and artillery positions; he started a propaganda campaign and launched a barrage of calumnies against the Paris Commune to prepare public opinion for suppression of the uprising. After two weeks or so of many-sided preparations Versailles began its armed assault on Paris in early April.

From the beginning of April to the beginning of May, Thiers' forces were still relatively weak. As the Prussians had not released many prisoners, his military offensive was not able to develop rapidly and the possibility of victory over Paris was not great. So in this period, Thiers carried on his armed attacks as well as his comedy of conciliation. On the one hand, he continued his butchering of Communards and implored the Prussians to release more French prisoners; on the other hand, he used the Ligue d'Union Republicaine

des Droits de Paris and other such bourgeois organizations for "mediation," to deceive and induce the Commune to lay down its arms, hand over its power, and so win in that way what he could not win on the battlefield. On April 27, for example, he said to the Assembly: "I repeat it again and again. Let those impious arms fall from the hands which hold them, and chastisement will be arrested at once by an act of peace excluding only the small number of criminals."<sup>37</sup> On May 8, he replied to a deputation of middle-class conciliators: "Whenever the insurgents will make up their minds for capitulation, the gates of Paris shall be flung wide open during a week for all except the murderers of Generals Clement Thomas and Lecomte."<sup>38</sup>

But about two weeks later, after the Prussians had released a great many prisoners and Versailles had got together a force of 130,000, and MacMahon had assured him that he could shortly enter Paris, Thiers discarded all such pretences of "peace," "negotiations" and "non-interference." He immediately declared to the Assembly that he would "enter Paris with the *laws* in his hands, and demand a full expiation from the wretches who had sacrificed the lives of soldiers and destroyed public monuments."<sup>39</sup> He said, "I shall be pitiless! The expiation will be complete, and justice will be stern!"<sup>40</sup> He told his Bonapartist banditti that they had state licence to wreak vengeance upon Paris to their hearts' content.

The members of the Paris Commune were not at one as regards Thiers' counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Most of them had a muddled understanding of the nature of the reactionary classes and entertained illusions of peace. After the victory of the Paris uprising, some representatives of the middle and petty bourgeoisie proclaimed the idea of realizing internal peace through elections, saying that "better vote, than kill . . . only a unanimous, imposing, overwhelming vote can prevent conflict and preserve Labour."<sup>41</sup> They said that "only elections can calm down minds, pacify the streets, restore trust, secure order, create a regular administration and, finally, stop the hated struggle in which the Republic will perish in torrents of blood."<sup>42</sup> The Central Committee of the National Guard also called for "benevolence" and "magnanimity" and that they should make "that one glorious word: Fraternity" their slogan for their actions. They wrongly believed that setting up the Commune through elections would avert civil war. They ordered the removal of barricades from the streets and at the same time made preparations for elections, several times entering into negotiations with the mayors of the *arrondissements* of Paris over the date, process, method and technical matters of the elections.

But votes did not have the magic power to turn weapons of war into silk and jade. They did not "pacify the streets" nor "preserve Labour." On the contrary, Paris, busily engrossed in elections and negotiations,

missed the opportunity to strengthen the revolutionary forces and neglected to take the necessary steps to extend the revolution's victory. She failed to close her gates or take control of communications. The reactionaries were left to come and go as they pleased. She failed to suppress counter-revolutionary activities thoroughly. She did not take over the Bank of France. She failed, among other things, to attack Versailles. Versailles, however, got the chance to strengthen the counter-revolutionary forces and complete preparations to attack Paris.

