

PEKING REVIEW

15

April 8, 1966

北
京
周
報

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Visit To Afghanistan

How Indonesian Right-Wing Generals Seized State Power

War Threat of U.S. Imperialism Must Be Taken Seriously

Renmin Ribao editorial.

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

PEKING REVIEW

April 8, 1966
Vol. 9, No. 15

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

IN THIS ISSUE

THE WEEK Chairman Liu Shao-chi Visits Afghanistan; Chairman Liu's Speech at State Banquet; Successful Tour of West Pakistan; Sato Government's New Challenge (p. 3)

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

China-Pakistan Joint Communique (p. 6)

The War Threat of U.S. Imperialism Must Be Taken Seriously — *Renmin Ribao* editorial (p. 6)

400th Sericus Warning to U.S. Imperialism (p. 8)

Indonesian Rightists Out to Undermine Sino-Indonesian Relations (p. 10)

How the Indonesian Right-Wing Generals Seized State Power — Hsinhua News Agency (p. 11)

Applause From U.S., Britain and "Malaysia" — Hsinhua News Agency (p. 13)

India's Provocation (p. 14)

Protest Against Ghanaian Authorities' Slanders (p. 15)

Where Are Kenya's Authorities Taking Sino-Kenyan Relations? (p. 16)

The Great Lessons of the Paris Commune — Cheng Chih-szu (p. 17)

Albanian Party of Labour Refuses to Accept C.P.S.U. Letter of Invitation to 23rd Congress (p. 19)

New Zealand C.P. Turns Down C.P.S.U.'s Invitation (p. 21)

Japanese C.P. Refuses to Send Delegates to C.P.S.U. 23rd Congress (p. 21)

Moscow Meeting Has Nothing in Common With a Congress of the Party of Lenin — Says Jacques Grippa (p. 22)

C.P.S.U. 23rd Congress: Further Betrayal and Capitulation — Says N. Sanmugathan (p. 22)

All Marxist-Leninists Will Repudiate the Soviet Revisionists — Says E.F. Hill (p. 24)

C.P.S.U. 23rd Congress — Extension of Rump Left Over by Khrushchov — Says *Malayan Monitor* (p. 25)

Why They Go to Yangtan — *Peking Review* Correspondents (p. 26)

ROUND THE WORLD South Vietnam: Trends in People's War; India: The Art of Begging; West Germany: A Garb That Doesn't Fit (p. 30)

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Cable Address: Peking 2910

Printed in the People's Republic of China

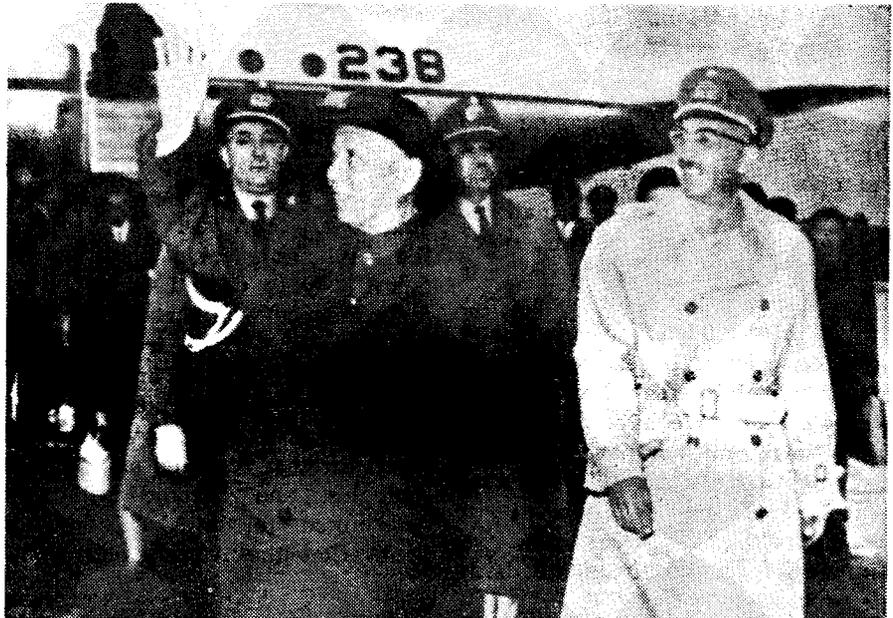
Chairman Liu Shao-chi Visits Afghanistan

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi and his wife Wang Kuang-mei arrived in Kabul on April 4 on a friendship visit at the invitation of King Mohammed Zahir Shah. More than 100,000 people braved the rain to give Chairman Liu and his party a rousing welcome.

The airport was festively decorated with the national flags of both countries and huge streamers with the slogan: "Long live the friendship between Afghanistan and China!" Coloured balloons trailing welcome slogans added gaiety to the atmosphere. When Chairman Liu appeared on the ramp, the crowd burst into thunderous cheers. King Zahir Shah and Queen Homaira walked up and warmly greeted Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Premier and Madame Chen Yi and other members of the party. Then King Zahir Shah conducted Chairman Liu to the red-carpeted dais where he took the salute from a guard of honour to the accompaniment of the national anthems of China and Afghanistan. A 21-gun salute boomed out as children dressed in national costumes presented flowers to the Chinese guests.

When the procession arrived at Chilsitoon Palace, a group of children performed folk dances and sang songs while the King and the Queen chatted with Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi and Vice-Premier and Madame Chen Yi. The King and Queen both recalled their visit to China in 1964. The King said: "Our two countries are separated by high mountains and dense forests, but you took only a few hours to get here. We hope our mutual visits will strengthen the close friendship between us."

Shortly after their arrival, Chairman and Madame Liu called on King Zahir Shah and Queen Homaira. In the evening, the King and the Queen gave a banquet in honour of Chair-



Chairman Liu Shao-chi at the airport with King Zahir Shah

man and Madame Liu. Both King Zahir Shah and Chairman Liu spoke at the banquet.

The King extended a hearty welcome to his guests. Emphasizing the amicable relations that exist between the two countries, he said: "Afghanistan and the People's Republic of China have taken giant strides in the last few years towards a stronger bond of friendship with each other." He hailed the Chinese people's struggle against foreign influence and their unremitting efforts

for economic and cultural progress. He also expressed support for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Chinese people in the United Nations. The King added: "The Afghan people have supported and will continue to support with complete sincerity the struggles waged by the nations of the world to win freedom and the right to determine their own destiny." He expressed the conviction that Chairman Liu's visit would benefit the development and strengthening of friendly relations between the two countries.

Chairman Liu's Speech at State Banquet

Your Majesties King Mohammed Zahir Shah and the Queen,
Dear Friends,

I am very glad to have the opportunity of visiting our friendly neighbour Afghanistan. Upon our arrival we have been accorded a magnificent and cordial welcome. This is not only an honour to us individually, but an expression of the profound friendship of the Afghan

people for the Chinese people. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I extend sincere thanks and respects to Their Majesties the King and the Queen and the Afghan Government and people.

Although this is the first time I visit your country, I have not come to a strange land. The Chinese people are well acquainted with your country and people. Yours is a

country with a long history, which has always maintained independence. Yours is an industrious and courageous people with a glorious tradition of fighting imperialism. Friendly intercourse between the peoples of China and Afghanistan dates as far back as 2,000 years. And the past decade and more has witnessed new development of this friendship.

Both our countries were subjected to imperialist aggression, and are firmly opposed to the exploitation and oppression of nation by nation and to inequality between nations. Therefore, since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, our relationship has always been friendly, equal and based on mutual benefit. There is no conflict of interests between our two countries. We have done nothing to harm you, nor have you done anything to harm us. This mutual respect and the development of friendly relations between our two countries are in the interests of both our peoples.

China has always stood for the development of relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In particular, we stress equality of all nations, big or small, and are resolutely opposed to big-power chauvinism. We are opposed to big power discriminating against, despising, bullying or oppressing small countries. World problems can only be decided by all nations jointly, and monopoly by a few big powers is absolutely impermissible. China will not permit other nations to take a big-power chauvinist attitude towards her, nor does she allow herself to take the same attitude towards others. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said, "In international dealings, the Chinese people must eradicate big-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely." We have been endeavouring to do so for the past decade and more. In our opinion, genuine friendly relations can be established only between countries which really treat each other as equals, and only such friendly relations can stand all tests.

The Chinese people have always been concerned for and supported

the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of other Afro-Asian peoples. We hold that the threat to the independence of any country means a threat to all the Afro-Asian countries; victory in the people's struggle of any country constitutes a support to all the Afro-Asian peoples. At present, the Vietnamese people are faced with the frenzied armed aggression by the United States and are resisting heroically. Imperialist subversion and sabotage have brought temporary setbacks to the cause of independence and progress of some Afro-Asian countries. The people of the countries concerned are fighting dauntlessly to defend their national independence won through protracted struggles. The Afro-Asian people's struggle to win and safeguard independence cannot possibly be all plain-sailing. But they will be tempered through repeated and tortuous struggles, and become still more determined and united. There is no doubt that the Afro-Asian people's

cause of solidarity against imperialism will eventually triumph.

The visit to China made by Their Majesties the King and the Queen over a year ago has strengthened the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries and promoted the friendship between our two peoples. I hope that our present visit will make a similar contribution.

I propose a toast

to the prosperity of Afghanistan and the well-being of its people,

to the friendship between the Chinese and Afghan peoples,

to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,

to the health of Their Majesties King Mohammed Zahir Shah and the Queen, and

to the health of all our friends present here!

Successful Tour of West Pakistan

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi and his wife Wang Kuang-mei returned to Hotien in Sinkiang on March 31 after a memorable tour of West Pakistan. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and his wife Chang Chien accompanied them on the same plane. They are scheduled to visit East Pakistan later this month.

Chairman Liu's state visit has filled a new page in the history of

Sino-Pakistan friendship. The Pakistan daily *Dawn* said: "The visit has made history and further cemented the neighbourly and friendly ties between Pakistan and China. It has been rightly said that this relationship has developed into an unbreakable bond." On April 1 *Renmin Ribao's* main headline read: "Sino-Pakistan Friendship Is Not Based on Expediency But Has a Solid Founda-



A rousing welcome for Chairman Liu in Lahore

tion." A subhead added: "The further consolidation and development of friendly co-operation between China and Pakistan accords with the common aspirations of the two peoples and is conducive to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace."

Chairman Liu took the opportunity of his visit to hold talks with President Ayub Khan. Complete accord was reached. Said the Pakistan President in a speech broadcast on April 1: "We had sincere and frank talks with the Chinese head of state and his party, and reached complete understanding on matters of mutual interest. It is the earnest desire of both China and Pakistan to make every possible effort to establish peace in the world, particularly peace in this region." A joint communique was issued on March 31 which was prominently featured in the newspapers of both countries. (Full text of the communique on p. 6.)

Unprecedented Welcome

The welcome accorded Chairman Liu by the Pakistan people was unprecedented. It was described as "the greatest popular welcome ever given to a foreign head of state in the history of Pakistan." For the first time in its 26 years, the Pakistan paper *Morning News* on March 30 ran its main headline in Chinese characters: "Welcome Our Distinguished Guests to Karachi." Many newspapers carried photographs of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi and devoted full pages to covering the news of the Chinese leader's tour.

Chairman Liu received a tremendous welcome everywhere he went. Rawalpindi, interim capital of Pakistan, gave him a fabulous reception never before witnessed in the city (see *Peking Review*, No. 14, p. 3). In Karachi, Pakistan's biggest city, several hundred thousand people lined the streets, greeting him with showers of red rose petals. In Lahore, the heroic city where the Pakistan people repulsed the Indian aggressors' attack, nearly one million people turned out. They thronged the streets and gave Chairman Liu and his party such an enthusiastic reception that the motorcade, moving at a walking pace, took one and a half

hours to cover the five-mile route from the airport to the Governor's House. Said an 80-year-old man who was among the crowd: "Lahore has seen two things to its credit—winning the battle of Lahore against the Indian aggressors and then this grand reception for the Chinese leader." Moved by the big welcome, Chairman Liu said: "This is a vivid expression of the Pakistan people's fraternal sentiments for the Chinese people."

Tested Friendship

The friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples has stood the test of time. It has further developed in the fight against imperialism and expansionism. At a luncheon given on March 29 in honour of the Chinese guests, Mme. J.A. Shah Nawaz, President of the Pakistan-China Friendship Association of Lahore, said that the age-old bonds of friendship between Pakistan and China had been strengthened over the last few years. In September last year, she said, "when the guns were thundering 12 miles from where we stand today, the veil was lifted from our eyes, and our real friends and those who paid lip-service to friendship were sharply differentiated in our minds. The help and friendship that the People's Republic of China extended to us in this hour of trial will never be forgotten by us and the bonds that were forged in this fire shall be eternal and unchangeable."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi reiterated China's support for Pakistan at the civic reception in Lahore. Paying tribute to the people of that city which stood in the forefront of the struggle against Indian aggression, he said: "Faced with the invasion of a strong enemy, you put up a valiant resistance, feared no sacrifice and displayed great patriotism and heroism, thus adding a brilliant chapter to the annals of the Pakistan people's fight against aggression. Under the leadership of President Mohammad Ayub Khan, the Pakistan people, united as one and filled with a common hatred towards their enemy, triumphed over the enemy who was superior in strength and number,

and finally repulsed the aggressor and safeguarded the independence and sovereignty of their country. Your victory shows that a people fighting for a just cause is invincible."

Chairman Liu's visit has done much to enhance Sino-Pakistan friendship and, as Foreign Minister Bhutto said, "has left an unforgettable impression on the hearts and minds of the people of Pakistan." Rooted in history and geography and in the desire for world peace and tranquillity, that friendship, said the Pakistan Foreign Minister, "is imperishable and unbreakable and it cannot be bargained or bartered."

Sato Government's New Challenge

SINCE taking office in the autumn of 1964, Japan's Sato government has made many moves sabotaging Sino-Japanese friendship. The latest came on March 29 when it decided to deny entry permits to members of a delegation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs for a goodwill visit at the invitation of the Japanese Socialist Party. Aimed at obstructing friendly exchanges between the Chinese and Japanese peoples, it is fresh evidence of the Sato government's subservience to U.S. imperialism and hostility towards China.

