

PEKING REVIEW

46

November 12, 1965

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Forge Ahead Along Path of Great October Revolution

Refutation of the New Leaders of The C.P.S.U. on "United Action"

by the Editorial Departments of
"Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi"

Reports on Indonesia:

- Anti-China current developing in Indonesia
- Rabid anti-communist, anti-popular activities of Indonesian Right-wing forces

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

November 12, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 46

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
Celebrating the 48th Anniversary of the October Revolution	6
Valiantly Forge Ahead Along the Path of the Great October Revolution — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	8
Refutation of the New Leaders of the C.P.S.U. on "United Action"	10
" <i>Renmin Ribao</i> " Publishes Anti-Chinese Statements by New Leaders of C.P.S.U. and Their Followers	22
China Lodges Its Strongest Protest With Indonesian Government	24
Adverse Anti-China Current Spreading in Indonesia — <i>Hsinhua</i> News Agency	25
Chinese Vice-Minister of Communications Gives Interview to Antara Correspondent	28
Rabid Anti-Communist, Anti-Popular Activities of Indonesian Right-Wing Forces	29
" <i>Renmin Ribao</i> " Publishes More Materials on Current Political Situation in Indonesia	33
ROUND THE WORLD	35
ACROSS THE LAND	37
CULTURAL EXCHANGE,	
SPORTS	39

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THE WEEK

Emulate Wang Chieh, Great Revolutionary Fighter

A big drive to emulate the revolutionary spirit of Comrade Wang Chieh is gaining momentum.

Wang Chieh sacrificed himself for his comrades when a package of explosives was accidentally set off during training last summer in Pih sien County in Kiangsu Province. This act of heroism took place on July 14 while Wang Chieh, squad leader of a Chinese People's Liberation Army engineering company, was helping drill militiamen of the Chang-lou People's Commune. Faced with the split-second choice of his own life and that of the peasant militiamen and P.L.A. men near by, Wang Chieh did not hesitate to go to his death to save his comrades.

Born in 1942 in Chihnsiang County in Shantung Province, the 23-year-old martyr was a member of the Communist Youth League. He had been elected a "5-good" soldier for three successive years and twice commended for meritorious service. He became a soldier in the P.L.A. in August 1961 and, as extensive extracts from his 100,000-word diary published in the nation's press show, was a highly conscious revolutionary, typical of the finest of the young generation in China today.

Calling on the nation to emulate Wang Chieh's lofty spirit of wholehearted dedication to the revolution, *Renmin Ribao* (November 8) editorially pointed out: "Fearing neither hardship nor death is a manifestation of the firmness, the fearless spirit and the revolutionary heroism of the proletariat. It is a mighty spiritual atom bomb. Once this is in the possession of the revolutionary fighters, they will be ever victorious in the fight against the class enemy both at home and abroad and in the course of socialist construction."

"Fearing neither hardship nor death," continued the editorial, "is a line of demarcation dividing the genuine from the fake revolutionaries. It is a touchstone for testing Marxists and modern revisionists. All true revolutionaries and Marxists fear neither hardship nor death; all pseudo-revolutionaries and all revisionists are cowards in the face of hardship and death. In a certain sense, this is why they have become revisionists."

This editorial was reprinted by many papers, both national and provincial. In addition, a number of them also published their own editorials on this subject.

Since October 31, the press, both in Peking and elsewhere, has devoted entire pages to the memory of this communist fighter. In a note accompanying extracts from Wang Chieh's diary, *Renmin Ribao* said: "From this diary, a noble revolutionary fighter stands out boldly. He used revolutionary theories as his guide to action and revolutionary heroes as examples to learn from. He did his work in a revolutionary spirit, treated his comrades with a revolutionary attitude and handled his personal problems according to the principles of the revolution. The word 'revolution' was in his heart: the Chinese revolution and the world revolution."

Letters from readers have been pouring into newspaper offices telling of the people's great admiration for Wang Chieh's selfless dedication to the people's cause and their determination to emulate him.

The P.L.A. General Political Department has called on all troops to emulate Wang Chieh by starting a new upsurge in the study of Chairman Mao's teachings and applying them in a living manner to practice, by giving further promi-

nence to politics and by stepping up military preparedness so that they would be able to crush U.S. aggression at any time.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions has called on all workers and employees to learn from Wang Chieh, to wholeheartedly embrace the idea that all work is for the revolution and to strive to fulfil and overfulfil this year's state plan in ushering in the forthcoming Third Five-Year Plan.

The Communist Youth League urged the nation's young people to make exacting demands on themselves as Wang Chieh did, and, like him, to acquire the world outlook of complete devotion to the revolution.

Cambodian Independence Anniversary

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message on November 8 to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, warmly greeting him on the 12th anniversary of the complete independence of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi also sent a message of greetings on the same day to Prince Norodom Kantol, Premier and Foreign Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

The China-Cambodia Friendship Association gave a cocktail party in Peking on November 8 which was attended by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Cambodian Ambassador to China Truong Cang, Prince Norodom Nardipo and others. Both hosts and guests toasted growing Sino-Cambodian friendship.

On November 9, Cambodian Ambassador Truong Cang gave a reception at which Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and other Chinese leaders celebrated the anniversary with their Cambodian friends. Both Ambassador Truong Cang and Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke at the reception. They praised the militant friendship between the Cambodian and Chinese peoples in their struggle against U.S. imperial-

ism. Stressing that this struggle was of great concern to the future of mankind, both voiced their people's resolve to carry the fight against U.S. imperialism through to the end.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Speech

Vice-Premier Chen Yi paid tribute to the Cambodian people who, under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, had waged a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. He said: "The Cambodian people have rejected U.S. aid, and they are getting along quite well; in fact, they are faring even better than before. Cambodia's victories and achievements are of international significance. They demonstrate to the world that what Cambodia is able to accomplish can likewise be done by all the new emerging countries which have freed themselves from colonial rule and are determined to take the road of independent development." Noting that Cambodia had consistently and firmly pursued a policy of independence, peace and neutrality, the Vice-Premier said: "On many important international issues, the Royal Government of Cambodia has drawn a clear distinction between right and wrong, upheld justice and dared to slight tyrannical power. It has backed the oppressed nations and spoken out for the victims of aggression. The Cambodian people have always stood on the side of the Vietnamese people and given them powerful support in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. Prince Sihanouk has reiterated many times his correct stand on the Viet Nam question, and unequivocally pointed out who is the aggressor and who is the victim of aggression, who is the gangster and who is the victimized; he firmly holds that the U.S. aggressive troops must withdraw from south Viet Nam and demands that the south Vietnamese people be left to settle their own problems."

Condemning U.S. imperialism for carrying out aggression, intervention, subversion and sabotage everywhere, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "All oppressed nations and peoples who want independence and liberation, all

countries and peoples who want to safeguard their national independence and sovereignty, and all countries and peoples who want to defend world peace must direct the spearhead of their struggle mainly against U.S. imperialism. The struggle against U.S. imperialism is a major issue affecting the destiny of mankind.

"At present, revolutionary struggles of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are developing in depth, and all kinds of political forces on the international scene are now going through a drastic process of differentiation and regrouping. The leader of every country can contribute his share to the cause of world peace and human progress as long as he reflects the will of his people and acts in accordance with the trend of historical development. In the present international situation, His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, holding high the militant banner of opposing U.S. imperialism, has given full expression to the national dignity and tremendous courage of the Cambodian people and greatly encouraged all the countries and peoples fighting against U.S. imperialism. We have great admiration for the firm stand taken by the Cambodian Government and people and their outstanding role in the international struggle against U.S. imperialism." Chen Yi quoted Prince Sihanouk's words when he added: "We are opposed to the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, and not the American people. We are deeply convinced that, supported by all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, the great American people will thoroughly smash the U.S. imperialist schemes of war. The people of the whole world are bound to win final victory in their struggle against U.S. imperialism."

Referring to Sino-Cambodian friendship, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that this friendship was a lofty and militant one which no enemy could undermine. He reaffirmed the Chinese people's resolute support for the Cambodian people's just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention and in defence of

Studying Chairman Mao's Works Overseas

Five thousand copies of Vol. I of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* in Arabic were sold out in Syria shortly after publication in 1958. Recently, a carefully revised new edition of the translation has come off the press and is now on sale in Damascus.

A publisher's note by the Damascus Publishing Company says: "The significance of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works is not limited to China and Asia. His works have become a fundamental part of the treasury of Marxism. They guide by their correct line all the people of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries in Africa and Latin America in their struggle against imperialism and for national liberation, democracy, peace and socialism.

"The *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* are a sharp theoretical weapon in the hands of all soldiers and revolutionary fighters in these countries. . . . They are also valuable property for all intellectuals."

Since last May, the *Workers' Socialist Struggle*, a weekly in Arabic and organ of the General Federation of the Workers' Unions of Syria, has reprinted detailed excerpts of a number of Chairman Mao's works, including the six criteria for distinguishing "fragrant flowers" from "poisonous weeds" which Chairman Mao enumerated in his famous work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* written in 1957.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's wartime essay *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan* (reprinted in *Peking Review*, No. 35, Aug. 27, 1965), appeared in the Karachi paper *Daily News* in eight instalments starting on September 5.

The editor of the *Daily News* in a note wrote that his paper was publishing the article as it might be of interest to readers in Pakistan in view of a similar fight for freedom now going on in Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

The Swedish language edition of the *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung* (in two volumes) has aroused great interest among the Swedish public since its publication in Stockholm last September.

In a review of the publication, Swedish writer Jan Myrdal wrote in the *Stockholms-Tidningen*:

"[Mao Tse-tung's] works offered revolutionaries in Asia, Africa and Latin America the grounding in theory for revolutionary wars now in process or to be launched.

"During the last century, the peasant wars were defeated one after another, but the peasant war led by Mao won final success. Mao's theory has been proved in practice.