Some members of the Commune did see through Thiers' counter-revolutionary dual tactics; they exposed the sham peace he was peddling and also sharply criticized the illusion, which the bourgeois organizations disseminated, that conciliation could be achieved through compromise. They likewise censured the false sense of peace that prevailed in the Commune. For example, at the May 4 meeting of the members of the Commune, Grousset Paschal, a member, said: "Citizens, the situation is serious . . . because it is several weeks now since the reaction put on the mask of conciliation and this mask has not yet been torn away."<sup>43</sup> "To continue to talk about conciliation after the repeated declarations of the Versailles government; to talk about conciliation when the cannons are thundering, when our brothers are falling under the bullets of the Versailles murderers—that means to commit treachery, that means to weaken the defence of Paris, that means to prompt citizens to show weakness and incline them to desertion; that means in fact to talk about capitulation and defeat."<sup>44</sup> Revolutionary journals and mass organizations also exposed the counter-revolutionary plot of "peace negotiations" and criticized the illusion that there could be conciliation. The Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Women's Union for the Defence of Paris and Care of the Wounded solemnly pointed out: "No, it is not peace, but rather war to the end that the working women of Paris come to proclaim! Today, conciliation would be treason! . . . This would be to deny . . . the enfranchisement of the worker by himself!"<sup>45</sup> The clubs all along resolutely opposed compromise and refused to allow its advocates to attend their meetings. Some of them even sent delegations to the Commune to declare that those who advocated cessation of the war with Versailles should be branded as traitors. What a pity it was that these correct views were not wholly accepted, and that right up to the time the Versailles banditti started to attack Paris, there were still many who were not awake to the facts and were still engrossed in the work of election of members to the Commune. At that time Lissagaray, an eyewitness of what was happening, wrote: "All Paris listened to the wild cannon fire. No one had thought that there would be an attack of this kind. Since the 28th, people have been living in blind trust—undoubtedly the guns are firing salutes and at worst it is a misunderstanding."<sup>46</sup> But when it was ascertained that it was not a misunderstanding but a deliberate, long-premeditated attack, because of inade-

## Paris Commune Exhibition

**A**N exhibition commemorating the 95th anniversary of the Paris Commune attracted an unending stream of visitors during its two weeks showing in Peking. The nearly 400 exhibits, relics, documents, and other material, were collected by Mr. and Mrs. S.G. Hutchins, British friends, who came to China at the invitation of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, sponsor of the exhibition.

The display, arranged in five parts, begins with the events of March 18, 1871, the day of the armed uprising of the heroic Paris proletariat. An old print shows the scene 95 years ago when the insurgents, weapons in hand, cheered the founding of the world's first proletarian state power. The other four parts are entitled "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "Heroic Struggle," "Spirit of Internationalism" and "Long Live the Principles of the Revolution!"

Among the relics on display are a medallion in bronze struck to commemorate the Commune and a sword used by a Communard. Among copies

of decrees and orders issued by the Commune on display are the decrees on the establishment of the National Guard, on the abolition of high salaries, and on improvement of working conditions for bakers.

Several reproductions of paintings recall the heroism of the Communards while defending the Commune. A large photo of the famous "Wall of the Communards" concludes part three of the exhibition. It was under this wall in the Pere Lachaise cemetery that the last group of Commune heroes fell steadfast to the end. In another painting, a fallen hero's wife stands before the wall telling her two children never to forget the lessons of the Commune.

There is a facsimile of the original verse and music of the *Internationale*, and photos of its composers Eugene Pottier and Pierre Degeyter. And finally a facsimile of the minutes of the General Council Meeting of the International Working Men's Association held on May 23, 1871. It records the prophetic words of Marx: "The principles of the Commune are eternal. . . ."

quate preparations, both political and military, it was, despite heroic and determined resistance, already too late.

While Versailles was sharpening its knives, Paris was casting votes; while Versailles was preparing for war, Paris was holding talks. The result was that the Versailles banditti with their butchers' knives entered Paris. They shot captured Commune members and soldiers; they shot refugees who sought sanctuary in churches; they shot wounded soldiers in hospitals; they shot elderly workers, saying that these people had caused repeated uprisings and were hardened criminals; they shot women workers, saying that they were "women incendiaries," and that they resembled women only "when they are dead"; they shot child workers, saying that "they'll grow up into insurgents." This carnage which they called "hunting" lasted throughout June. Paris was filled with corpses, the Seine was a river of blood and the Commune was drowned in this sea of blood. More than 30,000 people were massacred and over 100,000 people were incarcerated or forced into exile. This was the return Versailles gave Paris for her "benevolence" and "magnanimity." This was how it ended its trick of false peace talks and real war preparations. This was a bitter lesson written in blood. It teaches us that the proletariat must carry the revolution through to the end; that fleeing bandits must be

pursued and destroyed, that drowning rats must be beaten to death; that the enemy must not be given a chance to regain his breath.

If it can be said that 95 years ago, most of the members of the Paris Commune failed in time to see through Thiers' plot of fake peace talks and real war preparations and that this was mainly because of lack of sufficient experience and understanding, then today, when the Khrushchov revisionists are doing everything they can to serve U.S. imperialism's fake peace and real aggression, it is certainly not a matter of lack of understanding. The Khrushchov revisionists have gone over completely to a renegade position and are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists in the attempt to strangle the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the national-liberation movement by counter-revolutionary dual tactics. However, the times are progressing, people are progressing and the revolution is progressing. The revolutionary people are learning better and better how to use revolutionary dual tactics to oppose counter-revolutionary dual tactics, and how to carry the revolution through to the end. The imperialists, revisionists and all reactionaries together with all their varieties of counter-revolutionary dual tactics will finally be thrown by the people into the garbage bin of history lock, stock and barrel.