More than 50 political parties and organizations in Japan strongly protested against the decision. Kozo Sasaki, Chairman of the Japanese Socialist Party, said that the Sato government's action was a challenge from the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to the people of Japan and other Asian countries. He said that his party would fight to the finish to defeat the move and to bring about the entry of the Chinese delegation.

In Peking, a spokesman of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs denounced the Sato government and said: "Though the Sato government obstructs our delegation's visit to Japan, no force on earth can disrupt our friendly relations with our Japanese friends

(Continued on p. 31.)

China-Pakistan Joint Communique

March 31, 1966

AT the invitation of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, His Excellency Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Mme. Liu Shao-chi paid a friendly state visit to Pakistan. They were accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Mme. Chen Yi and other high officials of the Chinese Government.

During the visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his party were accorded a rousing welcome and magnificent reception everywhere by the Pakistan Government and people, which demonstrated the sincere friendship of the Pakistan people for the Chinese people. Chairman Liu Shao-chi expressed the heartfelt thanks to the President and the Pakistan Government and people.

The Chairman and the President had a frank and friendly exchange of views on the present international situation and the further development of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Pakistan. They expressed satisfaction at the results of the talks.

The Chairman and the President stressed that **the Kashmiri people's right of self-determination must be respected and that the Kashmir dispute should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people as pledged to them by both Pakistan and India.** The President reaffirmed that the Pakistan Government will continue to support the Kashmiri people's struggle for self-determination. The Chairman reaffirmed the firm support of the Chinese Government and people to the righteous stand of the Pakistan Government on this dispute and the just struggle

of the Kashmiri people for their right of self-determination.

The President expressed the deep gratitude of the Government and people of Pakistan for the support they received from the Government and people of China in resisting aggression. The Chairman expressed admiration for the heroism and patriotism of the Pakistan people in their struggle against foreign aggression and intervention. The Chairman reaffirmed that **the Chinese Government and people adhere to their principled stand of opposing aggression and assisting its victims, and that the Chinese people unswervingly stand at the side of the Pakistan people in their struggle to defend national independence and sovereignty and oppose aggression.**

The President reiterated the firm belief of the Government and people of Pakistan that the People's Republic of China should be restored its lawful rights in the United Nations and that any scheme to create "two Chinas" is bound to fail. The Chairman expressed thanks for this stand.

The Chairman and the President expressed satisfaction at the development of friendly relations between their countries. They stressed that **the friendship between China and Pakistan is not based on expediency but on a solid foundation.** The people of the two countries have given sympathy and support to each other in the struggle against aggression, and a profound friendship has been forged between them. The two parties are determined to further strengthen and develop the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Pakistan, and hold that this is in accord with the common desire of the two peoples and conducive to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

The War Threat of U.S. Imperialism Must Be Taken Seriously

A SPOKESMAN of the Chinese Foreign Ministry was authorized to issue on April 5 the 400th serious warning in relation to the crimes of aggression the United States has committed by encroaching on China's territorial waters and air space. These crimes are a

debt which U.S. imperialism owes to the Chinese people, a debt that must be cleared. They also constitute an undeniable, iron-clad proof of the U.S. imperialist aggression against China and its threat to Asian and world peace.

Over a long period, warships and aircraft sent by U.S. imperialism have ceaselessly invaded China's territorial waters and air space and engaged in flagrant military provocations against China. This has become a routine matter with the U.S. military authorities. In the seven years and more since the Chinese Government issued its first serious warning in September, 1958, a total of 361 intrusions into China's territorial waters by 443 U.S. warships has been recorded; and 487 U.S. aircraft have intruded into China's air space on 314 occasions. For one country to engage in military provocations against another sovereign state for so long and so systematically is almost without precedent in the history of international relations. And these provocations have been growing in intensity, frequency and scope every year. It is clear that U.S. imperialism will persist to the end in its hostility towards the Chinese people and that it is constantly threatening China with war.

Top military and government officials in Washington and the U.S. press have not only been furiously cursing China but brazenly clamour for a contest of strength with it, while the Johnson Administration sends massive reinforcements to south Vietnam to speed up the expansion of its war of aggression. These belligerent outcries of the U.S. imperialists require analysing. Some are blackmail. A great din plus a whiff of gunpowder, they think, will make the Chinese people so terror-stricken that they will "shut the doors and windows to keep out the moonlight, and let the plum blossoms take care of themselves." On the other hand, there are those who are really itching to take the field and to start a war of aggression against China.

Recently, the U.S. ruling clique has thrown out hints that it wants to "improve" Sino-U.S. relations and adopt a "flexible policy" towards China. The Chinese people are not taken in. The U.S. imperialists insist on maintaining their occupation of China's province of Taiwan. Their forces are deployed in the Taiwan Straits. And they are continuing their reckless military provocations against the Chinese mainland. In the circumstances, the hints of "goodwill" dropped by the U.S. ruling clique are very obviously part of its counter-revolutionary dual tactics, an attempt to undermine the Chinese people's fighting determination and impair their combat readiness.

The Chinese people have seen through the aggressive, trigger-happy character of U.S. imperialism. They have never had any illusions about it. U.S. imperialism has been reluctant to accept the downfall of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek dynasty and the complete ousting of its forces of aggression from the Chinese mainland. Therefore, less than a year after the founding of the People's Republic of China, U.S. imperialism started its war of aggression in Korea and occupied the Chinese province of Taiwan by armed force. Subsequently, the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression entered Indo-China and took over the role of the French colonialists in south Vietnam and Laos. Year after year, the efforts

of U.S. imperialism in its military deployment around China have become more and more feverish, and it has built a "new crescent cordon" in the Asian and Pacific regions extending from south Korea through Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, south Vietnam, Thailand and "Malaysia" and all the way to India. The military deployment and aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism in the Asian and Pacific regions are aimed at both the suppression of the revolutionary movements of the people of the Asian countries and the launching of a war of aggression against China.

Step by step U.S. imperialism is shifting the centre of gravity of its "global strategy" from Europe to the Asian and Pacific regions. It already deploys more ground, naval and air forces in these regions than in Europe and the Atlantic region. It is certainly not for fun that U.S. imperialism is throwing so large a proportion of its military strength into the Asian and Pacific regions. It is undertaking an important strategic deployment of its forces, preparing to start an even bigger war of aggression in Asia.

China is a great revolutionary country. The Chinese people are persevering in their socialist revolution and socialist construction at home, and they firmly support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed people and oppressed nations abroad. Precisely for this reason, U.S. imperialism regards China as the principal obstacle in the way of its policies of war and aggression in Asia and of the realization of its "global strategy." The methods U.S. imperialism has been contemplating for destroying revolutionary China simply amount to this: first, to bring China to her knees by military intimidation. This has proved useless. Second, to pin its hopes on "peaceful evolution" in China, which again is a pipe dream. Third, to engage China in a large-scale shooting war, and the evidence is increasingly clear that the U.S. imperialists are preparing to impose war on the Chinese people.

After the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan and on the eve of the counter-revolutionary civil war started by the Kuomintang reactionaries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung told the Chinese people: "As Chiang Kai-shek is now sharpening his swords, we must sharpen ours too." Today, we adopt the same policy towards the U.S. imperialist threat of war, which we take seriously. The Chinese people must work untiringly to ensure that preparations for action are all well carried out. We are not the chiefs of staff of U.S. imperialism. It is the U.S. imperialists and not we that want war. Therefore, we must be prepared for a war they may start at some later date, and be even more prepared for an early war; we must be prepared for a small-scale war and even more for a large-scale war. An early war means one that will have to be fought this year or next. A large-scale war means one in which the U.S. imperialists will use all their strength, sending several million or even ten million troops to China.

China has a total area of 9,600,000 square kilometres and a population of 650 million. We have

the wise leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the invincible People's Liberation Army, and militia divisions in all corners of the country. Let the U.S. imperialists strike as grand a posture in this vast battlefield of China as they can. The Chinese people cherish peace. But if U.S. imperialism insists on launching war against China, our attitude will be to go on with it to the very end.

The Chinese people and U.S. imperialism are not new acquaintances. As the saying goes, it takes a fight for people to get to know each other. And the Chinese people know U.S. imperialism perfectly well. In fact, we grappled with it twice after World War II. The first time was in the 1946-49 civil war which, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, was "waged to all appearances by Chiang Kai-shek but in reality by the United States" against the Chinese people; it was "a war in which the United States supplies the money and guns and Chiang Kai-shek supplies the men to fight for the United States and slaughter the Chinese people." This war ended with the thorough defeat of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, i.e., the thorough defeat of U.S. imperialism. The second occasion was the 1950-53 war in Korea. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers had a direct contest of strength with U.S. imperialism, and forced it to bow its head and sign the armistice agreement at Panmunjom. Today, once again U.S. imperialism appears fierce and truculent. But there is not all that much to them. The fundamental fact is this: ours is a just cause, theirs is unjust. Moreover, U.S. imperialism has too limited capital to match its great ambitions. In its attempt to dominate the world, it has stretched its talons wide and

dispersed its strength, with its front line so very extended and its rear so faraway. Never in history has any aggressor so deployed his forces. In appearance, U.S. imperialism has taken up a posture as though it could seize the whole globe; in fact it is in a position of passivity, ready for a beating. A light breeze is enough to make it start and quiver. If simultaneously several anti-U.S. storms rise in the world, it will be hard put to cope with the situation. Today U.S. imperialism is not stronger but weaker than it was more than ten years ago, while China has grown not weaker but stronger.

Should U.S. imperialism dare to attack China, either on a limited scale or in full strength, the only result will be the total annihilation of the U.S. invaders. The Chinese people are fully prepared, at all times, for a possible sudden attack by U.S. imperialism. So long as U.S. imperialism exists we of this generation must be prepared, and so should be the second and the third generations. The sharp antagonism and fierce struggle between revolutionary China on the one hand and U.S. imperialism which is continuously extending its aggression and war on the other is the inevitable result of historical development. This struggle will go on throughout this historical era. One mouthpiece of U.S. imperialism has said that the United States would need thirty years to deal with China. We tell him plainly: "With great revolutionary spirit, the Chinese people are determined to struggle against U.S. imperialism for one, two or even three hundred years until it is utterly defeated and the world revolution is completely victorious."

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 6.)

400th Serious Warning to U.S. Imperialism

U.S. Military Provocations Against China

A U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters in the area east of the estuary of the Minkiang River, Fukien Province, on April 5. A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry has been authorized to issue the 400th serious warning against the barbarous crimes of aggression committed by U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism has frequently staged flagrant military provocations against China during the past seven years and more, since the first serious warning was issued by the Chinese Government in September 1958 against intrusions into China's territorial waters and air space by U.S. warships and military aircraft. These are undeniable evidence of the crimes committed by U.S. imperialism while persisting in its policies of

aggression and war. The wanton aggressive activities by U.S. imperialism constitute a grave threat to China's security and to peace in Asia and the whole world.

Sworn Enemy of the Chinese People

Intrusions into Chinese territorial waters and air space by U.S. warships and military aircraft have become more frequent, extensive and serious with each passing year. U.S. imperialism has sent a total of 128 warships to intrude into China's territorial waters on 160 occasions during the past 21 months since the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry was authorized to issue the 300th serious warning on June 29, 1964, when a U.S. submarine intruded into China's

territorial waters in the area south of Pinghai, Kwangtung Province. The month of the greatest number of intrusions saw 32 intrusions into China's territorial waters by 21 U.S. warships. During the same period, the U.S. has sent 82 military aircraft to intrude into China's territorial air space on 81 occasions. In April 1965 alone, 21 U.S. military aircraft intruded on 23 occasions. In the past year and more, the number of intrusions by U.S. warships was almost three times that in the period between May 4, 1962, when China issued its 201st serious warning, and June 29, 1964, when the 300th serious warning was issued.

U.S. military aircraft have even flagrantly intruded deep into the air space over Sheyang, Yencheng and Jukao in Kiangsu Province and Hokow in Yunnan Province. U.S. unmanned high-altitude reconnaissance military aircraft have on many occasions intruded to carry out reconnaissance and provocative activities over the air space of central-south and southwest China. U.S. fighter planes which intruded into the air space over Aih sien County and other areas on Hainan Island attacked Chinese aircraft that had been alerted and were in the air.

U.S. warships and aircraft recklessly shelled, strafed and pursued Chinese fishing boats and merchant vessels at sea on many occasions, seriously endangering the lives of the Chinese personnel on them and causing serious loss of property.

The facts show clearly that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Chinese people. It constantly carries out war threats against China.

U.S. Strategic Scheme in Asia

U.S. imperialism has carried out these activities of aggression against the background of its having shifted the focus of its counter-revolutionary global strategy from Europe to Asia. Its purpose is to set itself against the Chinese people to the very end and prepare to launch aggressive war on an even larger scale in Asia.

In February of last year, U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara brazenly cried that China was now the chief adversary of the United States. While sending considerable reinforcements to enlarge the aggressive war in Vietnam during the past year, the U.S. aggressors have been stepping up their military deployment around China.

It is reported that U.S. imperialism is building the largest naval and air base in Asia at Cam Ranh Bay in south Vietnam. This is to be linked up with the U.S. bases in Thailand and Laos to form a system of military bases spearheaded against China.

At the same time, U.S. imperialism is intensifying its activities to turn China's Taiwan Province into a base for expanding its war of aggression in Asia. It colluded with the Chiang Kai-shek clique and signed a so-called "agreement" on the status of the U.S. aggressive forces in Taiwan. U.S. imperialism has enlarged

the Kungkuan airport and other military bases on Taiwan and expanded its 13th Task Air Force on Taiwan into the 327th Air Division. It has sent large numbers of air crews and aircraft to Taiwan.

U.S. brasshats and top political figures have gone to Taiwan one after the other to plot with the Chiang Kai-shek clique and instigate it to try a "come-back attack on the mainland" and "open up a second front." They include U.S. Vice-President Humphrey; Wheeler, Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff; Sharp, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. forces in the Pacific; Harry Felt, the former Commander-in-Chief; and Lodge, U.S. "Ambassador" to Saigon. Wheeler held talks with Chiang Kai-shek and chieftains of the Chiang troops on the situation of the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam and on the question of enhancing "co-operation" between U.S. imperialism and the Chiang clique. Harry Felt clamoured in Taipei that the United States was willing to run the risk of war with China in order to push ahead with its policy of expanding its aggression in Southeast Asia.

In the past year and more, U.S. espionage organizations have directed armed U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek special agents to carry out harassment and sabotage on many occasions in China's southeast coastal areas.