"Mao's works are a combination of practical experience, wisdom and genius."

The political commentator, Caleb Andersson, wrote in the Swedish evening paper *Aftonbladet*:

"Mao Tse-tung is the first man to deal with guerrilla war as an independent subject in military science. He has formulated concrete conventions for guerrilla war and his military and political articles are classic."

Another paper, *Arbetet*, in a review by Gosta Bringmark said:

"Failure to read Mao's works means the abandonment of understanding the most important factors in the political struggle of the world today."

The Swedish translation was made by Nils G. Holmberg from the English version and published by Bo Cavefors Bokforlag, Swedish Printing Company.

Translated by Ananda Kumara, Secretary-General of the Ceylon-China Friendship Association, two of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works—*On Methods of Leadership* and *Be Concerned with the Well-being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work*—were published in Sinhalese in Colombo by the People's Publishers in August.

New Zealand Communist Review, organ of the C.P.N.Z., in its August issue carried the article by Chairman Mao Tse-tung entitled "Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?"

their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Chairman Liu Receives Central African Women's Delegation

Chairman Liu Shao-chi on November 2 received members of the women's delegation from the Central African Republic led by Mme. Marie Josephe Franck, President of the Central African Women's Union and Head of the Women's Promotion De-

partment of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Affairs. Chairman Liu had a cordial and friendly talk with his guests.

Support for Laotian People's Manifesto

A leading official of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, in a statement issued on November 8, expressed firm support for the man-

ifesto adopted last month at the Laotian National Political Consultative Conference. The manifesto voiced the determination of the Laotian patriotic forces and the Laotian people to uphold the Geneva agreements and the tripartite agreements and to defeat U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression. It also demonstrated their firm resolve to settle their internal affairs by themselves and to

(Continued on p. 23.)

Celebrating the 48th Anniversary of The October Revolution

CHINESE Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai sent a message on November 6 to the Party and state leaders of the Soviet Union, L.I. Brezhnev, A.I. Mikoyan and A.N. Kosygin, warmly greeting them on the 48th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The same day, Foreign Minister Chen Yi also sent a message to Soviet Foreign Minister A.A. Gromyko, while Soong Ching Ling, President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, sent a message to N.V. Popova, Chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and to A.A. Andreyev, Chairman of the Board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association, extending her greetings to the Soviet people.

Peking Rally

Peking, Shanghai and many other cities celebrated this great revolutionary day with rallies and other activities. Over 1,800 people in Peking gathered at a rally on November 5 to celebrate the anniversary with Soviet friends in the capital. Among them were Ambassador S.G. Lapin and members of the visiting delegation of the Soviet-China Friendship Association led by Vladimir Vasilievich Kovanov. Tung Pi-wu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and other leaders also attended.

Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, spoke at the rally. He stressed that "in commemorating the Great October Revolution, we must be loyal to the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and resolutely follow the bright road of the October Revolution." He condemned U.S. imperialism and said: "The oppressed peoples and oppressed nations cannot have freedom and the socialist countries cannot be secure without overthrowing U.S. imperialism. The people of the world must have courage and confidence, unite still more closely, develop the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, further wage a resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces headed by it and fight for the complete defeat of the world demon, U.S. imperialism."

He emphasized that "as long as we truly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and the road of the October Revolution and earnestly combat modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, no matter what trouble the impe-

rialists and other reactionaries may make, they will be unable to prevent the wheel of human history from advancing along the path of the October Revolution towards the great victory of proletarian world revolution."

Liu Ning-I expressed the deep friendship of the Chinese people for the great Soviet people and said: "The Chinese people are firmly convinced that the Soviet people, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, will surely hold high the banner of the October Revolution, give full play to the spirit of the October Revolution, sweep away all obstacles in their way and advance along the course pointed out by the great Lenin."

Kovanov conveyed the fraternal sentiments of the Soviet people to the gathering and wished the Chinese people new successes in socialist construction and in the struggle for world peace.

On the same evening, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Yi and other Chinese leaders received the visiting delegation of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association.

Soviet Ambassador's Reception

Soviet Ambassador S.G. Lapin gave an anniversary reception in Peking on November 6 at which Chou En-lai, Peng Chen and other Chinese leaders were among those present.

Ambassador Lapin spoke at the reception and proposed a toast to the 48th anniversary of the October Revolution and to the solidarity of the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

In his speech at the reception, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the victory of the October Revolution was the great victory of the people of Russia and the working people of the whole world. "It was a great victory for the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat," he declared. The Vice-Premier stressed that "U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people of the world" and that, for all its ferocious appearance and desperate struggles, "it is approaching its doom and is besieged by the people of the world." He added: "All the countries and peoples subject to aggression and oppression by U.S. imperialism are uniting ever more closely and waging determined struggles against it."

Speaking of the American people's unprecedented movement opposing the Johnson Administration's aggressive war in Viet Nam, Chen Yi said: "This shows

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS

Moscow

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

Comrade A.I. Mikoyan, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.,

Comrade A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.,

On the occasion of the 48th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we, on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, extend our warm greetings to you, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the fraternal Soviet people.

Forty-eight years ago, the proletariat and working people of Russia, under the leadership of the great Lenin and the glorious Bolshevik Party, staged an armed uprising, overthrew the reactionary rule of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie and established the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. Over the past 48 years, the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world have surged forward, developed vigorously and scored victory after victory. History has proved and will continue to prove that no force on earth can block the victorious advance of the people of various countries along the bright path of the October Revolution.

Since the first day of the victory of the October Revolution, the great Soviet people have withstood severe trials of every description and displayed great courage and heroism. They defeated armed intervention by international imperialism and the counter-revolutionary rebellion of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie at home and, in a short historical period, built their fatherland into a powerful socialist

country. During World War II, the Soviet people, united as one and fearing no sacrifice, smashed the mad onslaughts of the Hitlerite fascists and defended and consolidated the Soviet state power. The great victory of the Soviet patriotic war opened up an even broader path for the oppressed peoples and nations of the world in their cause of liberation. The Chinese people always rejoice from the bottom of their hearts at the great achievements of the fraternal Soviet people. They sincerely hope that the Soviet people will, in the days to come, continue to advance along the glorious path of the October Socialist Revolution and score new victories.

The great friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples has been formed in protracted revolutionary struggles. It is everlasting and unbreakable. Whatever the circumstances may be, the Chinese people will, as before, wage a joint struggle together with the fraternal Soviet people, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to safeguard and strengthen the friendship and unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, oppose U.S. imperialism—the most vicious enemy of the people of the whole world—and its followers, and strive for the victory of the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the great friendship and unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China,

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China,

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

November 6, 1965, Peking

that the American people are awakening. Not only is U.S. imperialism becoming more isolated internationally, it is also finding life more and more difficult at home." He expressed the conviction that "the great American people, supported by the people of China, the Soviet Union and the whole world, will by their heroic struggles triumph and become the real masters of the United States. The people of the world are bound to win in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, and a new world without imperialism, capitalism and exploitation of man by man is sure to come into existence."

Referring to the great friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said:

"This friendship is eternal and unbreakable. It can stand any test. We firmly believe that no matter what happens, our two peoples will live in friendship from generation to generation under the banner of the October Revolution and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

In Moscow, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy Chang Teh-chun gave a party to celebrate the anniversary. Among the Soviet guests attending were A.L. Orlov, Deputy Foreign Minister, and N.A. Pankov, Vice-Chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

Valiantly Forge Ahead Along the Path of The Great October Revolution

TODAY is the 48th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Chinese people, together with the people of the Soviet Union and the whole world, warmly celebrate this great revolutionary festival.

A New Era in History of Mankind

The October Revolution is the greatest revolution in the history of mankind and has had the most far-reaching impact. In this revolution, the proletariat of Russia, uniting with the other working people and led by the great Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, toppled the rule of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie and established the world's first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a result of this victory, the imperialist front was breached on one-sixth of the world's land mass and socialism began to be turned from an ideal into a reality. The victory shook imperialism's rear and greatly promoted the struggle of the oppressed nations for liberation. By linking this struggle directly with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, the victory opened up a revolutionary front against world imperialism. In this way, the October Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of mankind and marked a great turning-point in world history. Since then, the era has dawned in which capitalism and imperialism are heading for their doom while socialism and communism are advancing towards victory.

The Soviet people are a great, heroic people: they are the pioneers of the proletarian world revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin and holding high the banner of the October Revolution, they overcame obstacles, pressed forward courageously, withstood severe tests of every kind and brought about earth-shaking achievements. After the victory of the October Revolution, they defeated the armed intervention of more than a dozen imperialist countries, quelled the armed rebellion of the domestic counter-revolutionaries and defended the fruits of the revolution. They smashed the sabotage activities of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and other agents of the bourgeoisie, and carried out socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization. During World War II, the Soviet people were the main force fighting against the fascists; they scored a tremendous victory in the anti-fascist war. In the postwar years, they worked

staunchly in rehabilitating their country and developing construction. They are a great people with a glorious revolutionary tradition. No difficulties or obstacles can check their advance.

The Path of the October Revolution

The path of the October Revolution the Soviet people have blazed is a Marxist-Leninist path; it is the common path of the people of the world for the liquidation of capitalism and the march to socialism. Lenin pointed out that the basic characteristics of the October Revolution were of international significance and that there was "the historical inevitability of a repetition on an international scale" of what had taken place in Russia. The path of the October Revolution mirrors the law of historical development. The proletariat of any country must follow this path to carry their revolution to victory.