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Commemorating the 21st anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels wrote: "Let the bourgeoisie celebrate their 14th of July or their 22nd of September. The festival of the proletariat everywhere will always be March 18."<sup>47</sup>

Today, as we mark the festival of the proletariat — the 95th anniversary of the Paris Commune uprising — a look at the world shows a great revolutionary situation where "The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging; The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring." History has fully borne out the prediction Marx made 95 years ago when he said: "But even if the Commune is crushed, the struggle will only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and cannot be destroyed; they will declare themselves again and again until the working class achieves its liberation."<sup>48</sup> "The Paris Commune may fall, but the Social Revolution it has initiated, will triumph. Its birth-stead is everywhere."<sup>49</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> P.M. Kerzhentsev, *History of the Paris Commune of 1871*, Russian ed., Publishing House of Social-Economic Literature, Moscow, 1959, p. 168.

<sup>2,3</sup> Marx, "The Civil War in France (First Draft)," *Archives of Marx and Engels*, Russian ed., Party Publishing House, 1934, Vol. III (VIII), pp. 346, 348.

<sup>4</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> Marx, "The Civil War in France (Second Draft)," *Archives of Marx and Engels*, Russian ed., Party Publishing House, 1934, Vol. III (VIII), p. 414.

<sup>6</sup> Marx, "The Civil War in France (First Draft)," *ibid.*, p. 324.

<sup>7,8</sup> Kerzhentsev, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>9,10</sup> *ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>11</sup> *Protocols of the Meetings of the Paris Commune*, Russian ed., Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1959, Vol. I, p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>14</sup> Marx, "On the Seventh Anniversary of the International," *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Russian ed., State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1960, Vol. XVII, p. 438.

<sup>15</sup> Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXV, p. 424.

<sup>16</sup> Lenin, "In Memory of the Commune," *Collected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Vol. XVII, p. 143.

<sup>17</sup> Marx, "The Civil War in France (First Draft)," *op. cit.*, p. 308.

<sup>18</sup> Marx, "The Civil War in France," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 523.

<sup>19,20</sup> Arthur Adamov, *La Commune de Paris, 18 mars-28 mai 1871*, *Anthologie*, Editions sociales, Paris, 1959, p. 236.

<sup>21</sup> Marx, "The Civil War in France," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. I, p. 522.

<sup>22</sup> Engels, "Letter to August Bebel, Oct. 29, 1884," *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Russian ed., State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXXVI, p. 196.

<sup>23</sup> Engels, "The Housing Question," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. I, p. 612.

<sup>24</sup> Lenin, "Preface to the Russian Translation of Karl Marx's Letters to Dr. Kugelmann," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. XII, pp. 110-111.

<sup>25</sup> Engels, Introduction to "The Civil War in France," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. I, p. 484.

<sup>26</sup> *Protocols of the Meetings of the Paris Commune*, Vol. I, p. 386.

<sup>27</sup> "Journal officiel," April 2, 1871, *Protocols of the Meetings of the Paris Commune*, Vol. I, p. 79.

<sup>28</sup> *Protocols of the Meetings of the Paris Commune*, Russian ed., Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1960, Vol. II, p. 335.

<sup>29</sup> *Journal officiel de la Republique francaise*, April 8, 1871.

<sup>30</sup> Lenin, "A Proletarian Militia," *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXIV, p. 181.

<sup>31</sup> Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, p. 420.

<sup>32</sup> Engels, Introduction to "The Civil War in France," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. I, p. 485.

<sup>33</sup> Adamov, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>34</sup> Kerzhentsev, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>35</sup> H.P.O. Lissagaray, *Geschichte der Kommune von 1871*, Rutten & Loening, Berlin, 1956.

<sup>36</sup> Marx, "The Civil War in France," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. I, p. 532.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, p. 533.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, p. 535.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, p. 535.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, p. 538.

<sup>41</sup> Kerzhentsev, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 214-5.

<sup>43,44</sup> *Protocols of the Meetings of the Paris Commune*, Vol. II, p. 99.