These facts manifest that the aggressive and bellicose nature of U.S. imperialism never changes.

For the Complete Burial of U.S. Imperialism

Persisting in hostility to China, U.S. imperialism will come to no good end.

During the year and more since the issuance of the 300th serious warning by the Chinese Government against U.S. military provocations, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has shot down two intruding U.S. fighter planes and captured a U.S. pilot alive. The P.L.A. has brought down nine U.S. pilotless high-altitude military reconnaissance planes, and five U.S.-made U-2 and RF-101 planes of the Chiang Kai-shek gang. The P.L.A. has sunk three U.S.-made warships of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and damaged two others. During this period, armymen and civilians in the coastal areas wiped out many groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents lock, stock, and barrel.

These are but a small lesson given by the Chinese people to the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. Debts must be repaid. Should U.S. imperialism dare to continue its aggressive activities, it will certainly receive even more severe punishment.

The Chinese people are in a state of preparedness at all times against any surprise attack U.S. imperialism might launch. The Chinese people are determined, together with the people of the whole world, to make their due contributions to the complete burial of the chief criminal of war, U.S. imperialism, in the just war against U.S. imperialist aggression.

Indonesian Rightists Out to Undermine Sino-Indonesian Relations

DESPITE the Chinese Government's efforts to safeguard the friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have committed a new series of anti-China outrages.

Outrages Against Overseas Chinese Schools

On March 12, thousands of hooligans organized by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces attacked, wrecked and illegally occupied 13 overseas Chinese schools in Bandung. Similar attacks on overseas Chinese schools took place in Bogor, Krawang, Tjimahi, Garut, Tjiandjur, Purwakarta, Sukabumi and Tasikmalaja, districts or cities in West Java, from March 14 to 19.

On March 18 three overseas Chinese schools in Djakarta were attacked by hundreds of hooligans carrying sticks, iron clubs, and chains and daggers. The same day, in Makasar, there were onslaughts by hundreds of thugs against seven overseas Chinese schools.

In a note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry on March 27 the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia lodged a strong protest with the Indonesian Government against these anti-Chinese incidents and pointed out that they represented a new step by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces against China and Chinese nationals and were premeditated actions aimed at openly undermining relations between the two countries. It demanded that the Indonesian Government immediately adopt effective measures to stop the outrages against overseas Chinese schools, bring the culprits and those behind them to justice, compensate the schools for all their losses and immediately return all the schools still in the hands of the hooligans, or occupied by troops, so they could quickly resume classes.

Embassy Villa Illegally Occupied

On March 19 several hundred hooligans organized by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces forced their way into the villa of the Chinese Embassy in Tjipajung, Bogor. Ransacking the rooms and destroying and looting, the hooligans asserted that "the embassy villa is occupied" and "taken over." On the door of the building they painted the words: "Belonging to the Indonesian Republic." Up to March 26 there were still more than 20 hooligans remaining in the villa.

In its note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry on March 28, the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia strongly protested against this outrage and pointed out that the incident was an extremely grave one. The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces had deliberately in-

fringed on diplomatic prerogatives and grossly trampled on all norms of international law.

The Chinese Embassy demanded that the Indonesian Government make a public apology for this incident, immediately drive out the hooligans occupying the embassy villa, severely punish the culprits and their instigators, compensate for all losses sustained at the villa, take effective measures to safeguard the security of Chinese diplomatic missions and their personnel, and guarantee that no similar incidents occur in the future.

Hsinhua Branch Forced to Leave

The correspondents and staff members of the Djakarta branch of Hsinhua News Agency, which had been "temporarily closed down" by the Indonesian Government without any justification (see *Peking Review*, No. 14), temporarily withdrew from the Indonesian capital on April 1.

Before leaving Djakarta, the Hsinhua branch addressed a farewell letter to Indonesian readers of the Djakarta edition of the *Hsinhua News Release*. The letter said that, in recent years, the Hsinhua News Agency had done its best to serve the Indonesian people's struggle for the recovery of West Irian, their confrontation of "Malaysia" and the holding of the First Games of the New Emerging Forces. It had broadcast to the whole world news about the Indonesian people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism and, through the *Hsinhua News Release*, had acquainted the Indonesian people with the achievements of the Chinese people in construction, the progress of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of China and the world and their support for the Indonesian people.

The letter said that the Indonesian Government's flagrant closing down of the Hsinhua branch was a brutal sabotage of the friendly relations between the peoples of both countries, ran counter to the desires of the Indonesian people and catered to the needs of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular. It stressed that those who had expressed so-called wrath against the Hsinhua branch were only a handful of Indonesian Right-wing reactionaries and certainly not the broad masses of the Indonesian people.

Refuting the Indonesian Foreign Ministry's allegation of "interference in internal affairs," it pointed out that the existence of the Indonesian Right-wing forces was an objective fact, recalling that President Sukarno himself had said that certain groups intend to lead the Indonesian revolution to the Right. Since this was said by Indonesians and others all over the world, why should Hsinhua be charged with "in-

terference in internal affairs" when it reported the facts?

The letter concluded: "We firmly believe that the great friendship between the two peoples — a friendship long tested in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism — will last through the ages. . . . In the years to come we will continue to render our service in support of the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle against imperialism and colonialism. We wish the Indonesian people one victory after another in their revolutionary struggle."

Attack on Consulate in Medan

On March 29 more than a thousand hooligans organized by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces again attacked the Chinese Consulate in Medan.

The Indonesian troops and police guarding the Consulate did not take any action to stop the attack. The local authorities also took no action despite many phone calls by the care-takers of the Consulate.

The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, in its note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry on April 2, protested most strongly against this third attack on the Consulate. It pointed out that the incident took place after the staff members of the Consulate had just been evacuated to Djakarta and after the Embassy had sent a special note to the Indonesian Government asking it to notify the local authorities concerned to protect the Consulate and its care-takers.

The note said that the Indonesian Government must bear full responsibility for all the serious consequences arising from the repeated occurrence of such incidents of provocation. It demanded that the Indonesian Government make a public apology, immediately return the Chinese national emblem and the Consulate's brass plate that had been carried away by the hooligans, severely punish the culprits and their instigators, compensate the Chinese Consulate for all losses, take effective measures to ensure the security

of the Consulate and its care-takers and guarantee that no such incidents recur.

Hooliganism in Lampung and Djambi

The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia in a note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry on April 2 protested strongly against the raiding, wrecking and looting of overseas Chinese schools, organizations, shops and homes in Lampung and Djambi on March 21 by hooligans organized by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces.

More than a thousand hooligans from Telukbetung and Tandjung Karang in Lampung Province, after attending a "mass rally in support of the handing over of power to Lieutenant-General Suharto by President Sukarno," had in separate groups wrecked and looted organizations, schools, shops and homes of Chinese nationals. Armed with knives and iron bars they injured many Chinese, some of them seriously. They also carried off the Chinese national flag and tore up a portrait of Chairman Liu Shao-chi at the office of the Lampung Overseas Chinese General Association. At the same time similar racist attacks against Chinese nationals took place in the Djambi area.

The Chinese Embassy's note drew attention to the fact that, prior to the "demonstration," the hooligans had the signed authorization of the military authorities in Lampung, and that the local authorities had done nothing to prevent the attacks nor to stop them.

It demanded that the Indonesian Government make a public apology for the insult to the Chinese national flag and state leader; severely punish the culprits and instigators of these attacks; take effective measures to prevent the infringement on the legitimate rights of overseas Chinese organizations, schools and individuals; compensate for the loss of property of the Chinese nationals; help the Chinese shops which were wrecked to resume business; give relief to and make arrangements for those Chinese nationals who have lost their means of livelihood as a result of the raids, and guarantee that similar incidents do not happen again.

How the Indonesian Right-Wing Generals Seized State Power

By armed force Suharto has coerced Sukarno into handing over state power. He has also appointed a new anti-communist cabinet, announced the "dissolution" of the Indonesian Communist Party and carried out further purges in government organizations.

THE Indonesian Right-wing generals' clique has, in a series of actions, accomplished its plan to seize state power by coup d'etat. It coerced President Sukarno into appointing a new anti-communist cabinet

on March 27. This followed the arrest of 15 members of the Indonesian cabinet under Army Commander Suharto's order of March 18 and his announcement of a reshuffle of the cabinet on the same date.

According to Antara News Agency and Radio Djakarta reports, assuming the name of President Sukarno, Indonesian Army Commander Suharto ordered on the morning of March 18 that First Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Subandrio, Third Deputy Prime Minister Chairul Saleh and 13 other min-

isters including the Ministers of Internal Affairs, Justice and Information, be placed under "protective custody." UPI reported that, in making the arrest, Suharto "sent paratroopers and tanks rumbling up to President Sukarno's Merdeka Palace. . . . The tanks' guns were trained on the palace." On the afternoon of the same day, Suharto announced the formation of a 5-member presidium of the cabinet consisting of Sultan Hamengku Buwono, Adam Malik, Roeslan Abdulgani, Idham Chalid and Johannes Leimena, to replace the cabinet presidium formed after President Sukarno's cabinet reshuffle on February 21, which consisted of Subandrio and three other Deputy Prime Ministers. In addition, Suharto designated 14 ministers to take charge of the duties performed by those arrested or dismissed by him.

On March 27, the Right-wing generals' clique coerced President Sukarno into announcing the name list for a new cabinet. According to Radio Djakarta, the cabinet has a presidium consisting of six Deputy Prime Ministers, who take charge of a total of 24 ministries. The six include the five Deputy Prime Ministers appointed by Suharto on March 18 and Suharto himself. Of the 24 ministries, 14 are headed by the military. Meanwhile, Abdul Haris Nasution, who had been dismissed by Sukarno during the cabinet reshuffle on February 21, was named deputy commander of ministerial rank of the "Crush Malaysia Command." An AFP report said on March 27 that "the new cabinet announced in Djakarta by President Sukarno tonight indicates that the army is still on top. . . . The presidium . . . is clearly dominated by anti-communist elements." The Associated Press said that "Nasution could wield considerable authority in the government as deputy commander of KOGAM [the 'Crush Malaysia Command']."

Reporting Suharto's order to arrest the cabinet ministers and his reorganization of the cabinet, the same news agency said on March 20: "Sukarno was forced to hand over all political and military powers in the country to Suharto" and Sukarno is being kept as the head of state only because "the armed forces want to use him as a figurehead."

Radio Djakarta announced on March 27 Suharto's "explanations concerning the composition of the new cabinet" in which he said that the formation of the new cabinet represented "a phase in the victorious stage of a series of struggles." He added: "Our struggle will yet last a long time. Nevertheless, the hope of victory has begun to materialize."

On March 28, according to Radio Djakarta, a battalion of military police replaced the Tjakrabirawa Guards Regiment — President Sukarno's Guards. On March 28, Brigadier-General Mohammad Sabur, commander of the regiment, turned over his command to Sudirgo, commander of the Military Police Corps. The Military Police Command assigned the military

police paratroop battalion commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Norman Sasono to act as guards for the President. UPI reported on March 19 that "the palace guard was disarmed Friday [March 18] afternoon."

The Indonesian Right-wing generals' clique began its seizure of power on March 11 when Suharto ordered army and paratroop units to surround the Presidential Palace and used force of arms to compel President Sukarno to surrender state power. After President Sukarno announced the cabinet reshuffle on February 21, Right-wing students and hooligans, backed up by the Right-wing generals' clique, demonstrated in Djakarta again and again, besieged the Presidential Palace, wrecked certain government offices and stirred up an atmosphere of chaos and terror. On March 10, the Right-wing generals' clique called in the elite troops of the airborne commandos and the Siliwangi Division, who took up positions in Djakarta under cover of a curfew. When President Sukarno called a cabinet meeting the next day, he found the Presidential Palace besieged and thereupon flew to Bogor by helicopter. The Right-wing generals' clique promptly sent three generals to the Bogor Palace on the afternoon of the same day and delivered an ultimatum to President Sukarno demanding his surrender of powers.

According to Radio Djakarta and Antara, Suharto began issuing orders in the name of President Sukarno the same evening. In his first order, he declared that he had been empowered to "adopt all measures considered necessary to ensure law and order and a calm situation" and "ensure the President's . . . personal safety." Reuter said that the announcement showed "Suharto had taken over absolute state power from President Sukarno."

On March 12, Suharto issued an order "dissolving" the Indonesian Communist Party. According to Radio Djakarta, Suharto announced in this order that "the Indonesian Communist Party, including all its departments and organizations from the central to the various local levels and all organizations espousing the same cause and affiliated to it or under its protection, is dissolved; the Indonesian Communist Party is declared a banned organization throughout the territory of the Republic of Indonesia; this decision will take effect immediately."

According to Radio Djakarta, Suharto on March 14 issued another order for "all leading members, cadres and activists" of the Indonesian Communist Party and all mass organizations concerned to "surrender" before the end of March. Suharto declared: "If anybody fails to surrender before the fixed date, the authorities concerned will take resolute action." At the same time, he also demanded that "all leaders of political parties and mass organizations, pending further decisions of the government, should refrain from receiving and giving shelter to members of the Indonesian Communist Party and those mass organizations affiliated to it or under

its protection and espousing the same cause. Resolute action will be taken against those organizations which violate this order."

On March 31, Suharto issued another order "instructing the central and local state organs, govern-

ment departments and units" to "purge themselves of members of the former Indonesian Communist Party and of mass organizations affiliated to it or under its protection."

—Hsinhua News Agency, April 4.

Applause From U.S., Britain and "Malaysia"

THE military coup d'etat staged by the clique of Indonesian Right-wing generals has been cheered and supported by the United States, Britain and "Malaysia."

On March 12, the day after Indonesian Army Commander Suharto took over government power, U.S. Ambassador to Djakarta Marshall Green told the American Broadcasting Company, by telephone, that Indonesia's political troubles were being handled in a "peaceful and favourable manner." He added that he expected the new military authorities to move against the Leftists.

Former U.S. Ambassador to Djakarta Howard Jones on March 13 described Suharto's taking over power as "a logical move in maintenance of law and order." He was particularly satisfied with Suharto's being "a strong anti-communist."