The path of the October Revolution is one of revolution by violence. Through armed uprising, the proletariat and other working people of Russia destroyed the old state machine, overthrew the rule of the exploiting classes and set up their own state power. Then they carried out three and a half years of revolutionary war in order to consolidate the political power which they had seized. As Lenin said: "In the October Revolution, revolutionary violence scored a brilliant success." The history of the October Revolution and of the revolutions in other countries shows that the seizure of state power by force of arms is the central task and the supreme form of revolution. It is a universal law applicable to the revolution of all peoples. It is an inviolable truth.

The path of the October Revolution is the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. The seizure of power by the proletariat is only the first step in the proletarian revolution. After seizing power, the proletariat must persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, rely on the masses, use the state machine to suppress the class enemies' resistance and sabotage and carry the revolution forward unceasingly. It is necessary to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, not only on the economic front but also on the political and ideological fronts. Only thus can the socialist positions be consolidated, and only thus can

socialist construction be carried out, the restoration of capitalism prevented and conditions prepared for the transition to communism.

The path of the October Revolution is the path of proletarian internationalism. The proletarian revolution has always been an international cause. The victory of revolution in one or several countries in no way means the conclusion of the cause of the proletarian revolution. Countries which have won victory in their socialist revolution should, as Lenin always taught, be the bases for supporting the world revolution. They should do everything in their power to discharge their proletarian internationalist duty by resolutely and unconditionally supporting the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations and carrying the world revolution against imperialism through to the end.

Tremendous changes have taken place in the world in the 48 years since the victory of the October Revolution. The basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism embodied in the path of the October Revolution have shone with ever greater radiance. The people of the world have advanced from victory to victory in their struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism. Whatever twists and turns there may be on the road forward, the East wind will prevail over the West wind, socialism will win and imperialism will perish. This is the general law of development of world history which no one can alter.

Class Struggle — Motive Force of Social Development

Marxism-Leninism has always held that class struggle is the motive force of social development and that class struggle alone can propel the wheel of history forward. This is true of each individual country and of the world as a whole. At present, with the deepening of the revolution, class struggle in the world arena is very complicated and sharp. In trying to save themselves from their doom, imperialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries of various countries are, to the best of their ability, making use of their counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics to check the revolutionary tide. A great life-and-death struggle is going on between the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world on the one hand and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys on the other. The glorious historic mission of the international proletariat is to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the October Revolution and the banner of proletarian internationalism, and unite with all the forces that can be united to defeat U.S. imperialism and its flunkies and carry the revolution through to the end.

Why Modern Revisionism Must Be Opposed

To fulfil its historic mission, the international proletariat must wage a struggle against modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, which deviate from Marxism-Leninism. In particular, it must wage an

uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism which is the main danger in the international communist movement at present. The emergence of modern revisionism is not a fortuitous phenomenon but a product of class struggle. As the 1957 Declaration said: "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source." The modern revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the path of the October Revolution and proletarian internationalism.

It is imperative to oppose modern revisionism in order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

It is imperative to oppose modern revisionism in order to keep firmly to the path of the October Revolution.

It is imperative to oppose modern revisionism in order to make revolution and support the revolution.

It is imperative to oppose modern revisionism in order to oppose imperialism headed by the United States.

It is imperative to oppose modern revisionism in order to uphold the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

History has proved and will continue to prove that whoever betrays Marxism-Leninism, the path of the October Revolution and proletarian internationalism will sooner or later be discarded by the masses of the revolutionary people and become some wretched creature lamenting its dismal end in a corner.

The Chinese people, taught by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have always regarded the Chinese revolution as a continuation of the October Revolution. We always hold the great Soviet people in high esteem and look upon them as our close and reliable friends. The Chinese and Soviet peoples have supported, assisted and encouraged each other and forged a profound militant friendship in protracted revolutionary struggles. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have made consistent and untiring efforts for safeguarding the unity of the two Parties and the two countries. The relations between the two Parties and the two countries have been impaired in the past few years through no fault of ours. This is something which we do not wish to see happen, nor is it something which the Soviet people wish to see happen. **Looking at the long course of history, we believe that the difficulties in Sino-Soviet relations are only an episode. The traditional friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples can stand the test of any storm and it is everlasting.**

Let us valiantly forge ahead by holding still higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the October Revolution and the banner of proletarian internationalism!

("Renmin Ribao's" editorial of November 7.)

REFUTATION OF THE NEW LEADERS OF THE C.P.S.U. ON "UNITED ACTION"

by the Editorial Departments of "Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi"

The Unity of the International Proletariat Must Be Based on Principle . . . The Khrushchov Revisionists Have Undermined the Common Basis of Unity . . . United Action Is Impossible With Those Who Transpose Enemies and Friends . . . The New Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Are Taking United Action With the United States on the Question of Viet Nam . . . "United Action," So Called, Is a Means of Promoting Splittism . . . "United Action," So Called, Is a Slogan to Deceive the Soviet People . . . Persevere in the Struggle Against Khrushchov Revisionism

The Unity of the International Proletariat Must Be Based on Principle

The history of the international communist movement is one of struggle by Marxism against opportunism and revisionism, a history of struggle by Marxists to safeguard the international unity of the proletariat and to oppose attempts by opportunists and revisionists to divide it.

Upholding the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China has always held aloft the great banner of international proletarian unity. We maintain that in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism and in the course of the world revolution, the international proletariat can defeat the enemy only through uniting its own forces and uniting with all other forces that can be united.

The founders of communist theory, Marx and Engels, advanced the fighting slogan, "Workers of all countries, unite!" This slogan has educated and inspired workers all over the world and stimulated united struggle by the working class for its emancipation. The international unity of the proletariat advocated by Marx and Engels is one of struggle to fulfil its great historical mission on a worldwide scale.

Succeeding to the cause of Marx and Engels, Lenin carried Marxism forward to a new stage. Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin steadfastly persevered in international proletarian unity on the basis of Marxism. In the historical conditions of rising struggle by the oppressed

nations against imperialism, he put forward the fighting slogan, "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!" This slogan stimulated united struggle by the working-class movement of the countries in the West and the national-liberation movement of the oppressed nations in the East. It represented a still broader unity of the international revolutionary forces.

In the light of the new changes in international class relations and the balance of forces after World War II, Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the slogan of establishing an international united front against U.S. imperialism. This united front has the unity of the international proletariat as its core and the unity between the international proletariat and the oppressed nations as its foundation. It means uniting closely with the masses of the people, who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population, uniting with all the political forces subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference or bullying, and making use of every possible contradiction, all for the purpose of isolating U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the people of the whole world, to the maximum extent and dealing it the hardest possible blows. This is the way to mobilize all the positive factors conducive to world revolution for the achievement of victory in the people's revolutionary struggle in every country. It is a strategic principle of vital importance formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the question of world revolution in the new historical conditions.

Under Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership, the Communist Party of China has always upheld international proletarian unity, the unity of the workers and

the oppressed nations of the world, and the unity of all the forces opposing U.S. imperialism. We have carried out this line unswervingly and with great success.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the international unity of the proletariat is revolutionary unity, unity based on principle. Its achievement demands resolute and unequivocal struggle against all brands of opportunists and splitters.

Marx taught us that in the struggle to achieve international proletarian unity, there should be "no haggling about principles." When speaking on the need for principled struggle against the opportunists to achieve genuine unity, Engels said, "Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand above unity," and "the development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles."¹ He also said that "people of limited intelligence . . . want to stir everything into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast because they will then be all in one pot."² Marx and Engels declared explicitly that "it is . . . impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement."³

Lenin strongly condemned the revisionists of the Second International for betraying Marxism and the common cause of opposition to imperialism, for siding with the bourgeoisie of their own countries and degenerating into flunkies of monopoly capital, into social-chauvinists and social-imperialists.

He pointed out that, far from undermining the unity of the proletarian party, the struggle against opportunism and revisionism was indispensable for its achievement. He said,

Without struggle there cannot be any sorting out, and without sorting out there can be no successful advance, and also no *solid* unity. And those who are now beginning to struggle are by no means *destroying* unity. There is already no unity, it has already been destroyed, destroyed all along the line . . . and open and direct struggle is one of the essential conditions for restoring unity.⁴

It was precisely from the principled stand of Marxism-Leninism that the Communist Party of China waged a long struggle against the revisionist leadership of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov in order to uphold the unity of the international communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to consolidate and broaden the united front against U.S. imperialism.

Why was it that we published the two articles on the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1956? Why was it that we insisted on a series of revolutionary principles and delivered a memorandum on the question of peaceful transition to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. when the 1957

Declaration was being drawn up? Why did we publish "Long Live Leninism!" and the two other articles in 1960? Why did we systematically criticize Khrushchov's revisionist, divisive and great-power chauvinist views in our reply of September 1960 to the letter of information from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.? Why was it that we insisted on reaffirming a number of revolutionary principles and distributed our memorandum on the question of peaceful transition among all the fraternal Parties when the 1960 Statement was being drawn up? Why did we publish "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," giving a comprehensive explanation of our views on a series of fundamental problems of the contemporary world revolution? Why did we publish the nine comments on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., publicly repudiating Khrushchov revisionism? Why did we publish a series of documents and articles to criticize the Soviet-U.S.-British treaty, exposing the traitorous action of the Khrushchov clique in allying itself with U.S. imperialism against the people of the world? Why did we warn the Khrushchov clique in the numerous talks and exchanges of letters between the Chinese and the Soviet Parties that it must rein in on the edge of the precipice? The purpose of all this was to defend Marxism-Leninism, the unity of the international communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and the unity of all the forces opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

It was precisely the series of resolute struggles waged by the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties that hastened the bankruptcy of Khrushchov revisionism and drove its founder into an impasse and finally into the grave he had dug for himself.

One year has elapsed since the fall of Khrushchov and the rise of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. How do the new leaders compare with Khrushchov? Have they changed Khrushchov's revisionist and divisive line? All the evidence shows that they are still pursuing his line but with double-faced tactics more cunning and hypocritical than those of Khrushchov.