<sup>45</sup> Adamov, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>46</sup> Lissagaray, *op. cit.*

<sup>47</sup> Engels, "Greetings to the French Workers on the 21st Anniversary of the Paris Commune," *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Russian ed., State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1962, Vol. XXII, p. 291.

<sup>48</sup> "Text of the Speech by Karl Marx on the Paris Commune," *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Russian ed., Vol. XVII, p. 629.

<sup>49</sup> Marx, "The Civil War in France (Second Draft)," *op. cit.*, p. 428.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## INDONESIA

### Putting Back the Clock

Sukarno in a "gilded cage." Sukarno "merely a figurehead." "The slow, devious, careful process of checkmating President Sukarno is being skilfully managed." So the American press gleefully reported what the Right-wing generals' clique in Indonesia has done to wrest power from the Indonesian President. The latest move of these reactionary army leaders is to restrict further the President's freedom: the Army Information Bureau announced on April 7 that "no cabinet minister will be allowed to have direct contact with President Sukarno without the knowledge of his superior—the Deputy Prime Minister."

A couple of days before, they had made no bones about their future intentions. The President, declared Suharto, now one of the six Deputy Prime Ministers of the anti-communist cabinet, "is merely an official to carry out state policies. . . ." Abdul Haris Nasution, who was removed from office by President Sukarno last February, talked about the spirit and provisions of the 1945 constitution which provides for a term of five years for the President and for a vice-president as the legal successor to the President. According to press reports, Nasution himself covets the vice-presidency.

Having fulfilled their plan to seize state power by coup d'etat, the Right-wing generals have come out into the open also with their own foreign policy. This was made public by Foreign Minister Malik on April 4 and can be summed up as follows:

- to "improve relations with the U.S.";
- to "consider joining international organizations, including the United Nations";

• to "keep the door open to a peaceful settlement" in Indonesia's relations with "Malaysia" and to "slacken" military confrontation once talks begin.

Commenting on Malik's statement, the Japanese paper *Mainichi Shim-bun* said it was "a bold basic foreign policy which transcends the scope of non-alignment policy and has a heavy tinge of leaning to the West."

Although the Japanese news agency Kyodo has described it as a "bold" "new line" which stunned observers, this policy is actually a logical consequence of the coup which, as the bourgeois press abroad has disclosed, was engineered with the help of foreign countries. The Japanese weekly *Gendai* recently revealed that some among the Japanese militarists who "had given training to Suharto and the backbone of the [Indonesian] Army . . . took part in the secret plan against Sukarno." After the September 30 incident, many Indonesians who had had close connections with the Japanese militarists during their occupation of Indonesia in World War II were sent to Japan by the Right-wing clique of the Indonesian military to seek aid.

No less active were the Americans in Djakarta. "For some time past," wrote Genevieve Tabouis in the French paper *Paris Jour*, "American departments in Djakarta. . . [had] taken part openly in what was a practice of bringing pressure to bear on Sukarno. . . . What the Americans desired to do . . . was to rally round General Suharto the Indonesian nationalist movements. . . ." The author added that diplomatic observers in Djakarta realized that "something grave was going to happen" because big cars of the Americans sped openly through the city to the organizations and homes of leaders of the non-communist trade unionists and Muslim nationalist organizations.

In line with their "new" foreign policy of following the lead of im-

perialism, the British paper *Sunday Times* reported that the Right-wing generals today are making soundings for "a resumption of Western aid, particularly American." While leaning towards the U.S., they are also increasing their collaboration with the Sato government of Japan. The new Indonesian regime thus reversed its decision not to take part in the recent "Ministerial Conference for Economic Development of Southeast Asia" and sent an "observer." An economic delegation headed by the Fourth Deputy Prime Minister Hamengku Buwono is also going to Japan to discuss increased "co-operation between the two countries" and a new economic aid programme.

## INDIA

### Ganging Up

The Indian Prime Minister's recent visit to Washington (*Peking Review*, No. 15, p. 30) and her subsequent Moscow mission early this month reflect the foreign policy needs of the three governments. They took place when the Johnson Administration was working feverishly for an anti-communist, anti-China alliance in Asia while widening its war of aggression in Vietnam; when the Soviet revisionist leadership was organizing another anti-China campaign; and when Mrs. Gandhi's own India was in trouble—its massive economic problems being further aggravated by the acute food shortage.

Following her father's foreign policy, Mrs. Gandhi toed the U.S. line, allied India with the Soviet Union and opposed China. But she has outdone herself and thrown off the threadbare garment of "non-alignment" altogether. Volunteering to become a storm-trooper to serve the U.S. anti-China policy, she made herself a sari-clad Amazon by announcing that her country "is fighting the battle against Chinese communism." Then, as imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, she talked like Johnson saying: "The threat of communist Chinese expansion must be con-

tained by political and economic means as well as militarily."