Asked by newsmen whether "economic assistance" would be granted to Indonesia, U.S. State Department spokesman McCloskey said on March 14 that the United States "never ruled out the resumption of aid for now or for ever to Indonesia." USIS reported on the same day, "Concerning aid to Indonesia, other U.S. officials pointed out that at no time has the United States ruled out the possibility that it would resume its assistance at some future date."

In a dispatch datelined Washington, March 13, *New York Times* correspondent Max Frankel wrote, "The Johnson Administration found it difficult yesterday to hide its delight with the news from Indonesia pointing to the political demise of President Sukarno." Entitled "Indonesian take-over is welcomed by U.S.," the dispatch went on: "After a long period of patient diplomacy designed to help the army triumph over the Communists, and months of prudent silence while Mr. Sukarno appeared to be slipping, officials were elated to find their expectations being realized." It continued that U.S. officials now "still refused to make public comments that might embarrass the emerging army leadership. Their thoughts were already turning towards efforts to rescue Indonesia with economic assistance."

The U.S. paper *Christian Science Monitor* in an article on March 16 said, "Official reaction here [Washington] to the Indonesian upheaval is cautiously optimistic. A resumption of American aid at some point in the future is not excluded." "Try as they might, officials cannot restrain a certain optimism," the article added.

AP reported from Singapore on March 13 that "Indonesia's new military regime has announced that its foreign policy will be 'anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist' and generally anti-West." "Statements by new military strongman General Suharto," it continued, "... have also declared that President Sukarno's 'crush Malaysia' campaign will be continued. **But Western diplomatic experts here are not unduly worried by this talk. They believe it is mainly for home consumption.**" "They just can't make an abrupt about-face. These people move subtly and cautiously," it noted.

A UPI report from Washington on March 12 said that Indonesian military chiefs have declared a ban on the Communist Party of Indonesia. The report stated, "If this removes it a step further from influencing national policies, it would be a plus for U.S. interests."

In its March 13 editorial, the *New York Times* repeatedly praised Suharto's taking over power. "One particularly encouraging development in connection with the new regime is the probability that a major share of responsibility will rest with Gen. Abdul Haris Nasution, the Defence Minister President Sukarno deposed," it said. "This country [Indonesia], with its vast undeveloped resources, is by far the richest, most populous and most strategically located in Southeast Asia," said the editorial. **The United States hoped that Indonesia would resolve its "dispute with Malaysia" through "negotiation," and that "out of such a settlement could eventually come the long-projected Maphilindo confederation with the Philippines and a new alliance for peace in one of the world's most troubled areas."**

The *Washington Evening Star* also expressed its joy in an article on March 13, which said that Suharto "has assumed control of the country" and that "it is a development which can only be welcomed from the West's point of view."

British authorities and papers also expressed the same sentiment and pinned hopes on Suharto's take-over. British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, on learning the news during an electioneering tour in Scotland on March 12, immediately telephoned Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart with whom he had a 10-minute conversation on this topic. Stewart made a statement on March 14 saying that if any Indonesian Government sought "to live on good terms" with "Malaysia" and with other neighbours, it could obtain this with the

"goodwill" of its neighbours and of Britain. He added that Britain was prepared to see Indonesia playing in Southeast Asia a "leading part" commensurate with her great population and her resources.

British High Commissioner to "Malaysia" Michael Walker said in Kuala Lumpur on March 14 that it was highly significant that the Indonesian army had taken over power in a "very satisfactory" and "peaceful" manner. He said that the firm anti-communist policy adopted by General Suharto was a very healthy sign that might mean the beginning of improvement of the political situation in this region. Walker added that both the British and "Malaysian" Governments would be interested if Indonesia intended to hold talks on confrontation.

The influential London *Times* published an editorial on March 14 applauding Suharto's take-over. Indonesia, it said, "may now be expected to swing" away from anti-imperialism.

Another British paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, declared editorially on the same day that "the new regime is likely to be fully occupied in crushing Indonesian communism, and in doing so will eliminate the most dangerous element in the confrontation policy."

In another editorial in March 22, the *Daily Telegraph* expressed its liking for Suharto. "In the 11 days since he took over power in Indonesia, General Suharto has increasingly shown himself deserving of confidence," it said.

The Abdul Rahman group of "Malaysia" has also expressed its pleasure at Suharto's coup. According to press reports from Singapore on March 13, "Malaysian" Prime Minister Abdul Rahman said on March 12 that the Indonesian situation "appears encouraging in that the genuine nationalists have taken over power from the pro-communist group."

According to a UPI report from Kuala Lumpur, Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister of "Malaysia," in his speech on March 13 at an annual general meeting of the United Malay National Organization, described Suharto's assumption of power in Indonesia as "a big victory for anti-communist forces." He said: "Malaysia warmly welcomes the emergence of an anti-communist administration in Djakarta and the ban on the Indonesian Communist Party." He expressed the hope that confrontation would "peter out" and the ties between "Malaysia" and Indonesia would be re-established.

—Hsinhua News Agency, April 4.

Plot to Create "Two Chinas"

INDIA'S PROVOCATION

THE Indian Government recently has become quite unscrupulous in following Washington's policy of hostility to China and its plot to create "two Chinas." It has gone so far as to wink at and support the Chiang Kai-shek elements' anti-Chinese activities in India.

On March 18, a so-called delegation headed by the bogus Minister of Economic Affairs K.T. Li and the bogus Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs C. Shen of the Chiang Kai-shek clique arrived in New Delhi from Taipei. They came to attend the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East Conference, which the Soviet Union, "Malaysia," the south Vietnamese and south Korean puppet cliques, the United States and Britain also attended.

The Chiang clique "delegation" was warmly received by the Indian authorities, who took this opportunity to carry out rabid anti-Chinese activities. India's political, business and financial bigwigs were busy contacting the Chiang Kai-shek elements. Both sides advocated increased "understanding" and "co-operation" in joint opposition to China.

Kamaraj, Chairman of the ruling Indian National Congress, received bogus Vice-Foreign Minister C. Shen on March 24, and was "invited" by him to visit Taiwan. K.T. Li and other Chiang Kai-shek elements

attended a banquet given by the All-India Agents' Association on March 29, and held "talks" with Indian business and financial leaders. The Indian press and news agencies lavishly praised these Chiang Kai-shek elements, published their statements against their motherland, and openly called C. Shen "Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China."

This was not the first time that the Indian Government has vigorously followed the U.S. imperialist "two Chinas" scheme and colluded with the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan. Recently, it has become even more truculent in doing so. Late in January this year, Mr. R. Velayudhan, former Indian M.P., went to Taiwan for "talks" with chieftains of the Chiang clique and advocated "normalization of diplomatic relations" between India and the Chiang clique. He publicly admitted that his "visit" had the support of the Indian Prime Minister. In the meantime, the Indian Government allowed a Chiang clique "delegation" headed by the so-called government representative Huang Chao-chin to raise a ballyhoo about the "recovery of the Chinese mainland" while that "delegation" attended the Conference of the Pacific Area Tourist Association in New Delhi. The Indian President went so far as to ask the "delegation" to convey his "regards" to Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy No. 1

of the Chinese people. And now the Chiang clique's "Minister of Economic Affairs" and "Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs" have been allowed to carry out vicious anti-Chinese activities in India.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a note to the Indian Embassy in China on April 2, strongly protested the Indian Government's latest provocation against the Chinese people. The note described it as another grave step taken by the Indian Government in violating the principles guiding international relations, crudely interfering in China's internal affairs and undermining relations between the two countries.

The note pointed out that the Indian Government was persisting in its complicity with the Chiang Kai-shek clique while well aware that the latter was a political corpse. Obviously the object was to further demonstrate to U.S. imperialism that India meant to cling to its position of hostility to China so as to get more handouts from the United States. The Indian Government was warned that its collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique in carrying out activities against the People's Republic of China would only worsen the already deteriorated relations between China and India and that it must bear full responsibility for this.

Note of Chinese Embassy in Accra

Protest Against Ghanaian Authorities' Slanders

No lies can discredit the Chinese Government's open and above-board stand, and no one can intimidate it by threats. The Ghanaian side will never succeed in its attempt to evade its responsibility for undermining the relations between the two countries, whatever tricks it may play.

Authorized by the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese Embassy in Accra sent a note to the Ghanaian Foreign Ministry dated March 31 with reference to the latter's March 24 note and March 25 aide memoire. The content of the Chinese Embassy's note follows. — Ed.

In its note and aide memoire, the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs repeated its hackneyed tune and again viciously vilified and slandered China. The Chinese Government cannot but feel most indignant at this and, while sternly rejecting the Ghanaian side's "vigorous protest," once again lodges the strongest protest with it.

In order to confuse the public and dodge its responsibility for worsening the relations between the two countries, in its note the Ghanaian side further fabricated the story of Chinese military experts leaving Ghana "under assumed names." In delivering the note to Mr. Huang Shih-hsieh, Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Chinese Embassy, Mr. Quao, Principal Secretary of the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, asserted that 20 staff members of the Chinese Embassy had gone to Conakry to help Nkrumah, and declared that he would make public the so-called facts and photographs. The aide memoire alleged that the Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Chinese Embassy had "recently travelled extensively all over Ghana without any molestation whatsoever," attempting thereby to absolve the Ghanaian

troops and police of their outrageous crime of illegally beating up Chinese experts and Embassy personnel. Moreover, it threatened to "take whatever steps it [the Ghanaian side] thinks necessary" about the relations between the two countries.

But it is well known that the Chinese military experts left Ghana fully openly and legally, and their passports had been examined by the Ghanaian authorities concerned. How can it be said that they left "under assumed names"? The Ghanaian side has no right whatsoever to inquire into the destination of those Chinese Embassy personnel who were compelled to leave Ghana and who, moreover, have all come back to China. As for the whereabouts of the Chinese Charge d'Affaires a.i., since February 24, 1966, he has stayed in Accra and never "travelled extensively all over Ghana." It is most clear that the Ghanaian side's repeated lying will only further show up its awkward position of being devoid of reason or arguments. Its repeated threats against China will only further expose its deliberate and sinister attempt to worsen the relations between the two countries. No lies can discredit the Chinese Government's open and above-board stand, and no one can intimidate it by threats.

The Chinese Embassy wishes to point out that the Ghanaian side will never succeed in its attempt to evade its responsibility for undermining the relations between the two countries, whatever tricks it may play.

Where Are Kenya's Authorities Taking Sino-Kenyan Relations?

Echoing imperialist slanders against China, some English language newspapers and high-ranking government officials in Kenya have again and again unscrupulously attacked Premier Chou En-lai's statement about the "excellent revolutionary situation in Africa," which he made during his 1964 African visit in reference to the surging anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist revolutionary struggles there. On March 1 of this year, the Kenyan Senate went so far as to adopt a motion which maligned Premier Chou's remark as "a destructive statement" and viciously linked it with the recent series of reactionary coups d'etat, assassinations and other imperialist-engineered incidents in Africa.

In a note to the Kenyan Government on March 17, the Chinese Embassy in Nairobi protested against the anti-China motion and pointed out that it could only be regarded as a premeditated scheme to poison normal relations between the two countries.

The following is an abridged translation of an article by "Renmin Ribao's" Commentator on March 31. — Ed.

OF late, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are making frenzied counter-attacks against the African people and causing trouble everywhere in a vain attempt to arrest the progress of Africa. It is against this background that the Kenyan Senate adopted an anti-China motion.

The Chinese Government always respects the sovereignty of the African states and has never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries. It has always adhered to the five principles guiding China's relations with African countries and resolutely supported the struggle of the African countries to combat imperialism and safeguard national independence. China's position is open and above-board. However, to oppose China, some kind of an excuse has to be found. So, some people in Kenya seized on a remark made by Premier Chou En-lai during his African tour and kicked up a lot of dust to level unjustifiable attacks against China.

As is well known, when Premier Chou En-lai spoke of "the excellent revolutionary situation in Africa," he was referring to the African people's anti-imperialist,

anti-colonialist national revolution. The awakened African peoples want to demolish colonial rule and clear away all colonial influence. They are dead set against imperialism and colonialism old and new. They want to carry the national-democratic revolution to completion. Premier Chou En-lai's appraisal completely tallies with the realities of the African situation. However, some people in Kenya have deliberately distorted this remark of Premier Chou En-lai's and arbitrarily linked it up with the military coups d'etat in some African countries.

However, it is common knowledge that U.S.-led imperialism is launching frantic counter-attacks against independent African states. Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have been responsible to a greater or lesser extent for the recent reactionary military coups south of the Sahara. It is preposterous for the Kenyan authorities to attempt to blame China for what the imperialists have done.

U.S.-led imperialism and old and new colonialism look upon the ever-growing friendship between the Chinese and Kenyan and other African peoples as a great obstacle to their colonialist policy. They try to stir up anti-China sentiments in the African countries and sow dissension to undermine the friendly relations between the Chinese and African peoples. The imperialists have been the first to attack Premier Chou En-lai's remark. Now the Kenyan Senate harps on the same old tune and formally passes a motion vilifying China on this score. What does this mean? Whose needs does the motion serve?

Profound friendship exists between the Chinese and Kenyan peoples. The Chinese Government has worked untiringly to promote the friendship and co-operation between the two countries. But it depends upon the common efforts of both Governments to uphold and develop such relations. The adoption of the anti-China motion by the Kenyan Senate cannot but be interpreted as a grave and deliberate step to poison and sabotage the normal relations between China and Kenya. We hope that the Kenyan Government sets store by the friendship between the two countries and takes serious measures to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents. Otherwise, as the Chinese note to Kenya has pointed out, the Kenyan Government must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from the motion.

The Great Lessons of the Paris Commune

— In Commemoration of Its 95th Anniversary —

by CHENG CHIH-SZU

This is the second instalment of an article originally published in "Hongqi," No. 4, 1966. The first instalment appeared in our last issue. — Ed.

THE formation of proletarian military organizations by the proletariat of Paris to counter the bourgeois state machine was an important preliminary measure for smashing the bourgeois state machine. When Thiers provoked the civil war on March 18, 1871, the proletariat relied on its own armed forces to defeat his counter-revolutionary attack and smash the bourgeois state machine.

Based on their class instinct and political experience, the insurgents of the Paris Commune realized that the standing army and officials were the two important agencies of the bourgeois state machine, and so in the wake of their victory they immediately disbanded them. The first decree of the Commune was the Decree Abolishing the Standing Army and Replacing It with the National Guard. The decree stipulated that "no armed force, with the exception of the National Guard, is allowed to be formed in Paris or brought into it." And "all citizens who are fit to serve will join the National Guard."¹¹ The bourgeois battalions of the National Guard were disbanded by the Commune.