In numerous speeches, documents and articles the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been vociferously advocating "united action" on the part of the Communist Parties and the socialist countries. They are incessantly spouting such fine words as "unity," "common struggle against the enemy," "unity against imperialism" and "joint support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people." But this is all false. Their deeds run counter to their words. At the plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in September of this year, Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., openly denounced the Communist Party of China while prating about "unity against imperialism." This has laid bare the ugly features of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. as protagonists of sham unity and real hostility towards China.

Just as the U.S. imperialists, the most aggressive of all the imperialists, try to disguise themselves as angels of peace, so the biggest revisionists and splitters seek to present themselves as ardent lovers of unity. The call of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. for "united action" is nothing but a fraud.

Let us now take the lies of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. about "united action" and refute them one by one. Let us expose their fraudulence by citing their misdeeds both internationally and at home in the course of the past year.

The Khrushchov Revisionists Have Undermined The Common Basis of Unity

One of the arguments of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. for "united action" is that all the Communist Parties have "a common ideology" and "a common programme."

Indeed, the Communist Parties should have a common ideology in Marxism-Leninism and a common programme in the revolutionary principles jointly drawn up in the Declaration of 1957 and Statement of 1960. But the Khrushchov revisionists have completely betrayed this common ideology and common programme and thoroughly undermined the common basis for unity among the Communist Parties.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have faithfully taken over the mantle of Khrushchov. They have not changed into Marxist-Leninists or even into semi-Marxist-Leninists; they remain out-and-out Khrushchov revisionists, pursuing Khrushchov revisionism but without Khrushchov. In November 1964 they told the members of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation to their faces that there was not a shade of difference between themselves and Khrushchov on the question of the international communist movement or of relations with China. Time and again they have categorically stated that the general line adopted by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. "was, is and will be the only, immutable line in the entire home and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state."⁵

Like Khrushchov, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. try to negate and oppose all anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles by preaching that "today peaceful coexistence . . . is the most important condition for the social renovation of the world,"⁶ that "peaceful competition" between the two systems is the sole means for the "victory of communism over capitalism on an international scale"⁷ and that the "chances" of peaceful transition "grow many times over."⁸

Like Khrushchov, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. insist on abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party of the proletariat and on setting up the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people." Moreover, they say that "like the dictatorship

of the proletariat, the state of the whole people is a stage conforming to law and common to all countries in the development of the socialist state"⁹ and that "the transformation of our Party into a party of the entire people" is "of great significance far beyond the borders of our country."¹⁰

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have further developed Khrushchov revisionism by openly spreading the fallacy that socialism can be achieved without the leadership of the proletariat. They say that in the capitalist world "the transition to socialist transformation in one country or another can also take place without the direct leadership of the working class."¹¹ Shamelessly emasculating Lenin's theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, they allege that "Lenin did not connect the transition to the non-capitalist road with the obligatory establishment of political power under the leadership of the proletarian Party, i.e., in fact with the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹² According to this allegation of theirs, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are totally unnecessary and the Communist Party can very well be dispensed with. In propagating this ultra-reactionary theory, which is a thorough betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are not only giving an ideological weapon to the reactionaries, who are hostile to communism and the people, but are trying to confuse those nations and peoples who are in the stage of national-democratic revolution with regard to the aim of their present struggle and to induce them to abandon their task of combating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The essence of the Khrushchov revisionist theory and line, which the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are persisting in and developing further, is to protect imperialist rule in the capitalist world and restore capitalism in the socialist world.

Between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchov revisionists there is a difference of fundamental line, a major difference between what is right and what is wrong. In the circumstances, how can there be "a common ideology" and "a common programme" between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchov revisionists? How can there be a common basis for unity? In the circumstances, the relation between the Khrushchov revisionists and ourselves is certainly not one in which "what binds us together is much stronger than what divides us," as alleged by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U.; on all the fundamental issues of the present epoch the relation is one of sharp opposition; there are things that divide us and nothing that unites us, things that are antagonistic and nothing that is common.

Since there is such a difference of fundamental line, the achievement of unity requires either that we discard Marxism-Leninism and follow their revisionism, or that they renounce revisionism and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism. These are the only alter-

natives. It is impermissible and indeed utterly wrong if we take an equivocal or vague position on such a sharp question.

Are we expected to follow the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. in order to achieve unity under their revisionist programme? Wouldn't that mean that we must join them in betraying Marxism-Leninism, in putting down the people's revolutions in various countries and in acting as accomplices of the imperialists? It goes without saying that we will never do so.

Are we expected to look on and remain completely silent without criticizing, exposing and opposing the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., while they are betraying all the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, striving for Soviet-U.S. collaboration to dominate the world and opposing the people's revolutions in various countries? Wouldn't that mean that we must also abandon Marxism-Leninism, act as their ally in opposing the people's revolutions and become the accomplice of imperialism? It goes without saying that we will never do that either.

If the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. really want unity with the Marxist-Leninists, they must change their revisionist line and honestly admit their mistakes. They must publicly and solemnly admit before the Communists and the people of the world that their Khrushchov revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism are wrong, publicly admit that the revisionist line and programme decided upon at the 20th and the 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. are wrong, and publicly guarantee not to repeat the errors of Khrushchov revisionism. Is it possible that they will do all this?

The antagonism between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchov revisionism is a class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; it is the antagonism between the socialist and the capitalist roads and between the line of opposing imperialism and that of surrendering to it. It is an irreconcilable antagonism.

As Lenin said, "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism."¹³

United Action Is Impossible With Those Who Transpose Enemies and Friends

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. argue that even if there are differences of theory and line, these can be put aside and that "united action" should be taken and "unity against the enemy" achieved in practical struggle against imperialism.

The sharpest difference of theory and line between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchov revisionism concerns precisely the question of handling our relations with enemies and friends, in other words, the question

of whether to oppose or unite with imperialism, and above all the question of whether to oppose or unite with U.S. imperialism. This difference is decisive for all the most important practical actions in the international class struggle. How can it possibly be put aside in favour of an unprincipled unity that does not distinguish between enemies and friends?

The reactionary nature of Khrushchov revisionism is expressed in concentrated form in the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world. The Khrushchov clique completely transposed enemies and friends; it regarded U.S. imperialism, the arch enemy of the people of the world, as its closest friend, and the Marxist-Leninists of the world, including those of the Soviet Union, as its principal enemy.

It was precisely on this question that Khrushchov revealed himself as a renegade. It was on this question that the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world waged the sharpest struggle against the Khrushchov revisionists. And it was on this question that the Khrushchov revisionists were spurned by the revolutionary people of the world.

How have the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. acted on this question? Have they changed the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination? Have they stopped transposing enemies and friends? Have they changed from being a force allied with U.S. imperialism to one opposing it?

The facts show they have not.

Let us consider the facts:

ONE. Immediately after taking office, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. extolled Johnson as "sensible" and "moderate." They have continued to proclaim that the Soviet Union and the United States are two superpowers on which the fate of the world depends, that "there are sufficiently broad areas for co-operation" between them, and that "there are still many unutilized potentialities."¹⁴ Even after the rabid expansion by U.S. imperialism of its war of aggression in Viet Nam, they have kept on stressing their desire for the "development and improvement of relations with the United States of America." At times they find it necessary to talk about a tendency towards a "freeze" in Soviet-U.S. relations, but behind the scenes they are stepping up their secret diplomacy and their deals with the United States.

TWO. The signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain was an important landmark in Khrushchov's alliance with the United States against China. Not only have the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. accepted this legacy, but with this treaty as a basis they are actively plotting new deals with the United States for the "prevention of nuclear proliferation" and similar so-called "disarmament" measures in an effort to maintain the monopoly

of the two nuclear overlords, the Soviet Union and the United States, against China and all other independent countries.

THREE. U.S. imperialism has been using the United Nations as a tool for opposing the revolutions of the people of the world. Catering to U.S. imperialism, Khrushchov used the United Nations as a stock exchange for the domination of the world by two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have continued this reactionary policy. They have again brought up Khrushchov's proposal for a standing U.N. armed force. They voted in the United Nations for a "ceasefire" and for the realization of "national reconciliation" in the Congo (L), and they also voted for the "ceasefire" in the Dominican Republic. Wherever the people rise up in armed struggle against U.S. imperialism or win victories in such struggle, and wherever U.S. imperialism suffers defeats and finds itself in a predicament, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. hurriedly come forward to help it out. Together with the U.S. imperialists, they are using the United Nations to attack, weaken and divide the forces opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and to save, strengthen and extend U.S. imperialist positions. They serve as a fire-brigade for U.S. imperialism trying to stamp out the flames of revolution.

On April 7 this year, together with his proposal for "unconditional discussions" on the question of Viet Nam, Johnson publicized the scheme for "the international development of Southeast Asia" in order to undermine the struggle against U.S. imperialism waged by the people of Viet Nam and the other Southeast Asian countries and to step up economic infiltration, and he expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would join in. The United States regards the establishment of the "Asian Development Bank" as a means of putting this scheme into practice. In response to Johnson's call, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. went so far as to send a delegation to Bangkok in October to sit together with delegations from the United States, Japan, and such puppet cliques as the Chiang Kai-shek gang, south Korea and "Malaysia" and take an active part in preparing for the establishment of the "Asian Development Bank." Such is the ardour of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. for united action with U.S. imperialism.

FOUR. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have taken over and expanded the enterprises of the firm of Kennedy, Nehru and Khrushchov which Khrushchov worked hard to establish. They have carried further their alliance against China with the Indian reactionaries who are controlled by the U.S. imperialists. During Shastri's visit to the Soviet Union, they granted India aid to the tune of U.S. \$900 million in one go, which is more than all the loans Khrushchov extended to India in nine years. They have speeded up their plans for military aid to India and are working hand in glove with the United States to help India's arms expansion, so that the Indian reactionaries are able to use Soviet-

made weapons against China and other neighbouring countries.