Pleased with her performance, Johnson, besides handing out a \$300 million endowment for an "Indo-U.S. Foundation," promised an additional shipment of 3.5 million tons of food. These, plus the 6.5 million tons of farm produce in an earlier offer, amount to \$1,000 million in value. As the American weekly *New Republic* observed, India is now "a great anti-communist counterweight to red China" and this kind of Indian counterweight needs to be backed with big money.

Mrs. Gandhi's anti-China act was applauded by the Soviet leaders with equal enthusiasm. The Soviet Union is itself straitened for money and food and made no specific offer of food during Mrs. Gandhi's two-day stay, but Moscow still promised to "look at the question [of aid] in the context" of India's Fourth Five-Year Plan. During her tour, the Indian Prime Minister attacked Pakistan for having "violated" the Tashkent Declaration which is a product of the U.S.-Soviet conspiracy, and tried to poison the friendly relations between China and Pakistan. This she did not only to meet the needs of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in their joint efforts to isolate China but also to suit India's own expansionist drive.

Scurrying from Washington to Moscow, the Indian Prime Minister also served as a go-between for the American and Soviet leaders in their plot for a new Munich over the Vietnam question. Both Johnson and Kosygin, she told the Indian parliament, "appreciated" India's stand on Vietnam.

#### U.S. & LATIN AMERICA

### The Answer Is No

Lasting five weeks until April 1, the Panama session of the Special Committee of the Organization of American States ended in yet another rebuff for the Yankee imperialists who were trying to give one further turn to the screw in Latin America.

April 15, 1966

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Do-It-Yourself Vandalism

Shortly after Tanzania broke off diplomatic relations with Britain over the Southern Rhodesia issue, the British press in London and East Africa raised an outcry that the semi-official British Council office in Dar-es-Salaam had been "wrecked by vandals." It was reported to the Tanzanian police that the office "was broken into," ink splashed over the floor, tables and files, and the words "Get out!" left written on a paper.

However, after investigating the matter, E. Akena, Tanzanian Commissioner of Police, announced that the same British woman who reported the incident to the police, had admitted that she herself had damaged the office and cooked up the story.



The U.S. has long contemplated the establishment of standing interventionist armed forces to stifle the mounting people's movements on the continent. The proposal was, however, rejected last November at the second special inter-American foreign ministers' conference (see *Peking Review*, No. 50, December 10, 1965). The Panama session was meant to resume where the foreign ministers left off.

At the meeting, a draft amendment to the O.A.S. Charter was put forward by the U.S. in an effort to broaden the power of the O.A.S. Council under which an inter-American "peace" force was to be set up. The U.S. insisted that the Council should have the right to intervene in disputes between member states at the request of either of the two contending parties or any third member state. To cap everything, it proposed that inter-American military meetings be held when "necessary" to deal with whatever might be called a "threat."

Few Latin American countries were, however, interested in Washington's bosh about the "threat" of communism. They were more concerned about actual U.S. encroachment on their national sovereignty. The *New York Times* had to admit in its March 2 editorial that very few wanted to see the O.A.S. Council given new powers, "since they fear the dominance of the 'colossus of the north.'" Mexico,

its next-door neighbour, made it quite clear that to revise the Charter according to the U.S. proposal would mean violation of the principles of non-intervention, territorial integrity of nations, equality and self-determination. Chile and Uruguay spoke in similar vein.

The Latin American countries were much more interested in economic issues and proposed instead the abolition of U.S. tariff discrimination against Latin American goods, stabilization of prices for raw materials etc. This, amounting to asking a tiger to pull off its skin, as a Chinese saying goes, was naturally turned down point-blank by the representatives of U.S. monopoly capital. It was reported that the differences would be discussed again at the O.A.S. Council in Washington.

In the meantime, Washington's relations with Latin America continue to deteriorate. Everywhere on the continent, wrote commentator Walter Lippmann in the *New York Herald Tribune*, "from the top to the bottom and from the right to the left, there exists a general distrust and suspicion of the Johnson Administration and a very wide anti-American feeling." The recent downfall of the pro-U.S. Castro Jijon dictatorship in Ecuador brought about by a prolonged mass struggle illustrates the trend and shows that the people of Latin America are refusing to be slaves of U.S. imperialism.

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