At the same time, the Decree Declaring Orders and Regulations of the Versailles Government Null and Void stipulated: "Being actually the only power at the present time, the Paris Commune decrees: From now on employees of public services will regard orders and communications coming from the Versailles government or from its adherents as null and void. . . . Any official or employee disobeying this decree will be dismissed immediately."¹² The Commune dismissed the reactionary officials who remained in Paris and demanded that ordinary functionaries of the old government should loyally serve the people.

The Commune smashed the old judicial organs and liquidated reactionary legal traditions. It stipulated that judges should be elected by the people and that procurator-generals be appointed directly by the Commune.

Having eliminated the physical prop of bourgeois rule over the people — the standing army, the Commune immediately began to smash the spiritual instrument for maintenance of the rule of the bourgeoisie over the people. Among other things it announced the separation of the State from the Church, and abrogation of the prerogatives of the clergy.

In their revolutionary practice the insurgents of the Paris Commune repudiated the erroneous views of Proudhonism and Blanquism on the question of the state. Instead of striving for a state of anarchy as advocated by Proudhonism, they established the state organs of the proletariat. Instead of building up a dictatorship of a few revolutionaries as advocated by Blanquism, they took the first steps in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat by relying on the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative of the proletariat.

Why do we say that the Paris Commune was a dictatorship of the proletariat?

First, the Commune was a revolutionary regime of the proletariat in opposition to the bourgeoisie. It was born in the armed uprising of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and founded on the basis of the destruction of the bourgeois state machine. Within the short 72 days of its existence, it waged a valiant struggle against the forces of capitalism both domestic and international. The proclamation of the Central Committee of the National Guard expounding the social content of the revolution of 1871 called this struggle a great struggle in which "parasitism and labour, exploitation and production are locked in combat."¹³

Secondly, the Commune was a revolutionary regime in which the proletariat was the master of the house. Its mainstay was the workers' armed forces. "The dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and its first condition is an army of the proletariat."¹⁴ The Commune enjoyed the widespread support of the workers and their mass organizations. The bulk of its policies arose out of the proposals of the masses, reflecting the interests of the proletariat and of the working people. Its leaders were elected by the masses, and subject to their supervision and they could be dismissed and recalled by the masses according to law.

Thirdly, the Commune was a revolutionary regime totally different from a bourgeois parliament. In the Commune, "representative institutions remain, but there is no parliamentarism here as a special system, as the division of labour between the legislative and the executive, as a privileged position for the deputies."¹⁵ The Commune was at the same time the working body of the executive and the legislative. The Commune committees promulgated laws and their members carried them out and were responsible to the committees and the people.

Fourthly, the Commune was a revolutionary regime which upheld proletarian internationalism. "For the

Commune fought, not for some local or narrow national aim, but for the emancipation of all toiling humanity, of all the downtrodden and oppressed."¹⁶ The Commune declared: "The flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic."¹⁷

Fifthly, the Commune was a revolutionary regime which had as its aim the liquidation of exploitation. "The Commune intended to abolish that class-property which makes the labour of the many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators," and it wanted to transform "the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labour, into mere instruments of free and associated labour."¹⁸

These characteristics of the Paris Commune show that it was the antithesis of all forms of state power of the exploiting classes, that it was not an instrument through which the exploiting minority ruled over the broad masses of working people but an instrument through which the exploited took their destinies into their own hands to win their own emancipation. Therefore the reactionaries hated it like the plague. The pseudo-socialist Louis Blanc also attacked the Commune as "an issue of an election in which a small number of electors took part, made up of men for the most part unknown, and whose ability and honour is open to doubt, in some cases possibly, and at least in a few cases, certainly."¹⁹ He whitewashed the Versailles National Assembly and attacked the Commune as being responsible for starting the civil war. He said: "O civil war! Dreaded struggle! The cannon roars! People are killed and done to death and those in the National Assembly who would willingly give their lives to see this bloody problem settled in a peaceful manner are condemned to the rack of not being allowed to do anything, utter a cry or say a word!"²⁰ This renegade's shameful lies vividly reveal the ugly features of one opposed to proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The writers of the classic Marxist works have firmly refuted the reactionaries' slanders against the Paris Commune. They pointed out that because the Commune did not have the leadership of a Marxist political party and the guidance of Marxist theory, it was therefore not a complete or mature proletarian dictatorship. However, in the matter of realizing proletarian rule, it made an attempt that was of world significance. Marx said: "Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour."²¹ The writers of the classic Marxist works have also pointed out that the Commune-type of state power and some of the Commune's correct acts were products of the practice of proletarian revolution and crystallizations of the creativity of the masses. In taking up arms to win their right to liberation, and in trying to take their destinies into their own hands, the proletariat, relying on its own class instinct, broke through the bonds of

Proudhonism and Blanquism and blazed a trail in the course of the struggle. Engels said: "The Commune was the grave of the *old*, specifically French socialism, but at the same time it was the cradle of the international communism that was new to France."²² "Although the Proudhonists were strongly represented in the Commune, not the slightest attempt was made to liquidate the old society or to organize the economic forces according to Proudhon's proposals. On the contrary, it does the Commune the greatest honour that in all its economic measures the 'driving spirit' was not any set of 'principles,' but simple, practical needs. And therefore these measures — abolition of night work in the bakeries, prohibition of monetary fines in the factories, confiscation of shut-down factories and workshops and handing them over to workers' associations — were not at all in accordance with the spirit of Proudhonism, but certainly in accordance with the spirit of German scientific socialism."²³ Lenin said: "... the masses, who were raising the *whole* movement to a *higher level* in spite of the false theories and mistakes of Blanqui and Proudhon."²⁴

Smash the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie — this is the quintessence of Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and the most important experience of the Paris Commune. It is precisely on this fundamental question that a line of demarcation has emerged between Marxist-Leninists on the one hand and opportunists and revisionists on the other. Marx and Engels sharply repudiated the Right opportunists' "parliamentary cretinism" and their "phobia against the proletarian dictatorship." Lenin and Stalin, too, sharply repudiated the fallacy spread by the revisionists of the Second International about "peaceful growth into socialism."

At the present time the Marxist-Leninists of the world are waging an uncompromising struggle against the Khrushchov revisionists' reactionary theory and practice concerning "peaceful transition," "the state of the whole people," and so on and so forth. The Khrushchov revisionists, under the pretext that times have changed, publicize the deceitful myth that the proletariat can seize state power without smashing the state machine of the bourgeoisie and that socialism can be built without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

More than 90 years have elapsed since the uprising of the Paris Commune, and it is true that the world has witnessed great changes during this period. But no matter where changes occur, they cannot possibly alter the anti-socialist nature of the bourgeoisie. The closer the capitalist system gets to its doom, the more desperately the bourgeoisie strengthens, in a thousand and one ways, its state machine for a deathbed struggle. Take the United States for example. Its armed forces comprised only 42,000-odd men in 1871, but the number has now risen to more than 2.6 million. In comparison with those of Bismarck, Napoleon III and Thiers, the armed forces of the United States are several

(Continued on p. 25.)

Albanian Party of Labour Refuses to Accept C.P.S.U. Letter of Invitation to 23rd Congress

(*"Zeri i Popullit"* Article, March 22)

- C.P.S.U. leaders are sinking ever deeper in the mire of betraying Marxism-Leninism.
- Whatever conspiratorial activities the C.P.S.U. leaders may resort to at the 23rd Congress, they will never attain their objective.

Following is a summary of an article by the Editorial Department of "Zeri i Popullit" entitled "The Khrushchov Revisionist Renegades Go to Attend Their Congress With a Balance-Sheet of Big Failures." — Ed.

THE Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour has rightly refused to accept the letter inviting it to send a delegation to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Albanian Party of Labour did not and does not want to establish any relations with the renegades from communism and Marxism-Leninism. But the Albanian people and Party of Labour will always remain the faithful friends of the Soviet people and revolutionaries and will always stand on their side.

The Soviet revisionist leadership is giving the finishing touches to its massive preparations for staging and publicizing the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. The revisionist propaganda machine is endeavouring to create among the people a false enthusiasm, a fallacious atmosphere of expectation, of important decisions and radical "turns." But the great difficulties and profound contradictions confronting the Soviet revisionist leadership cannot be easily hidden or camouflaged.

The Khrushchov line, formulated and approved at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and adopted and defended in its entirety by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., has failed on all fronts. The situation of the Soviet working people has deteriorated, a pessimistic and defeatist spirit can be observed in that country and the international prestige and authority of the Soviet Union have declined.

The Stalin question remains for the Khrushchov revisionists like a sharp bone stuck in the throat. They have returned to the matter more than once because they have encountered ever more resolute disapprobation and resistance from the Communists and the Soviet people as well as from the working people and revolutionaries of other countries. By their own experience, people have seen that the line put forward under the slogan of fighting against Stalin and "Stalinism" is an out-and-out anti-Marxist, revisionist and traitorous line.

The present Soviet leadership was obliged to manoeuvre in the matter of Stalin by spreading rumours about an "objective" examination of his role.

But is it possible to correct the position towards J.V. Stalin and rehabilitate J.V. Stalin from the revisionist position? That can never be done. If they did so, they would liquidate the entire base of their citadel and blow up the entire line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses which is built upon anti-Stalinism.

One of the thorny problems which embarrasses the Soviet leaders greatly is the question of Khrushchov, that is, the question of justification for the coup d'etat which his former disciples and his closest collaborators launched against him.

It is possible that at the Congress people would make remarks against Khrushchov. But nobody should expect them to go beyond the limits of general and insignificant reprimand. If they spoke the truth, it would be necessary for them to expose the big conspiracies they had hatched with Khrushchov against the Soviet Party and people, it would be necessary for them to expose the inside stories, intrigues and methods of coup d'etat in the change of guardianship of the Party and state leadership.

The new economic reforms now introduced in the Soviet Union are leading towards the establishment of forms of capitalist relations of production. In adopting the experience of the Tito clique in the management and direction of the economy, the revisionist leaders have created all the premises and conditions for the restoration of capitalism. Besides the destructive consequences the reforms by the Khrushchovites are bringing to the Soviet economy, foreign capital has started to make inroads into the Soviet Union as it did in Yugoslavia. Although the Soviet economy is the economy of a big country, it is falling step by step into the clutches of the monopoly capital of the United States, France, Britain, Japan, etc. In negotiating with Japanese imperialism and attracting it to the Siberian market, the Khrushchovites are encouraging openly the aggressive and expansionist intentions of Japanese militarism against, in the first place, the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic

of Korea. These intentions coincide entirely with the anti-Chinese designs of the present Soviet leaders.

THE traitorous policy of the revisionist Khrushchovites conducive to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union also finds an expression in the emergence of certain deplorable phenomena in the way of life, culture and the national problem. An atmosphere of liberalism and decadence prevails now in the life of literature and arts in the Soviet Union as a result of the anti-socialist and anti-Marxist policy pursued by the revisionist leadership in the cultural field. The "cultural exchange" with the Western countries has encouraged the imitation of the American way of life, the degeneration of the youth and growth of corruption. The Soviet journals are now more and more filled with sensational headlines about thefts, rapes, swindles, speculations, etc.

Brezhnev, Kosygin, Suslov, Mikoyan and their ilk are the makers of the big economic and political difficulties that the Soviet people are suffering. They should be answerable for their treason before the Soviet Party and people. But nobody should expect that at the present Congress the Khrushchov revisionist leaders will openly admit their responsibility.

The present Soviet leaders are resorting to a subtler demagogy to continue to push the traitorous Khrushchov line, the sinister line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses. This is evident not only internally but also internationally. They are endeavouring to create the impression that they have somehow corrected and are correcting the foreign policy by putting forward such slogans as "anti-imperialism," "united action" and "support for the struggles of the peoples." But all these false slogans and all these deceitful tactics have been exposed.

It is precisely the present Soviet leaders who have deepened and developed still further the all-round Soviet-American co-operation by betraying, in the name of this co-operation, the vital interests of the peoples. It is precisely they who are endeavouring by all possible means to bring the heroic Vietnamese people into subjugation and save American imperialism from its defeat in Vietnam by engaging in all sorts of dirty deals at the expense of the Vietnamese people. It is they who are linked through a "Holy Alliance" with Japanese imperialism and the other reactionary forces to throw around People's China a "circle of fire" and threaten the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is they who are seeking by all possible means to conclude a new agreement with the American imperialists on the so-called "non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" as a way of ensuring the Soviet-American monopoly to blackmail other countries. It is they who in Europe have left imperialism in peace by practising the policy of "reconciliation" and of the maintenance of status quo in that region and giving imperialism a free hand in extending its aggression in the East. The new Soviet leaders, far from taking a single positive step to correct the

fatal errors of the past, have further deepened the split in the international communist movement and in the socialist camp.

The Soviet leaders must be censured for sitting at the same table with such bankrupt reactionaries as the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek gang to discuss the establishment of a U.S. imperialist-controlled Asian bank; for closely colluding with U.S. imperialism to form a United Nations armed force; for being hostile to and vilifying the stand of the Indonesian Communist Party and encouraging and supporting the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces; for creating splits and discord in the ranks of anti-imperialist forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America in an attempt to make them abandon the struggle against imperialism and colonialism; and for stepping up subversion and corruption in the revisionist leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties and launching a large-scale attack on the Marxist-Leninists.

It is the present Soviet leaders who, together with N. Khrushchov, organized the most monstrous calumnies against the Albanian Party of Labour at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., imposed an economic blockade against, and even broke off diplomatic relations with the Albanian People's Republic.

The new Soviet leaders have recently had the insolence to invite the Albanian Party of Labour to send a delegation to the 23rd Congress. But the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour rightly and contemptuously refused even to accept the letter of invitation, for there exists at present no links whatsoever, either through the channel of Party or through the channel of state, between the Albanian Party of Labour and the traitorous Soviet revisionist leadership.

For the Marxist-Leninists, it is clear that with the passage of time, the Soviet leadership will sink ever deeper in betrayal and in anti-Marxism. There is no doubt that at the 23rd Congress, they will try to present themselves as persons who seek to rectify the Khrushchov line in certain respects, as persons who uphold unity and want to avoid going to the extremes. However, it will be a new bluff, the same as their appeal for an end to the polemics. An anti-Chinese report is being discussed these days within the C.P.S.U. and it has even been sent to certain other revisionist Parties. This anti-Chinese report is reminiscent of that notorious secret report presented by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress against Stalin.