Recently, during India's armed aggression against Pakistan and also in connection with the Sino-Indian boundary question, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. revealed in all its ugliness their support of the aggressor and their alliance with the United States and India against China. The Soviet Union and the United States joined in an anti-China chorus both inside and outside the United Nations. In September 1965, in statements on the armed conflict between India and Pakistan, TASS attacked China by insinuation, and *Pravda* even openly sided with India against China on the Sino-Indian boundary question. People will recall that it was precisely with a TASS statement on the Sino-Indian boundary question that Khrushchov started his public attacks on China in September 1959. But his attacks pale into insignificance in comparison with those of the present leaders of the C.P.S.U. They have discarded even the small fig-leaf Khrushchov used in order to feign neutrality. Small wonder that the U.S. imperialists are gleefully hailing a "new era" in U.S.-Soviet co-operation.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are able to deceive people because they sometimes make a few verbal attacks on U.S. imperialism. Why do they have to do this? The answer is that this meets the need of the U.S. imperialists as well as the revisionists themselves. The Khrushchov revisionists have to give the appearance of opposing the United States in order to render effective help to U.S. imperialism, hoodwink the masses and sabotage revolution. Otherwise, they could not play this deceptive role, and that would not be to the advantage of U.S. imperialism. Minor attacks in words but major help in deeds—such is the way the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. serve U.S. imperialism.

Some people ask, why is it that the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people cannot take united action with the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., yet can unite with personages from the upper strata in the nationalist countries, and strive for united action with them in the anti-imperialist struggle, and can even exploit the contradictions among the imperialist countries in the struggle against the United States?

The reason is that in the contemporary world opposition to or alliance with U.S. imperialism constitutes the hallmark for deciding whether or not a political force can be included in the united front against the United States.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the exception of the lackeys of imperialism, personages from the upper strata in many nationalist countries desire in varying degrees to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States. We should co-operate with them in the anti-imperialist struggle.

In the imperialist countries which are in sharp contradiction with the United States, some monopoly

capitalists follow the U.S. imperialists, but there are also others who desire in varying degrees to oppose the United States. In the struggle against the United States, the people of the world can take united action with the latter on some questions and to a certain degree.

The crux of the matter is that, so far from opposing U.S. imperialism, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are allying themselves and collaborating with it to dominate the world. They have thus set themselves in opposition to the united front against U.S. imperialism. If they really opposed U.S. imperialism and did so by actual deeds, we would readily take united action with them. But their so-called opposition to U.S. imperialism is only verbal and not genuine. We must tell them the truth: So long as their line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration against world revolution remains unchanged, and so long as they do not abandon their alliance with U.S. imperialism and reaction, we absolutely refuse to take any "united action" with them. We absolutely refuse to serve as a pawn in their secret diplomacy with U.S. imperialism or help them cover up their assistance to U.S. imperialism in suppressing the peoples' revolution in various countries.

The New Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Are Taking United Action With the United States on the Question Of Viet Nam

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. never weary of saying that, however serious the differences between them, Communists must take "united action" on the question of Viet Nam at this urgent juncture in the Vietnamese people's struggle against the United States.

Since the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have destroyed the basis of international proletarian unity, and since they transpose enemies and friends and persist in the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination, is it still possible for the Marxist-Leninist parties to take united action with them on the question of Viet Nam?

At a time when the U.S. imperialists are committing rabid aggression against Viet Nam, all Communist Parties and socialist countries should as a matter of course take a unanimous stand and firmly support the Vietnamese people's just struggle to smash this aggression. The point is that the stand taken by the revisionist leadership of the C.P.S.U. on the question of Viet Nam is inseparable from their revisionist programme and line, and is contrary to the principled stand required of a Marxist-Leninist party.

When Khrushchov was in power, the revisionist leadership of the C.P.S.U. openly sided with U.S. imperialism and opposed and undermined the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. They alleged that "any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war."¹⁵ Using this absurd argument to frighten and intimidate all peoples engaged in revolutionary armed struggle,

they openly refused to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their anti-U.S. struggle. When the struggles of the Vietnamese and the Laotian peoples against U.S. imperialism grew acute, their policy on the question of Indo-China was one of "disengagement." In July 1964, they indicated the desire of the Soviet Government to resign from its post as one of the two co-chairmen of the Geneva conference. Soon afterwards, when the U.S. imperialists engineered the Bac Bo Gulf incident, Khrushchov went so far as to concoct the slander that the incident was provoked by China.

The situation in Viet Nam developed directly contrary to the wishes of the Khrushchov revisionists. The Vietnamese people won victory after victory in their revolutionary anti-U.S. struggle, while the U.S. aggressors grew hard pressed. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. came to realize that it was no longer advisable to copy Khrushchov's policy of "disengagement" in its totality. So they switched to the policy of involvement, that is, of getting their hand in.

The policy of involvement and the policy of disengagement are essentially the same. Both are products of Khrushchov revisionism and both are designed to meet the needs of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialists urgently need to extinguish the roaring flames of the Vietnamese people's revolution. And so do the Khrushchov revisionists because they want to carry out their line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination. When Khrushchov was following the policy of "disengagement," he was acting in close co-ordination with John F. Kennedy. And now that the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are following the policy of involvement, they are similarly acting in tacit agreement and close collaboration with Lyndon B. Johnson.

Please consider the following facts:

In January 1965 the U.S. imperialists asked the Soviet Government to use its influence to have the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam accept two conditions: (1) stop supporting south Viet Nam, and first of all stop supplying it with guns; and (2) stop the attacks on cities in south Viet Nam. Faithfully obeying the orders of the U.S. imperialists, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. officially transmitted to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam these preposterous demands, which were aimed at forcing the Vietnamese people into unconditional surrender.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been busy running errands for the U.S. aggressors, who are anxious to find a way out of their predicament in Viet Nam. When Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., passed through Peking on his visit to Viet Nam in February 1965 and exchanged views with Chinese leaders, he stressed the need to help the United States "find a way out of Viet Nam." This was firmly rebutted by the Chinese leaders. We expressed the hope that the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. would support

the struggle of the Vietnamese people and not make a deal with the United States on the question of Viet Nam. Kosygin expressed agreement with our views and stated that they would "not bargain with others on this issue." However, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. soon went back on their promise.

Johnson wanted to play his fraudulent game of "unconditional discussions." So the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. put forward the idea of "unconditional negotiations." On February 16 this year, the day after Kosygin's return to Moscow, the Soviet Government officially put before Viet Nam and China a proposal to convene a new international conference on Indo-China without prior conditions, which in fact was advocacy of "unconditional negotiations" on the Viet Nam question. On February 23, disregarding the stand which the Vietnamese Government had taken against this proposal and without waiting for a reply from China, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. discussed the question of calling the above-mentioned international conference with the President of France through the Soviet Ambassador to France.

Johnson's fraud of "unconditional discussions" met with a stern rebuff from the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. then began publicly to insinuate that negotiations could be held if only the United States stopped its bombing of north Viet Nam. They engaged in vigorous activities in the international field with a view to putting this project into effect. In communications to certain fraternal Parties, they said explicitly that they favoured negotiations with the United States on condition it stopped bombing north Viet Nam. They also said that ways and means should be sought to settle the Viet Nam question through negotiations. And sure enough, not long afterwards Johnson came out with the manoeuvre of "the temporary suspension of bombing."

After these plots of "unconditional negotiations" and of "stopping the bombing and holding negotiations" were foiled, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. began to collaborate with the Indian reactionaries and the Tito clique — both lackeys of U.S. imperialism — as brokers on the question of Viet Nam. In their prescription for this question there was only mention of the cessation of U.S. bombing of north Viet Nam, only abstract talk about the implementation of the Geneva agreements but no mention of the fact that the crucial point in the implementation of these agreements is the complete withdrawal of the U.S. aggressor troops from Viet Nam. In addition, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been engaged in secret diplomatic activities. In a nutshell, their purpose is to help the United States to bring about "peace talks" by deception, "peace talks" which could go on indefinitely and also allow the United States to hang on in south Viet Nam indefinitely.

To curry favour with U.S. imperialism, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. went to the length of brutally

suppressing demonstrations in the Soviet Union opposing U.S. imperialism and supporting Viet Nam which were held by students from Viet Nam, China and other Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that last April the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. let Khrushchov emerge from limbo to talk with Western correspondents. In that interview, he advocated "peaceful coexistence" and attacked the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, alleging that "trouble starts with small things like Viet Nam and ends with disaster."¹⁶ This was not accidental. It shows that, like Khrushchov, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are afraid that the so-called "minor trouble," that is, the question of Viet Nam, may spoil their fond dreams of Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are doing exactly what Khrushchov did before them, namely, pulling the Viet Nam question into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration. Since they are co-operating so closely with the U.S. imperialists in united action, it is of course impossible for Marxist-Leninists to join in and take "united action" with them.

At bottom, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are clamouring for "united action" on the Viet Nam question because this slogan is highly deceptive and is apt to create the illusion that it is still possible to have "unity against U.S. imperialism" with the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. who are intent on Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination. They do so in order to worm their way into the anti-U.S. front and carry out their policy of involvement in the service of U.S. imperialism.

Look at the trick of "aid" to Viet Nam the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are playing and you will understand the real nature of their policy of involvement more clearly.

We have invariably held that it is the bounden proletarian-internationalist duty of all countries in the socialist camp to aid the fraternal Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people who are standing in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism have every right and reason to demand and receive aid from every socialist country. China is helping the Vietnamese people to the best of her ability. We have stated on many occasions that if the Soviet Union genuinely wants to help the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression, the greater and more practical the aid the better. But what have the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. done? Whether in quantity or quality, their aid to Viet Nam is far from commensurate with the strength of the Soviet Union. They have ulterior motives in giving a certain amount of aid — they are trying to hoodwink the people at home and abroad, to keep the situation in Viet Nam under their control, to gain a say on the Viet Nam question and to strike a bargain with U.S. imperialism on it.

The U.S. imperialists appreciate the trick being played by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. They know

full well that it is to their advantage for the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. to get involved in the Viet Nam question. Far from objecting to "aid" to Viet Nam from the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., they welcome it. The U.S. authorities have made it clear that Soviet involvement in the Viet Nam question is preferable to Soviet non-involvement. It has been pointed out in a U.S. magazine that "eventually, an arrangement might be contrived involving the stationing of Soviet troops in north Viet Nam . . . while American troops remain in south Viet Nam," and that "one of the paradoxical advantages of more direct Soviet military involvement would be the establishment of a direct American-Soviet bargaining relationship in this area."¹⁷ In fact, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have disclosed the details of their so-called "aid" to Viet Nam to the Americans through various channels. On this matter, too, they are taking united action with the U.S. imperialists.

Furthermore, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been using their "aid" to Viet Nam as a pretext for wantonly vilifying China, and have been assiduously spreading the lie that "China obstructed the transit of Soviet military equipment for Viet Nam." The truth is that we have always honoured our agreements and done our utmost speedily to transport to Viet Nam all military *matériel* in transit which was furnished by the Soviet Union with the concurrence of the Vietnamese comrades. By these fabrications and slanders, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have supplied further proof that they stop at nothing in order to ally themselves with the United States against China.

Marxist-Leninists must penetrate the appearance of things to get at their essence. Having carefully observed the actions of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. on the question of Viet Nam over the past year, we can only reach the following conclusion: In calling so vehemently for "united action" on the Viet Nam question and trying by every means to bring about a summit conference of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and China and an international meeting of the socialist countries and the fraternal Parties, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have no other purpose in mind than to deceive the world, to tie the fraternal countries to the chariot of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination, to use the question of Viet Nam as an important counter in their bargaining with the United States, and to isolate and attack the Chinese Communist Party and all the other fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism.

Things could not be clearer. If we were to take united action on the question of Viet Nam with the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. who are pursuing the Khrushchov revisionist line, wouldn't we be helping them to deceive the people of the world? Wouldn't we be helping them to bring the question of Viet Nam within the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration? Wouldn't we be joining them in betraying the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people? Wouldn't we be joining them in attacking the Chinese Communist Party and all the other Marxist-Leninist parties? Wouldn't we

be joining them in serving as accomplices of U.S. imperialism? Of course, we shall do nothing of the sort.

"United Action," So Called, Is a Means of Promoting Splittism

The clamour raised by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. for "united action" is an attempt both to conceal and to carry on their great-power chauvinism and splittism under the cover of hypocritical words. They claim to have "made a number of major moves" to promote unity and improve the relations between fraternal Parties and Soviet-Chinese relations. Let us look at the steps they have actually taken.

The March Moscow meeting which will remain for ever infamous was convened by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. under the slogan of "united action." Khrushchov revisionism and splittism had in effect divided the international communist movement, and the March meeting, which the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. called regardless of all consequences, was an extremely grave step to bring about an open split. Since that meeting, they have taken a number of other steps in continuation of this divisive line.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have conducted a feverish campaign against the Chinese Communist Party throughout their Party and among the entire Soviet people. They have organized meetings in offices, schools, factories and villages to hear anti-Chinese speeches, wantonly attacking and vilifying China. Some of these speeches were made in the presence of Chinese comrades. They have been busy sending emissaries to many countries for the sole purpose of engaging in anti-Chinese activity and of spreading all sorts of anti-Chinese slanders. In international organizations and international activities they stop at nothing in pushing their anti-Chinese schemes.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are continuing Khrushchov's anti-Albanian policy. Although in Japan they have met with serious set-backs in their criminal effort to support Yoshio Shiga and other renegades from the Japanese Communist Party in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries, they remain unreconciled and are continuing their counter-revolutionary sabotage and subversion against the Japanese Communist Party. They are also continuing their attacks on the Indonesian Communist Party, the Communist Party of New Zealand and other fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism, and are carrying on various kinds of sabotage and subversion against them.

While continuing the practice of subjecting other Communist Parties and socialist countries to pressure, sabotage and subversion, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are also employing the more insidious stratagems of trying to woo them, buy them over, deceive them and sow dissension among them. They take the Chinese

Communist Party, which firmly opposes Khrushchov revisionism, as the main target of their concentrated attacks, and they are trying to isolate it.

In the international mass organizations, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., using the slogan of "united action," continue to push their capitulationist line of not opposing the United States and not supporting revolution and their work of splitting anti-imperialist unity. They repeat Khrushchov's despicable stock tricks at the meetings of these international organizations, rely on behind-the-scene manipulation as well as open trouble-making and even resort to such ludicrous tactics as banging tables and stamping their feet.

In the name of "united action" the revisionist leadership of the C.P.S.U. is vainly trying to recover its position as the "father party," so that it may continue to wield the baton and compel the other Communist Parties and socialist countries to do this today and that tomorrow. Actually, however, its former power and prestige are gone beyond recall. Today, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. and their followers are drawn together by self-interest, each seeking his own ends. The baton of the new leaders is less and less effective.

Facts have shown that if the Communists of a particular country accept the hodge-podge of revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism of the leaders of the C.P.S.U., the country's revolutionary cause is impaired and undermined, its Communist Party becomes corrupted, goes downhill and degenerates, and both the country and Party find themselves beset with difficulties and at the mercy of others. On the other hand, those who firmly resist and oppose this hodge-podge find themselves in a quite different and much better position. This is as true today as it was before.

One of the purposes of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. in advocating "united action" is to stop the open polemics. They want to gag the Marxist-Leninists and prevent the latter from exposing and criticizing them, so as to be free to carry out Khrushchov revisionism.

How can such a thing be possible? The present great debate has most vividly and clearly revealed what is decadent and dying and what represents the direction of future development and victory in the international communist movement. Khrushchov revisionism has been refuted down to the last point, and this poisonous weed has been converted into good fertilizer on the fields of world revolution. Truth becomes clearer through debate; the more the polemics, the higher the level of revolutionary consciousness and the greater the degree of revolutionary vigour. We shall certainly carry the debate to the finish and draw a clear line between what is right and what is wrong on the major problems. Failure to do so would be extremely harmful to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and to the cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace.

Another purpose of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. in advocating "united action" is to stop what they call "factional activities" by the Marxist-Leninist parties. They want to strangle the Marxist-Leninist forces which are fighting to rebuild revolutionary proletarian parties or establish new ones, and to prevent the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties from supporting these newborn revolutionary forces.

In many countries, the Marxist-Leninists have broken with the revisionist cliques and either rebuilt Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations or founded new ones. This is the inevitable outcome of the practice of revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism by the leaders of the C.P.S.U.; it is the inevitable outcome of the struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists in those countries and of the regrouping of the revolutionary forces under conditions of deepening class struggle both internationally and domestically.

Bowing to the baton of Khrushchov revisionism the leading groups in the Communist Parties of those countries have forbidden their members to do what the imperialists and reactionaries fear most, and only allowed them to do what is to the liking of the imperialists and reactionaries or is at least tolerable to them. Whoever acts differently is attacked, disciplined or expelled. Such being the case, the staunch Marxist-Leninists in those Parties are left with no alternative but to break with the revisionist leading groups, and the founding and growth of genuine revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations become inevitable.

Revolution, the fight against imperialism and the fight against revisionism all have right on their side. **Beyond all doubt, it is perfectly right to discard these decaying old revisionist groups and build new revolutionary parties.**

We resolutely support all the forces in the world that persevere in Marxism-Leninism and revolution. It is our lofty proletarian-internationalist duty to strengthen our united action with all the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world.

"United Action," So Called, Is a Slogan to Deceive The Soviet People

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. claim that the socialist countries have "a socio-economic system of the same type" and share the "common goal of building socialism and communism." This is one more reason they cite in their clamour for "united action."

This is throwing dust in people's eyes. Following in Khrushchov's footsteps, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are bringing about the further degeneration of the Soviet Union towards capitalism in the name of realizing "communism." Like Khrushchov, they use the slogan of "the state of the whole people" to abolish

the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, thus making the Soviet state degenerate into an instrument for the rule of the privileged bourgeois stratum over the Soviet people. Like Khrushchov, they use the slogan of "the party of the entire people" to alter the proletarian character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and turn it into a party serving the interests of the privileged bourgeois stratum.

In their appraisal of Stalin, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. pretend to be somewhat different from Khrushchov. But this is only an attempt to allay the resentment of the broad masses of the people and Party members in the Soviet Union. Far from criticizing Khrushchov's mistake in completely negating Stalin, they have followed him in describing the period of Stalin's leadership as "the period of the personality cult." They have sponsored the publication of numerous articles and literary and other works which keep on besmirching all aspects of the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

Taking advantage of the state power they wield, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have centred their efforts on undermining the economic base of socialism, socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership, and on setting up and developing a new system of exploitation and fostering and supporting the new bourgeoisie, thus accelerating the restoration of capitalism.

The report on the problems of industry by Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., at the recent plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the resolution which it adopted marked a big step along the road of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet economy.