IT is clear that at the 23rd Congress, too, the Soviet leaders will conduct conspiratorial activities. They fear light, they are scared of discussion and polemics. Therefore they will work furtively, behind the scenes.

But whatever they may do, whatever tactics and demagogy they may resort to, the perfidious Soviet leaders will never attain their objective. The Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries of the whole world are strengthening their struggle against revisionist betrayal. We are certain that the Soviet people who have glorious revolutionary traditions and who have been

tempered in heavy storms, will not be duped by the demagoguery of the revisionist clique. They will understand that the source of all evils, of the grave difficulties they face today, of the dangers and threats confronting them, is revisionism, the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses. They will not suffer a group of rene-

gades to deceive and betray them for long. The day will come when they will put an end to the domination of the revisionist renegades and march forward, shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionaries the world over, on the radiant path pointed out by the socialist revolution, Lenin and Stalin.

New Zealand C.P. Turns Down C.P.S.U.'s Invitation

V.G. WILCOX, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, in a cable to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on behalf of the C.P.N.Z.'s Political Committee, declined the C.P.S.U.'s invitation to send a delegate to attend its 23rd Congress.

The cable reads as follows:

Thank you for your invitation to send a fraternal delegate from the Communist Party of New Zealand to your 23rd Congress.

After consideration we must regretfully decline in view of the outstanding ideological differences not yet dealt with in a Marxist-Leninist manner which exist

between our two Parties and between the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and a number of other fraternal Parties standing firm on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and rejecting the insidious ideas of modern revisionism.

In view of this we consider no useful purpose would be served by our attendance. In fact, attendance would be embarrassing to us and possibly to you.

May we extend greetings to the membership of the C.P.S.U. with the wish that your proceedings will be based on those Marxist principles so brilliantly expounded in theory and conducted in practice by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Japanese C.P. Refuses to Send Delegates To C.P.S.U. 23rd Congress

(March 25)

THE Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party sent a cable to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on March 25, declining the invitation to send delegates to the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U.

The text of the cable reads:

We have received your cable dated February 21, 1966, inviting two delegates of our Party to the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. to be held from March 29.

Relations between the C.P.J. and the C.P.S.U., which had been on intimate terms for a long time, have degenerated into a state of abnormality over the past years amid differences of view on matters of principle which have emerged within the international communist movement. In May 1964, you openly supported the anti-Party elements including Yoshio Shiga who were eliminated from our Party. Again, in July of that year, you unilaterally made public your letter dated April 18, 1964, which heaped abuse on our Party in a wholesale way. All this decisively undermined normal relations between our two Parties as fraternal Parties.

Our Party, in a letter of reply dated August 26, 1964, was obliged and required to make an open refutation and criticism of your public attack, intervention

and subversive activities. We criticized, in a concrete way, your erroneous acts and your erroneous contentions aimed at justifying them. At the same time, our Party clarified its desire to achieve genuine unity of the international communist movement and restore normal relations between the Japanese and Soviet Parties as fraternal Parties in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Up till today, however, you have failed to take the steps you should have taken to bring about a just solution of these issues. As a matter of fact, your support and assistance are still being given to the traitorous Shiga clique.

Is it not obvious that under such conditions our Party cannot accept your invitation to your Congress?

For these considerations, our Party has decided not to send a delegation to your forthcoming Congress.

If you too really want unity of the international communist movement and normalization of relations between the Japanese and Soviet Parties as fraternal Parties, it stands to reason that you should frankly examine the cause of present-day conditions and take positive steps based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Moscow Meeting Has Nothing in Common With A Congress of the Party of Lenin

— Says Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Belgium

(*"La Voix du Peuple"* Article, March 25)

THE 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. has nothing in common with a Congress of the Party of Lenin, wrote Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, in an article "On the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U." in the March 25 issue of *La Voix du Peuple*.

"In '*Le Drapeau Rouge*,' journal of the Khrushchovites in Belgium, (March 23, 1966), one can read an article by its correspondent in the Soviet Union concerning the meeting to be held in Moscow on March 29, a meeting going under the name of 'the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U.'

"The article shows the total degeneration of the Soviet revisionists and their agents in Belgium and their complete betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the people's cause.

"From beginning to end it is an attack against the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. . . .

"While glorifying the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress and Khrushchov, it heaps slanderous insults on Comrade Stalin."

Grippa's article continues: "The revisionists want the working class, the labouring masses, and the people to renounce revolutionary violence in opposing

counter-revolutionary violence, to renounce the struggle to shake off their fetters and to accept enslavement. . . .

"The Moscow meeting will have nothing in common with a Congress of the Party of Lenin which has been temporarily destroyed by the traitorous Khrushchovites."

"In the Soviet Union, as in other countries which find themselves under the yoke of the revisionists, there are Marxist-Leninists who represent the cause of socialist revolution which will again emerge victorious after driving out the revisionist usurpers. . . .

"U.S. imperialism multiplies its aggressions in the world, but it is more and more isolated and is digging a grave for itself.

"Revisionism which constitutes a political support for U.S. imperialism is being unmasked more and more. . . .

"Imperialism and revisionism have met with serious defeats."

"Revisionism will be liquidated. The exploiters and oppressors, headed by the No. 1 enemy of the people of the world — U.S. imperialism — will be completely smashed."

C.P.S.U. 23rd Congress: Further Betrayal And Capitulation

— Says N. Sanmugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau and the
Secretariat of the Communist Party of Ceylon

(*Press Release*, March 26)

IN a press release issued on March 26, N. Sanmugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Ceylon, said that the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. "can be expected to further systematize the betrayal of revolutionary principles and the acceptance of the class collaborationist and completely capitulationist theories first put forward by Khrushchov."

The press release says: "The Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union used to attract worldwide attention among the revolutionary movement. This was not only because it was the Party founded by the great Lenin but also because it was the first Party to achieve working-class power and begin the task of building socialism."

But things have changed considerably since Stalin died and Khrushchov usurped power and cast the Soviet Party in a revisionist mould, it says. "Moscow is no longer the Mecca of revolutionaries. The revolutionary centre has shifted from Europe to Asia, from Moscow to Peking. This downward trend in the Soviet Party began with the infamous 20th Congress which heard the 'secret' denunciation of Stalin by Khrushchov and where the latter, for the first time, systematically developed his revisionist theories about peaceful transition to socialism and peaceful coexistence with imperialism."

The release says that Khrushchov steered the Soviet people away from their earlier revolutionary path and imposed on them his wrong and revisionist theories of class collaboration. "But he buffooned too much and too openly exposed his hand. He had to go. But his followers are treading the same path but more cleverly. They are practising Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. No doubt there will be some changes. . . . We can . . . expect to hear a lot of words against American imperialism over Vietnam. But these are all attempts to fool the Soviet people so that they can betray them the better."

THE release says that the best barometer to measure the change that has overtaken the Soviet leadership since Khrushchov came to power is the reaction of the imperialists. Their assessment is both shrewd and realistic. Things have changed since "the special Russian-American relations established since the Cuban crisis and maintained somehow or other in spite of the war in Vietnam," as pointed out by the Paris paper *Combat*. This paper makes these observations in relation to the significant conference of the NATO powers held in Paris from December 14 to 16, 1965. According to this paper, the conference made "a clear distinction between the U.S.S.R. and China." "With the former it is possible to negotiate, with the latter, caution — or even distrust — is essential."

Another Paris paper, *Paris Jour*, stated: "One little-noticed aspect of the NATO council of ministers meeting hinged on a statement of the American Secretary of Defence asking that NATO turn away from the subject habitually discussed since 1949 (i.e., the Russian menace) and devote itself to an examination of the 'Chinese danger.'" This is a reference to the impassioned appeal of Dean Rusk to America's European allies to consider China as the main danger of the world and to his fantastic declamation that the fate of Europe was being decided on the battlefields of Vietnam. Not one word escaped his lips about any threat from the U.S.S.R. All is quiet on the Western front. The Russian "menace" had given place to the "yellow peril"!

Equally interesting is U.S. Vice-President Humphrey's reactions after his talks with Kosygin in New Delhi, the release continues. "After describing Kosygin as a 'man of thought and reason,' Humphrey opines: 'But, above all, I think the Russians are concerned

about the expansionism and the aggressive attitude of China. If that is the case, then they seek to contain Communist China, and probably one of the best ways of fulfilling this objective of containment is to have peace in Southeast Asia.'

"Thus, we see a complete reappraisal of the Soviet Union by the foremost representatives of U.S. imperialism. The Soviet leaders, for their part, have not been slow to reciprocate. Recently, two significant books have been published officially in the Soviet Union. One is *The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.—Their Political and Economic Relations*. It preaches the 'major significance' of Soviet-U.S. co-operation. . . .

"The other book is entitled *The Moving Forces of the Foreign Policy of the U.S.A.* It also preaches Soviet-American co-operation for world domination and presents the leaders of U.S. imperialism in a favourable light. . . .

"Thus, it is not the unity of all the forces opposed to American imperialism, the enemy No. 1 of mankind, that the present Soviet leadership seeks. On the other hand, it is the co-operation and unity with the chief imperialist power, the butcher of the Vietnamese people, that the Soviet leadership seeks. It is not the final defeat of American imperialism, the chieftain of world imperialism, that it seeks but living in co-operation with it.

"This reactionary and revisionist Soviet concept is exceedingly well put in an article in the Soviet weekly, *New Times*, in its No. 6 issue this year, in an article entitled 'Geneva: The Disarmament Committee.' According to this article, there exists in the world today 'two diametrically opposed concepts,' 'the Tashkent and the Vietnam' concepts. The former benefits mankind. The latter does not.

"Nothing could have put it more clearly. Tashkent was an attempt to get two capitalist powers — India and Pakistan — to settle their differences so that they could join the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers in a united front against China. In other words, Tashkent was part of an imperialist, anti-China plot. Vietnam represents the heroic resistance of a small but brave people against the most brutal form of aggression by foreign U.S. imperialism. That the Soviet leadership should openly show its preference to the Tashkent concept is a measure of its political degeneration. It is also, incidentally, an exposure of the hypocrisy of their support in words to the brave Vietnamese people."

SPEAKING of the degeneration that has set in in the Soviet Union — the restoration of capitalism and other developments — the release declares that it is the result of the mistakes committed by the Soviet leadership. "So long as the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union continues, so long as capitalism continues in the world, so long will Soviet society be vulnerable to attack by bourgeois ideas. That is why the final success of world revolution is as much in the interests of the Soviet people as it is in the interests of the yet non-

liberated peoples. The class struggle does not cease after the establishment of socialism. In most cases, it intensifies. The working class is faced with the most frenzied efforts of the deposed classes and all remaining bourgeois elements to stage a come-back. Only the utmost vigilance and the exercise of the most ruthless dictatorship by the working class against the former exploiting class and their social connections in the present socialist society can ensure the continued supremacy of the socialist order."

It says that the leadership of the C.P.S.U. have "opened the door wide for the influx of all forms of bourgeois influences. Undue wage discrepancies created a new class of people with vested interests and with no interests in revolutionary struggle or in supporting revolution in other countries. The dictatorship of the proletariat was loosened. Speculation and embezzlement became frequent. Partial restoration of capitalism was permitted. Khrushchov emerged as the representative of all these forces.

"Learning from the mistakes committed by the Soviet leadership, the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist Parties are taking steps to see that similar degeneration does not set in in their coun-

tries. China is taking pains, apart from political, ideological and organizational struggle against the remnants of the old society, to educate its younger generation — the successors to the revolution. They aim to disappoint the imperialist hope that with the death of the present revolutionary leadership in China, the revolution, there too, will suffer a setback. It has to be a process of constant and relentless struggle.

"Today, world imperialism is facing a profound crisis. It is facing defeat everywhere — in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic, in the Congo (L), etc. The revolutionary forces are advancing to the point of victory. It is precisely at this stage that imperialism has to call up its last reserve — the modern revisionists. They act together with the imperialists to contain China and destroy the revolutionary movement just as, immediately after the October Revolution, the Social Democrats aided the imperialists to quarantine the Soviet Union. But just as the imperialists and their agents inside the working class failed then, they will fail again. The world revolutionary movement will have its twists and turns. But it will triumph in the end. Neither world imperialism nor its agents, the modern revisionists, can prevent this."

All Marxist-Leninists Will Repudiate the Soviet Revisionists

— Says E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)

(*"Vanguard" Article, March 31*)

E.F. HILL, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), in an article published in *Vanguard* on March 31, strongly supports the refusal by the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour to send delegations to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The article says that the refusal by the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour to send fraternal delegations to the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. will cause millions of peoples to search for the reasons. "This fact alone is very important. All Marxist-Leninists want the people to think about these matters, to ponder them, to distinguish right from wrong."

It says: "Since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956 there has been an increasing attack within the international communist movement on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. The attack made by Khrushchov on Stalin is now too notorious to need much discussion.

"Suffice it to say that to this day the Soviet Party leaders have never disclosed to the Soviet people the

contents of Khrushchov's secret report. This is because Khrushchov's attack was not only an attack on Stalin who was a revered leader of the Soviet people but more importantly, it was an attack on the very foundations of Marxism-Leninism, and the Soviet people are a revolutionary people.

"This attack involved an attempt by Khrushchov to discredit communism, the socialist gains of the Soviet people and to discredit the Leninist principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

"His colleagues Kosygin, Brezhnev and Co. pursued Khrushchov's policy but with much more sophistication, refinement and subtlety.

"They did not disclose their betrayal in brash words that Khrushchov used. But their line of treachery was all the more cunning, deceitful and dangerous for that.

"These people pretended to support the liberation struggles. They pretended to have the cause of the Vietnamese people at heart. They pretended to want unity in the international communist movement. They pretended to want a united socialist action over Vietnam.

"But facts speak far louder than words. These people have in fact collaborated with the U.S. imperialists. They themselves brag about their agreement on many questions with the U.S. imperialists."

It goes on: "For the Chinese and the Albanian Parties to have anything to do with a congress of such people would be to give those people a Marxist-Leninist covering they are so desperately trying to get.

"It would be to add to their prestige.

"Who would want to give prestige to the betrayers of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism? Who would want to give support to the 5th columnists?