Through a Party resolution and government decrees, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have confirmed the experiments initiated in the Khrushchov period as a result of which socialist enterprises owned by the whole people degenerate into enterprises of a capitalist nature, and they have spread these experiments throughout the country. The key feature of the "new system" of industrial management they have instituted is to enforce the capitalist principle of profit and to make profit-seeking the basic motive force of production in the enterprises through the "enhancement of economic incentives." In the name of widening the enterprises' right to self-management, they have scrapped a series of important quotas formerly set by the state for the enterprises in accordance with the plan, substituting capitalist free competition for socialist planned economy. They have vested in the managers the power to hire and fire workers, fix the level of wages and bonuses and freely dispose of large funds, thus turning them into virtual masters of the enterprises, who are able to bully and oppress the workers and usurp the fruits of their labour at will. In reality, this means restoring capitalism, replacing socialist ownership by the whole

people with ownership by the privileged bourgeois stratum, and converting the socialist enterprises in the Soviet Union step by step into capitalist enterprises of a special type. This is by no means a "new creation"; it has been copied and developed from the old "experience" of the Tito clique in restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia.

It is elementary Marxism-Leninism that the system of management comes within the sphere of the relations of production and is an expression of the system of ownership. Under the guise of reforming the system of management, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have undermined the very foundation of the system of ownership by the whole people. This is exactly what the Tito clique of Yugoslavia did. Having a guilty conscience, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. cry out that those who talk about the "bourgeois transformation" of the Soviet economy are "bourgeois ideologists" and "our enemies."¹⁸ This is what the Tito clique said too. Such protestations are like the sign, "There is no silver buried here," put up by the man in the legend over the place where he hid his money.

In the countryside, too, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are accelerating the growth of capitalism, developing the private economy, enlarging the private plots, increasing the number of privately raised cattle, expanding the free market and encouraging free trading. They are using a variety of economic and administrative measures to encourage and foster the growth of a new kulak economy, sabotaging and disintegrating all aspects of the socialist collective economy.

Khrushchov wrought alarming havoc in Soviet agriculture. After taking office, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. boasted that they had worked out "a scientifically based programme for an immediate and sharp rise in agricultural production."¹⁹ But a year later, Soviet agriculture still remains in a mess, creating untold difficulties in the lives of the Soviet people. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are now lying the entire blame on the fallen Khrushchov. In fact, these serious troubles are precisely the outcome of their own intensified application of Khrushchov revisionism.

Facts show that the replacement of Khrushchov by these new leaders has been merely a change of personalities in the revisionist dynasty — just as all reactionary ruling classes have to change horses in order to maintain their rule. Although Khrushchov himself has fallen, the leading group of the C.P.S.U. is still the same old Khrushchov crowd; organizationally, it remains basically unchanged, and whether ideologically, politically, theoretically or in the realm of policy, theirs is still the same old Khrushchov revisionist stuff.

As Lenin pointed out, "opportunism is no chance occurrence, sin, slip, or treachery on the part of individuals, but a social product of an entire period of history."²⁰ It is inevitable that Khrushchov revisionism will exist as long as the social basis and the class

roots which gave birth to it remain and as long as the privileged bourgeois stratum exists.

Because they are the political representatives of the privileged bourgeois stratum in the Soviet Union, just as Khrushchov was, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. pursue domestic and foreign policies which are not proletarian but bourgeois, not socialist but capitalist. Like Khrushchov, they are in a position of antagonism to the Soviet people, who constitute more than 90 per cent of the Soviet population, and they are encountering ever stronger dissatisfaction and opposition on the part of the Soviet people.

When the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. loudly assert that the socialist countries have a "socio-economic system of the same type," they do so with the aim of covering up their restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, of preventing us from unmasking them, and of setting the Soviet people against China.

In our view, when a revisionist clique emerges and a capitalist come-back occurs in a socialist country, all the Marxist-Leninists in the world are duty-bound to expose and struggle against these things; this is the only correct and principled stand. The only way to serve the fundamental interests of the great Soviet people and to give them genuine support is resolutely to expose the fact that the revisionist leadership of the C.P.S.U. is restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

If we should cease exposing and combating the domestic and external revisionist policies of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., if we should abandon our principled stand and take so-called "united action" with them, that would suit them very well. It would help them to hoodwink the Soviet people. It would hinder rather than support the Soviet people's struggle to defend the fruits of their socialist revolution; it would hinder rather than support the Soviet people's struggle against Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often said to comrades from fraternal Parties that if China's leadership is usurped by revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should likewise resolutely expose and fight them, and help the working class and the masses of China to combat such revisionism. Taking the same stand, we consider it our bounden proletarian-internationalist duty firmly to expose the revisionist leadership of the C.P.S.U., to draw a clear line between ourselves and them, and to persist in the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism.

Persevere in the Struggle Against Khrushchov Revisionism

A fierce struggle is going on between the revolutionary people of the world on the one hand and the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys on the other. The characteristic of the present world situation is that with the daily deepening of the

international class struggle, a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization is taking place. The revolutionary movement of the people of the world is surging vigorously forward. Imperialism and all other decadent reactionary forces are putting up a wild death-bed fight. Drastic divisions and realignments of political forces are taking place on a world scale.

The revolutionary forces of the people of the world have surpassed the reactionary forces of imperialism. The advance of the revolutionary movement of the people of the world is the main current in the present situation. The people's revolutionary struggles in all countries will certainly triumph, while imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism will step by step descend to their doom. This is the inevitable trend of world history which no decadent reactionary force can change. But imperialism and reaction will not fall unless you strike them down, and modern revisionism, too, will not collapse unless you fight it. Before being overthrown and eliminated, they will invariably collaborate and, using differing tactics, do all they can to hurl desperate attacks on the revolutionary forces. Thus, along with the growth and deepening of the revolutionary movement, there is an adverse counter-revolutionary current. The course of international development is unavoidably filled with contradictions and conflicts; there are bound to be zigzags and reversals. In all countries the people's revolutionary struggles necessarily advance in the form of waves.

As the struggle against the United States reaches a crucial phase, U.S. imperialism needs the services of Khrushchov revisionism all the more acutely. Hence it is inevitable that the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism must sharpen.

In the course of combating Khrushchov revisionism, there is bound to be a certain unevenness in the degree of people's understanding of the struggle. This kind of phenomenon becomes particularly conspicuous when the struggle becomes sharp. That is both natural and inevitable. Lenin said that when astonishingly abrupt changes took place, people "who were suddenly confronted with extremely important problems could not long remain on this level. They could not continue without a respite, without a return to elementary questions, without a new training which would help them 'digest' lessons of unparalleled richness and make it possible for incomparably wider masses again to march forward, but now far more firmly, more consciously, more confidently and more steadfastly."²¹ Just such a situation exists at present.

As the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism becomes sharper and deeper, a new process of division will inevitably occur in the revolutionary ranks, and some people will inevitably drop out. But at the same time hundreds of millions of revolutionary people will stream in.

Faced with a complex situation of this kind, Marxist-Leninists must never abandon or slur over

principles, but must take a clear stand, uphold revolutionary principles and persevere in the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism. Only in this way can the unity of the revolutionary forces be strengthened and expanded.

At present, the task facing all the Marxist-Leninist parties is to draw a clear line of demarcation both politically and organizationally between themselves and the revisionists, who are serving U.S. imperialism, and to liquidate Khrushchov revisionism in order to welcome the high tide of revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In the final analysis, in all parts of the world including the Soviet Union, the masses of the people, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, and the overwhelming majority of Communists and cadres want revolution and are upholding or will uphold Marxism-Leninism. They are steadily awakening and joining the ranks of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. It is certain that over 90 per cent of the world's population will become more closely united in the fight against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism.

All the Communist Parties and all the socialist countries will eventually unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and take united action in the struggle against imperialism. As Lenin told the old-line revisionists, the proletariat will sooner or later unite and eventually win on a world scale, "only it is moving and will move, is proceeding and will proceed, against you, it will be a victory over you."²²

Unless the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. stop practising Khrushchovism without Khrushchov, admit and correct their mistakes and genuinely return to the revolutionary path of Marxism-Leninism, it is absolutely out of the question to expect the Marxist-Leninists to abandon the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism.

With power and to spare, we must not cease the pursuit

Or halt in mid-course for the sake of idle laurels.

This couplet summarizes an extremely important historical lesson. The Marxist-Leninists and all the other revolutionary people of the world must continue their victorious pursuit and carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end!

NOTES

¹ "Engels to A. Bebel, October 28, 1882," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 427.

² "Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 345.

November 12, 1965

³ "Marx and Engels to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and Others ('Circular Letter'), September 17-18, 1879," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 395.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, "To A.A. Yakubova," *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., S.P.P.L., Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXXIV, p. 32.

⁵ L. I. Brezhnev, Speech at the Reception of the Soviet Cosmonauts, October 19, 1964.

⁶ N. V. Podgorny, "Great October," *Cuba Socialista*, November 1964.

⁷ *The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class*, edited by B. N. Ponomarev (editor-in-chief) and others, Russ. ed., S.P.P.L., Moscow, 1964, p. 214.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁹ A. Andreyev, "The Development of the Marxist-Leninist Doctrine Concerning the Socialist State in the Programme of the C.P.S.U.," *Kommunist Sovetskoi Latvii*, No. 12, 1964.

¹⁰ Y. Frantzev, "The Role of the Masses of the People in the Historical Process," *Kommunist*, No. 18, 1964.

¹¹ *The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class*, edited by B. N. Ponomarev (editor-in-chief) and others, Russ. ed., S.P.P.L., Moscow, 1964, p. 325.

¹² K. Brutentz, "The Contemporary Stage of the National Liberation Movement," *Kommunist*, No. 17, 1964.

¹³ V. I. Lenin, "Unity," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XX, p. 232.

¹⁴ A. A. Gromyko, Speech at the Plenary Session of the 19th General Assembly of the United Nations, December 7, 1964.

¹⁵ N. S. Khrushchov, Talk at a Press Conference in Vienna, July 8, 1960.

¹⁶ "Mr. K. Speaks," *Daily Express*, April 6, 1965.

¹⁷ Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Peace, Morality and Vietnam," *The New Leader*, April 12, 1965.