"Who would want to give support to such blatantly anti-Soviet elements as Khrushchov and his colleagues, Kosygin and Brezhnev and Co.?"

"Moreover, Khrushchov and his colleagues split away from Marxism-Leninism. They have repudiated

it. But they have left throughout the world the powerful Marxist-Leninist forces.

"The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) is one such force. It did not receive an invitation to the C.P.S.U. Congress. On the contrary, the disintegrating Aarons revisionist clique was invited to attend. . . .

"On a world scale, revisionism is breaking up. The revisionist groups are forced to show their revisionism. That is all to the good because it assists the people to appraise the situation correctly. . . .

"The Chinese action in declining to attend the 23rd Congress has focussed attention on all these matters. It has renewed the call to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist ranks. It will help the Soviet Marxist-Leninists.

"No matter what trickery or perfidy the Soviet revisionists get up to, all Marxist-Leninists in the world will repudiate them and unite around the great call of Marx and Engels — 'Workers of all lands, unite!'"

C.P.S.U. 23rd Congress — Extension of Rump Left Over by Khrushchov

— Says *Malayan Monitor* (March Issue)

AN article in the March issue of the *Malayan Monitor* says: "The stand of the Marxist-Leninist Parties to boycott the 23rd C.P.S.U. Congress is applauded by those who realize that this Congress is nothing but an extension of the rump of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses left over by the discredited revisionists under Khrushchov."

"The Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour have rejected the C.P.S.U.'s invitation to attend its 23rd Congress. It is understood that several fraternal Parties similarly invited have also rejected the invitation."

"Persistent reports from the Soviet Union that 'partial rehabilitation of Stalin' may be considered at the 23rd Congress indicate that the revisionist leaders

are being compelled to acknowledge the existence of resistance to their decisions and policy, even though they themselves do not intend to change. It needs to be pointed out, however, that these leaders have no right to 'rehabilitate Stalin,' any more than they had the right in the first instance to condemn him and undo his work. Stalin and his achievements live and continue to grow in the hearts and minds and in the revolutionary endeavours of all Marxist-Leninists throughout the world."

"The Marxist-Leninist Parties' boycott of the 23rd Soviet C.P. Congress is, therefore, not an act against the fraternal Communists and other sincere working people and patriots of the Soviet Union but is a protest and a positive act of solidarity with them against those who have betrayed their sacred cause."

(Continued from p. 18.)

or dozens of times larger numerically; their equipment is hundreds of times better; and they are thousands of times more truculent as reactionaries. They are playing the role of international gendarme, trying to strangle revolutionary movements both in the United States and in the other countries of the world. The state machines of the bourgeoisie are now bigger and more reactionary than ever before, and the bourgeoisie, by means of armed subversion, peaceful evolution and all kinds of phoney socialism, is rabidly sabotaging the cause of

emancipation of the proletariat. Under these circumstances, to broadcast the idea that the proletariat can seize state power without smashing the state machine of the bourgeoisie and that socialism can be built without the dictatorship of the proletariat simply means advocacy of sham revolution and actual capitulation; all it amounts to is the peddling of phoney socialism and the upholding of real capitalism. The Khrushchov revisionists are simply brokers promoting sham revolution and selling phoney socialism.

(To be concluded in our next issue)

Why They Go to Yangtan

Many visitors go to Yangtan Commune to study its way of work and its methods of farming, but most of all to learn how socialist aims are being realized. The last article in a series of six by a team of *Peking Review* correspondents.

MANY visitors came to the Yangtan Commune's leading brigade, the Yangtan Brigade, while we were there. Some were peasants from other parts of north China; some were rural cadres or specialists in various branches of farming; some were reporters, writers or film workers.

Visitors came to look and learn. How did this formerly poverty-stricken area raise itself up "by its bootstraps?" What technical measures did it use? What was its "secret of success?"

A look around provided plenty of tangible evidence of good planning and hard, dedicated, self-reliant work: the terraced fields, everywhere immaculately cultivated; the big piggery producing plenty of manure; stables with cattle, horses, mules; the sleek stallion from far-away Sinkiang and the bull for breeding; the three lorries; the hundreds of little rubber-tyred, two-wheeled carts, carrying manure or seed, or almost completely hidden under enormous piles of fluffy cotton; the club rooms; the granary — a former landlord's mansion, repaired, whitewashed, spotless and bulging with grain to the rafters.

The Yangtan Brigade is a "Four One-Millions Farm." It sold or delivered as tax over a million *jin* of wheat to the state last year and the year before; it has 1.47 million *jin* of grain in its granaries, a good year's supply for all its members; it has capital amounting to nearly a million and a half yuan in machines, trucks, carts and implements; and it has a gross annual income of a million yuan. This does not exhaust the list of its wealth: each household besides its own personal property has its individual reserves of grain stored in great earthenware jars.

Those seeking technical guidance learn about terracing and the raising of livestock to provide manure for the crops. The director of the Cotton Institute of Shansi Province has summed up the brigade's cotton cultivation techniques and this has been published for general study.

Those probing deeper, study the "Yangtan spirit." The brigade started its piggery as part of its great leap effort. When difficulties arose later in the three years of severe natural calamities from 1959 to 1961, there was great temptation to give it up, but Yangtan persevered and won through. Yangtan is bold, realistic and steadfast. Realistically implementing the

Party's line of agricultural collectivization, it was not afraid to forge ahead.

Deciding to make their brigade a basic accounting unit of the commune was a bold and realistic act of the Yangtan people. Running a big brigade of 4,000 people and 15,000 *mu* of land is no easy task, but Yangtan Brigade has done it and does it brilliantly. Cadres and farmers come to study how it works, for it points the way to the future of large-scale, highly organized, mechanized and scientific socialist farming.

Key to Success

Visitors quickly become aware of the brigade's strong and able leadership. Yangtan's cadres, steeled in long years of revolutionary struggle, have a wealth of experience in directing and managing farm work. But they are the first to stress that all Yangtan's successes are owed to "putting politics first," recognizing the prime importance of socialist ideological educational work.

Political work is the life-blood of Yangtan's economic life. Constant improvement is made in management and technique in farming but this, insists the leadership, must be founded on the proletarian revolutionary consciousness of the mass of members.

Regularly of an evening, two or three times every month, you will find all the activists and youth of the Yangtan Brigade and a good proportion of rank and file members earnestly studying and discussing the writings of Chairman Mao. They are learning to use the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the political theory of the revolutionary working class, expounded in these writings to analyse and solve the everyday problems they meet with in their life and work.

In running the brigade, political work, management and technique are interlinked. This is called the "three-in-one method." Proletarian politics, the revolutionary politics that serve the people, link and motivate management and technical progress so as to foster members' creative initiative, particularly in production and in using and developing modern techniques. The Yangtan leadership stresses that when any important farming activity is undertaken, those doing

1 *mu* = 0.066 hectare or 0.1647 acre

1 *jin* = 0.5 kilogramme or 1.1023 pounds

it must be ideologically prepared. Aims and reasons are explained and questions answered. As the work is done, meetings are held on the spot to review progress. Good examples are cited and bad ones criticized. In this way political and ideological work is linked with management.

Proletarian politics also lead technical work. For instance, during one wheat harvest, some brigade members reaped fast but left stray ears here and there. The cadres who noticed this explained that if five *jin* of wheat were lost on each *mu* in this way, the brigade would lose 40,000 *jin* altogether, enough to feed 100 people for a year. The fast, careful harvesters were praised: the careless ones could not but be more careful. That lesson has not been forgotten. Yangtan harvesting is now a model to watch.

When a new farming technique is introduced members study not only the scientific principles involved but its political, social and economic significance as well. It is thus understood all-round as part of the drive to build socialism, to increase production, consolidate the collective economy and raise members' living standards. If needed, the proposed innovation is tried out on experimental plots so that everyone can see the results.

Socialist Spirit

Constant and effective education in the spirit of socialism has made the Yangtan people enthusiasts at their work, eager for scientific knowledge and with a high level of socialist consciousness.

The socialist spirit of co-operation is an outstanding feature of the Yangtan Brigade that visitors study. The brigade is a dynamic example of progress in the commune. Its cadres and members are always ready to give a hand to others in the commune's efforts to achieve higher yields on all types of land.

The Beixinzhuang Brigade in 1962 was a poor brigade. Its yields were low and there was not enough fodder for its livestock. It stood in sharp contrast to the Yangtan Brigade's No. 13 team which was right beside it. On the suggestion of the Commune Management Committee, team 13 gladly undertook to help but pointed out that technical advice was no good unless the Beixinzhuang members were ideologically prepared to put collective interests first and were mobilized for collective action. Visits and talks between cadres and members of the brigade and team drove this first lesson home.

At the same time a telephone line was installed between brigade and team offices and they consulted



Yangtan militiamen in training

each other daily. Beixinzhuang members organized squads to cut fodder on the mountain. Private stores of fodder were put at the service of the collective and more pigs were raised. Seven hundred *mu* of the brigade's 1,500 *mu* was terraced on the model of the No. 13 team's and the team lent 1,000 *jin* of chemical fertilizers. The C.M.C. also lent a hand directly to help the brigade. Beixinzhuang's per-*mu* wheat yields went up steadily by a total of 108 per cent from 1962-65. Today that brigade is rated an outstanding unit in the commune.

On the basis of such experience in mutual aid, the Commune Management Committee helped Yangtan and four other brigades in the spring of 1963 to organize a technical network: each deputed one or two leading members to meet regularly under the leadership of the Yangtan Brigade's Party secretary. Here they pool and sum up experience and help each other on the spot to solve emerging problems involving ideological and technical work and management. Material aid is also exchanged or given.

These are just a few examples of the political and ideological educational work that has gone to create that "Yangtan spirit" and more effective co-operation. As the cadres there put it: "If we all unite in heart and mind, we can move Mount Taishan!"

The Old . . .

A graphic exhibition of Yangtan's past and present has been arranged in a former landlord's mansion. It makes vivid the old peasants' stories of the incredible miseries and barbarities they suffered under such tyrants as the landlord Chen Hung-en, who owned 200 *mu* of land and ruthlessly exploited 30 landless hired hands. When land reform came it found 50 of 377 families of poor peasants on what is now the land of the Yangtan Brigade, begging for a living. Extor-

tionate usury and child slavery were commonplace. Whole families were wiped out by starvation and landlord tyranny.

Those landlords guilty of murder and other crimes received their just punishment at the hands of the people's courts after liberation. As for the rest of them, they live on their own labour in the commune and suffer no discrimination as far as work points are concerned. Constant vigilance is, of course, maintained to guard against their exploiting-class ideas (the people's laws are there to deal with any illegal acts against the people and socialism) and every effort is made to reform them into useful members of society.

. . . the New

Those reminders of the past point up the energy and vitality of the new. Talking about the youth work which is specially cared for by the commune's Party committee and management committee, Wang Teh-ho, deputy Party secretary of the commune, said: "If we don't train the youngsters to carry forward the revolutionary cause, who will carry the revolutionary flag when we pass away?"

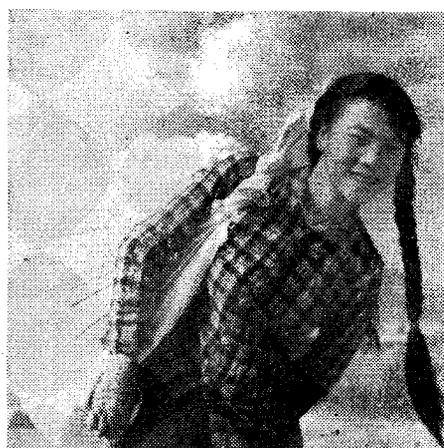
Led by veterans like him, Yangtan Commune's youth is much in evidence. Twenty per cent of the Yangtan Brigade's youngsters are members of the Communist Youth League and over three-fifths are "Five-Good Commune Members"—good in socialist outlook, good in collective work and technical study, and in caring for public property, implementing Government regulations and in managing their households industriously and thriftily. They are the backbone of the militia and we often heard their marching feet on the drill ground. The Yangtan Brigade has an excellent military instructor: a keen-eyed, steel-sinewed veteran of the Eighth Route Army—predecessor of the People's Liberation Army of today—Chang Fa-kuei, ex-deputy battalion commander.

Up above the co-op store is a red poster with large characters that cites the names of Yangtan Brigade's outstanding cotton pickers. Chi Chun-mei, whose

picture is below, heads the list with 32.5 *jin* an hour. In the Xiayuan Brigade we met Chang Hung-lien, 23-year-old Youth League secretary and head of the 33-man forestry team, who is renowned as a planter of trees. This brigade has large tracts of wasteland on the upper levels of Ta-erh Mountain and these are the target of her and her team. They sparked the afforestation drive in the commune. Yangtan Brigade alone has planted 200,000 trees, 70,000 of them last spring. This is no easy job and it gets harder as it is fulfilled. Now the lower slopes of Ta-erh are afforested. Higher up a hole has to be dug, soil brought up from below to fill it, the sapling positioned and watered. Hard work, but Yangtan's youth will plant tens of thousands of saplings this year.

This is a wholly literate generation in an area where only a decade and a half ago the overwhelming majority of the people were illiterate. All Yangtan Commune's youth has had some formal education. Several have had some college training and more than half have studied or are in middle school. They make good use of their knowledge, in work, in running newspaper-reading groups or acting as correspondents for the press and radio. They form the bulk of the 600 members of the Yangtan Brigade currently studying Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works and a large proportion of those engaged in scientific experiments. Under the guidance of veteran farmers, groups of them are now raising better strains of seeds and studying how to improve the use of fertilizer. In the commune as a whole, 876 youngsters are keepers of granaries and tool-stores, work-point keepers, accountants and leaders or deputy leaders of production teams—all responsible jobs in a people's commune. Three of Yangtan Brigade's young people are in college now—an agronomist, a budding engineer and a doctor.

When the Yangtan Brigade celebrated National Day last year, it was the youth who put out the flags and over the lanes hung coloured paper bunting with today's slogans: "Forge ahead self-reliantly! Put politics first! Long live Chairman Mao! Long live the Communist Party!" On the wall opposite the co-op were displayed commune members' essays describing



Yangtan Commune members

the benefits which they had gained from the study of Chairman Mao's works.

The main festivity was two evenings of songs, dances and south Shansi opera on modern themes put on by the brigade's amateurs on the stage in Yangtan village. The singing was good and the music too. All of it was modern. Dancing was a forgotten art in pre-liberation Yangtan. Now dancing is coming into the life of the people again, brought by cadres from the towns who come to do their spell of farm work in the brigade and by the 55 educated youngsters from Peking who, under a government sponsored scheme, have volunteered to join the Yangtan Commune and help to build a new socialist countryside. These boys and girls did a militia dance and two girls performed an Inner Mongolian folk dance.

The opera group put on three south Shansi operas. One was about catching Kuomintang agents — *Fishermen on the Sea*; another was a didactic little opera about a girl who crushed a cotton plant but frankly owned up to her fault.

That first evening the children and older women were bringing their chairs at five and taking up vantage points before the open-air stage. By the time the show started at 8 o'clock, 2,000 people had crowded into the space in front of the stage.

Glimpse of the Future

It was October when we left Yangtan Commune. Much has been done. Much still remains to be done. Yangtan's people are adequately fed, dressed and housed and have big reserves to draw on. Life is busy and happy. Horizons have widened far beyond the Ta-erh and Purple Mountains which once bounded the lives of the local peasants. A young man or woman lives here now in a go-ahead community whose diverse occupations offer a very full life — in farming, forestry, industrial and cultural skills. The general direction is set though naturally there will be progressive changes in details of management and working of the commune. The future is bright.

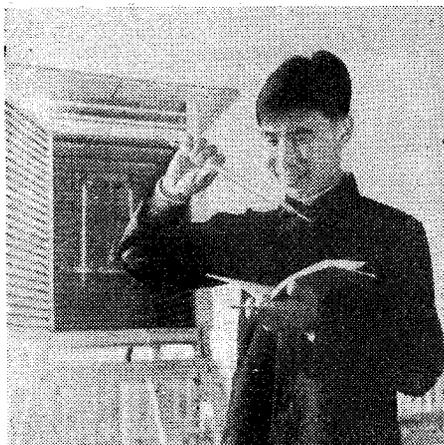
The magnificent terracing and other basic construction — both material and ideological — which the commune has carried out is a firm foundation for that future. Last year the commune succeeded in getting a good harvest. Yangtan Brigade, its leading unit, got its highest yield of 402 *jin* of wheat per *mu* and, in spite of the prolonged drought, raised 101.2 *jin* of cotton per *mu*. Given anywhere near normal conditions, Yangtan Commune is confident that its teams and brigades can get much better yields than they did last year.

Before we left we heard discussions of the plans by which the commune looks forward to beating the weather radically in the not too distant future. It is seeking a long-term solution of the water problem, and a thoroughgoing survey of the water resources of the area is under way. Drilling will soon start to locate underground water even 100 metres or more beneath the upper fields of Yangtan. Electric pumps will raise water from deep-drilled wells for those and lower fields.

If the water problem cannot be solved by the commune itself in this way, an alternative plan is to build an electric pumping station on the Fen River and pump water to Yangtan. But without waiting for these plans to materialize Yangtan was preparing for a further big water conservancy drive for the winter.

The sowers were just completing the sowing of the winter wheat. "Ho-ho! Lei-lei! (Gee-up!)" they cried to their horses. And after a timely fall of rain the winter wheat quickly sprouted in the warm earth. The weather was cool at dawn and in the evening, but still hot at noon. On the sunny side of houses, great festoons of tobacco leaves hung from eaves to ground, drying. The cotton harvest was nearly over.

The cook gave us a farewell banquet of stewed pork with cabbage, fried dumplings stuffed with sugar and sweet glutinous rice with dates. We said many good-byes. The driver let the car roll down the slope to engage the engine. We waved. Someone called: "You'll be hearing from us!" We did not doubt it.



ROUND THE WORLD

SOUTH VIETNAM

Trends in People's War

On April 1, for the sixth time or so this year in enemy-occupied south Vietnam and the second time in beleaguered Saigon, an American billet—the Victoria Hotel, one of the biggest there—was attacked and blown up by the Liberation Armed Forces. With most of the first floor destroyed and the second and third floors left a tangled mass of twisted steel and broken concrete, some 100 of the 200 American officers who lived there were killed or wounded.

Saigon is the headquarters of the American aggressors and their puppets. But in spite of all his precautions, the enemy cannot prevent these attacks. Why? The only answer is that the people's armed forces, apart from their bravery and resource, have the overall support of the local population. And this is one of the characteristics of a people's war.

As the Liberation Armed Forces are pounding the aggressors and their puppets both in Saigon and their other "strongholds," a new trend in the people's war has begun to emerge. On March 23, the patriotic officers and men of the puppet First Armoured Regiment belonging to the battered puppet Fifth Division, the number of whose deserters has been mounting this year, staged an upris-

ing in Thu Dau Mot Province. Supported by a liberation army detachment, the insurgents destroyed more than 30 tanks and armoured cars and wiped out all the reactionary elements of the regiment before they crossed over with a 27-ton tank.

The Saigon puppet troops are driven to the battlefield to slaughter their own countrymen. Suffering constant blows from the people's armed forces, they gradually find their contradictions with U.S. imperialism and the handful of Saigon traitors becoming increasingly acute. Nor can they overlook the savageries committed against them by the U.S. aggressors. On March 10, for instance, when fleeing from a heavy attack by the people's forces, the Americans at A Sau actually shot seven puppet soldiers as they too tried to get into the helicopters. This and many other scandalous crimes of the American invaders have served as an eye-opener to the puppet troops.

INDIA

The Art of Begging

Each time she visited the U.S. was an "education" to her, said India's Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi during her Washington visit at the end of last month. Each time too an Indian Prime Minister goes to the U.S. there is the task of begging for help to keep the government's head above water.

Mrs. Gandhi's need for American "aid" is particularly desperate. Since the end of January, a mass campaign against hunger and soaring prices has

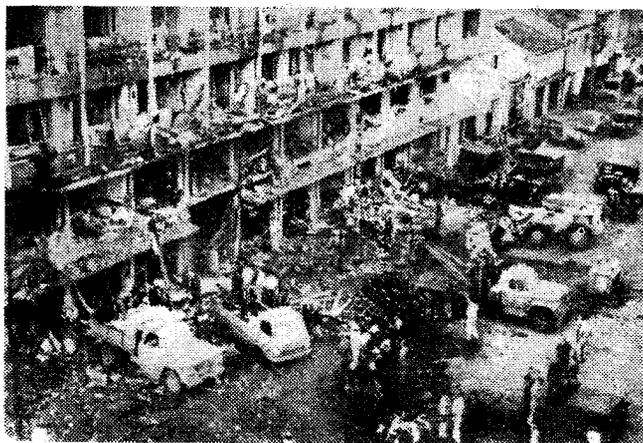
"... the whole world caved in" was how an American naval officer described the blowing-up of the Victoria Hotel.

swept the states of Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Maharashtra. Up to now, she has had no other way to cope with the situation than to resort to violence. According to Indian press reports, the Gandhi government used 64,000 troops and policemen to suppress the anti-hunger demonstrations in West Bengal alone. Here, between February 17 and March 15, 40 people, including two teenagers, were killed, 166 wounded and 3,933 arrested.

But violence has only given rise to more revolts. It has certainly not bettered the food situation or the tattered Indian economy. In Calcutta, for instance, "the city's poor are dying of malnutrition at a faster rate than at any time in recent years," reported the American magazine *Newsweek* in its April 4 issue.

Accordingly, Mrs. Gandhi went to Washington where she told her hosts that India is as important to the U.S. as the U.S. is to India. To prove her point, she reminded the American press that India, as chairman of the International Control Commission, is "always ready to play a constructive role in the continuing quest for peace in Vietnam." She added that her government well understood the American difficulties on the Vietnam question. To reciprocate the Indian "goodwill," Johnson, said the joint communique issued after his two-day parley with Mrs. Gandhi, "assured her that, Congress willing, the U.S. will continue to participate generously in the international effort to alleviate India's immediate food deficit problem."

Like her predecessors who invariably received increased alms from the U.S. for singing the anti-China tune called by Washington, Mrs. Gandhi joined Johnson in slandering China as pursuing "aggressive policies." What is more, having herself labelled China as "aggressive," she offered her own quaint explanation of why this is so. China, she told an American audience, entered into "conflict" with India because of the latter's "efforts to develop in democratic socialism" and because India serves as "a strong and prosperous example of democracy" for the Asian countries!



Carried away by her anti-China nonsense, Mrs. Gandhi ignores the fact that the "prosperity" and "democracy"—a euphemism for famine and arrests of the innocent—which India now "enjoys" and of which she is so proud, are the very things that prevailed in old China under the rule of the imperialists and reactionaries, things which the Chinese people abhor and which they rid themselves of 16 years ago.

WEST GERMANY

A Garb That Doesn't Fit

The Bonn government of West Germany, where militarism is being revived non-stop and where the revanchist spirit has always been strong, recently went out of its way to send many countries—the Soviet Union and East European states among them—a diplomatic note talking about "general disarmament" and "guaranteeing European peace."

But by merely scratching the surface of these platitudes, one immediately finds that there is something more behind them—that this note is a peace cloak to serve Washington's counter-revolutionary global strategy and Bonn's own wild expansionist ambitions. The background of this "peace offensive," as the Hamburg paper *Die Welt* called it, is that Washington is shifting the

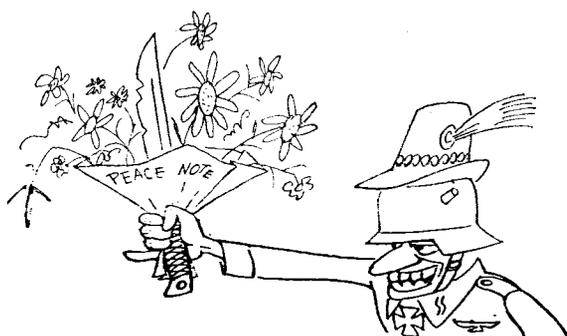
focus of its global strategy from Europe to Asia; but, far from giving up its military buildup in Western Europe, it is counting mainly on West Germany to further its aggressive designs in this part of the world, the more so as France is out to dismantle NATO. As Bonn sees it, now is the time for West German militarism to raise its head again. To do so, it needs first to soothe the anxieties of the European people and thus put them off their guard. Hence, the "peace" note which includes, for instance, the proposed exchange of declarations with the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia to renounce "the use of force." It, in addition, also suggests that "the nuclear powers come to an agreement not to transfer any nuclear weapons to the national control of other countries." In this way, Washington will find it not only easier to speed up the revival of militarism in West Germany but also easier to

strike a political bargain with the Soviet Union on the "prevention of nuclear proliferation." Small wonder that U.S. Secretary of State Rusk has hailed the note as something "constructive and forward-looking."

But this garb of peace does not fit the Bonn government. Even in this note, which Chancellor Erhard described as having presented a picture of his government's "peaceful policy," West Germany has not budged an inch from its consistent revanchist stand, namely, restoration of the 1937 borders of Hitlerite Germany, "reunification" of Germany by annexing the German Democratic Republic and getting its hands on nuclear weapons through the U.S.-controlled NATO.

Therefore, one is only imagining things to believe that the U.S. has changed its policy of fostering West German revanchism or that there is

a genuine relaxation in the European situation. As far as the people around the world are concerned, the West German note will only remind them of the great "skill" Adolf Hitler displayed in confusing the European people by his constant talk of peace in the years when he prepared for war.



THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

or undermine the firmly established militant friendship between our two peoples."

In an article in *Renmin Ribao* on April 5, Commentator said that the Sato government's decision was a serious step deliberately aimed at undermining friendly exchanges between the Chinese and Japanese peoples.

The Sato government alleged that the visit of the delegation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs would constitute an "inter-

ference in Japan's internal affairs." Refuting this absurd charge, Commentator said that it was the Japanese reactionaries who had been interfering in China's domestic affairs. He said: "The Sato government maintains 'diplomatic relations' with the Chiang Kai-shek gang which has been overthrown by the Chinese people. It openly opposes the restoration to China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations and engages in the 'two Chinas' plot. And it is also the Sato government which is trying to sell the theory that 'the future of Taiwan is undecided' in its attempt to seize that island which is a province of China. The Sato government

must not forget that the debt the Japanese reactionaries owe the Chinese people will have to be repaid sooner or later."

Commentator said that the Sato government had recently become increasingly hostile towards China. He added: "All the evidence irrefutably shows that the Sato cabinet is violently anti-Chinese. It is stepping up its efforts to revive militarism, going in for expansion and aggression abroad and willingly letting itself be led by the nose by the United States. If the Sato government keeps skidding along this path, it will inevitably drag the Japanese nation once again into a bottomless abyss."

TEN NEW POEMS BY MAO TSE-TUNG

Written between 1949 and 1963 and published for the first time in January 1964, these poems are now published in translation in the English edition of **CHINESE LITERATURE** No. 5, 1966. Two poems, "Ode to the Plum Blossom—to the melody of 'Pu Shuan Tzu'" and "Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo—to the melody of 'Man Chiang Hung,'" are written in the traditional *tzu* form; six poems, "The Capture of Nanking by the People's Liberation Army," "Shaoshan Revisited," "Ascent of Lushan," "Reply to a Friend," "Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo" and "Winter Clouds," are *lu shih* of eight lines of seven characters each; and two poems, "Militia Women" and "The Fairy Cave," are *chi chueh* of four lines with seven characters each.

This issue also includes "Classical Chinese Prosody," an article on classical Chinese verse forms, and an article by the well-known poet Kuo Mo-jo on one of the poems.

●

Subscribe to CHINESE LITERATURE published monthly in English and quarterly in French. It brings you the works of contemporary Chinese writers, selections from Chinese classical literature, literary and art criticism, reports on cultural events, and full page colour reproductions of classical and modern paintings.

Books in English on China's Rural Communes

The People's Communes Forge Ahead

A Basic Summary of Five Years' Experience in the Rural
People's Communes of Kwangtung Province

by **Tao Chu**

Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party
and First Secretary of the Secretariat of the Central-South Bureau
of the Central Committee

Published by **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China

40 pages

18.5 × 13 cm.

Paper cover

The Rise of the Chinese People's Communes—And Six Years After

by **Anna Louise Strong**

Published by **NEW WORLD PRESS**, Peking, China

238 pages

18.5 × 13 cm.

Paper cover

Distributed by **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre),
P.O. Box 399, Peking, China