¹⁸ A. N. Kosygin, "On Improving Industrial Management, Perfecting Planning, and Enhancing Economic Incentives in Industrial Production," *Moscow News*, Supplement, October 2, 1965.

¹⁹ "In Lenin's Way, with Scientific Accuracy," editorial in *Sovetskaya Russia*, March 28, 1965.

²⁰ V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXI, p. 247.

²¹ V. I. Lenin, "Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1963, Vol. XVII, p. 42.

²² V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXIII, p. 111.

"Renmin Ribao" Publishes Anti-Chinese Statements By New Leaders of C.P.S.U. and Their Followers

ON November 10 *Renmin Ribao* devoted almost three pages to anti-Chinese statements made by leaders of the Communist Parties and press of the Soviet Union and some other countries since the divisive meeting in Moscow last March.

These anti-Chinese statements, taking up the whole of pages 4 and 5 and three-fourths of page 6 of *Renmin Ribao*, were printed under a boldface banner headline on page 4 reading: "Anti-Chinese Statements by New Leadership of C.P.S.U. and Their Followers, Made Since Divisive March Meeting," with an editorial note under the headline.

The editorial note reads as follows:

"Since assuming office, the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. have persisted in the so-called 'unshakable' general line laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and their revisionist programme of so-called 'peaceful coexistence,' 'peaceful competition' and 'peaceful transition' and 'the state of the whole people' and 'the Party of the entire people,' have pressed ahead energetically with the policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination, have gone further in undermining the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and have made redoubled efforts in restoring capitalism at home. In short, they are pursuing Khrushchovism without Khrushchov.

"To deceive the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries, the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. are doing their best to present themselves as the ones who stand for 'unity' and 'united action.' They talk about how hard they have been working to improve relations between the Soviet and Chinese Parties and between the two countries, and declare that they have long stopped public polemics.

"While talking about 'unity,' the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. are engaged in splitting activities; while talking about 'improving' Soviet-Chinese relations, they are engaged in anti-Chinese activities; while talking about 'a halt to public polemics,' they are engaged in spreading rumours and slanders to malign the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

"As far back as November 1964, the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. explicitly told the Chinese Party and Government Delegation which attended the celebrations of the anniversary of the October Revolution that there was not a shade of difference between themselves and Khrushchov on the question of the international communist movement or of relations with China. Then in March 1965 they recklessly convened the divisive

Moscow meeting. Since then their activities against the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist parties have become increasingly vicious and crafty. The new leadership of the C.P.S.U. have conducted an incessant and massive campaign to stir up anti-Chinese sentiment at home and have sent their people abroad on secret anti-Chinese missions in all parts of the world. They and their followers have attacked the Communist Party of China on various public occasions, as well as through all media of propaganda. Particularly on the Viet Nam question, they have spread all sorts of lies in co-ordination with U.S. imperialism in order to vilify China. They have raised a hue and cry that the Communist Party of China is 'bellicose,' 'prattles about revolution,' 'undermines the unity of anti-imperialist forces,' 'indulges in divisive activities day by day,' 'imposes its sectarian views on others,' 'exploits nationalism,' 'damages the common cause,' 'helps imperialism,' 'benefits the American aggressors' and so on and so forth.

"Today we publish anti-Chinese statements made publicly by leaders of the Communist Parties and the press of the Soviet Union and some other countries since the Moscow divisive meeting in March. This material further exposes the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. in their true colours as revisionists and splitters and shows the complete falsity of their talk about 'united action' and 'a halt to public polemics.'"

The anti-Chinese statements printed in the *Renmin Ribao* include: speeches, reports and a statement by leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Italy and France, and editorials, articles and news items published by their newspapers, periodicals and a news agency. They contain venomous attacks, slanders and vilification directed against the Communist Party of China in connection with the public polemics in the international communist movement, Sino-Soviet relations, the Vietnamese situation, the Indian-Pakistan conflict, the Sino-Indian border conflict, the Second African-Asian Conference, activities of international mass organizations, Premier Chou En-lai's remarks on September 9 concerning the Indian-Pakistan conflict, Comrade Lin Piao's article "Long Live the Victory of People's War," Comrade Peng Chen's speech at the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences in Indonesia, the statement of Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi at the press conference of Chinese and foreign newsmen, and the policies of the Communist Party of China

concerning the people's commune and the great leap forward.

Of the total number of anti-Chinese statements published, 13 are from the Soviet Union, and include a speech by L.I. Brezhnev, a report by D.S. Polyansky and a report by B.N. Ponomarev, and articles and commentaries from *Pravda*, organ of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and other publications.

There are also 22 anti-Chinese statements taken from *Rude Pravo*, and 12 other publications and a news agency of Czechoslovakia; 11 anti-Chinese statements by leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and by *Nep-Szabadsag*, organ of the Party's Central Committee, and *Tarsadalmi Szemle*, the Party's journal;

8 anti-Chinese statements by leaders of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, and by *Rabotnichesko Delo*, organ of the Party's Central Committee, and other publications; 2 anti-Chinese statements by a leader of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and another anti-Chinese statement taken from the journal *Aus der Internationalen Arbeiterbewegung*, publication of the Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Party; 2 anti-Chinese statements from Poland, by a leader of the Polish United Workers' Party and by the Polish press; 7 anti-Chinese statements from Italy, by leaders of the Communist Party of Italy, *l'Unita*, organ of the Party's Central Committee, and *Rinascita*, the Party weekly; and 6 anti-Chinese statements by *l'Humanite*, organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

bring into realization the political programme of the tripartite National Union Government with a view to building an independent, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

The official hailed the success of the Laotian National Political Consultative Conference of the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces. He expressed the belief that, under the leadership of the Neo Lao Haksat headed by Prince Souphanouvong, the heroic Laotian people would be able to strengthen the unity of the patriotic forces and accomplish the tasks set forth in the manifesto. He denounced U.S. imperialism and its flunkies for their military and political adventures against Laos and condemned the modern revisionists for serving the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Pledging the Chinese people's firm support, he said: "We are convinced that the Laotian national united front against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation will be consolidated and developed further, and that the Laotian people will finally triumph in their just struggle for peace, neutrality, independence, democracy and unification."

More Japanese Youth Arrive For Festival

The China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival is being continued with the

arrival of 64 young Japanese in Canton on November 1. The group, part of the almost 200 who had been prevented from taking part in the festival last summer, received a rousing reception at the railway station from 1,000 Chinese youth, including local organization leaders. Two leading members of the All-China Youth Federation, Li Wen-yao and Wen Chih, made a special trip from Peking to greet the guests.

These Japanese youth, who have come at the invitation of the China-Japan Friendship Association, the All-China Youth Federation and the All-China Students' Federation, originally intended to arrive in August. But they were unable to come because of the Japanese Government's refusal to issue passports. However, they kept up a valiant two-month struggle against their government and finally won.

Speaking at the welcoming ceremony in the square in front of the station, Li Wen-yao paid tribute to the young Japanese for their determined struggle in the cause of friendship between the youth of China and Japan, regardless of the Japanese Government's suppression and threats. "The victory of our young Japanese friends," he declared, "is another telling blow at the attempts by U.S. imperialism and its followers to sabotage Sino-Japanese friendship."

Usakazu Shimizu, head of the delegation of the Youth Department of

the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, drew hearty applause when he said: "We have smashed the vicious obstructions put up by a Japanese government that is loyal to U.S. imperialism, and today we are in China."

Kazuo Takaki, head of the delegation of the Federation of Young People of All Circles in the Tohoku Section, said that joining in a festival with the youth of China to strengthen unity was an important contribution to Asian and world peace by the Japanese youth who were struggling against U.S. imperialism.

Following their arrival in Canton, the visitors had many lively meetings with workers, college students and Young Pioneers in that subtropical city. At a banquet given for them on November 5, Mayor Tseng Sheng praised their courageous struggle. He emphasized that while it was the common desire of the Chinese and Japanese peoples to live in friendship for all generations, U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries feared this and were doing their utmost to sabotage it. He expressed the conviction that, by strengthening their friendship and unity, the two peoples would deal crushing blows to the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression and contribute to Asian and world peace.

On November 6, the young guests left Canton for Changsha in Hunan Province to continue their visit.

China Lodges Its Strongest Protest With Indonesian Government

- The Chinese Government demands that the Indonesian Government publicly apologize for the incident in which rioters, organized by Indonesian Right-wing forces, raided the Chinese Consulate in Medan on November 2 and insulted China's national flag, national emblem and leader.
- The Indonesian Government must formally return the national flag and national emblem which were taken away, punish the culprits and their instigators, and take effective measures to guarantee that no similar incidents will occur again.

Following is the text of the November 4 note of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia. — Ed.

THE Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Indonesia presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and has the honour to state the following with regard to the extremely serious incident in which rioters organized by the Indonesian Right-wing forces raided the Chinese Consulate in Medan and insulted China's national flag, national emblem and leader:

From 09:40 to 11:30 hours, November 2, 1965, from three to four thousand rioters organized by the Indonesian Right-wing forces raided the Chinese Consulate in Medan.

The rioters who claimed themselves to be the "action committee to crush the September 30 movement," first hurled stones and broke doors and windows of the Chinese Consulate, and then rushed into its compound. They lodged rude and unwarranted "protests" with the Chinese Consul, alleging that "Radio Peking's broadcast to Indonesia is unfriendly," that "China supported the September 30 movement," etc. When these were sternly refuted and rejected by the Chinese Vice-Consul Kuang Shu-ming, they went so far as to forcibly pull down the Chinese national flag flying at the Consulate's flagstaff and hoist the Indonesian national flag, take down the Chinese national emblem on the gate of the Consulate and carry away the Chinese national flag and national emblem. Moreover, they threatened to beat up the personnel of the Chinese Consulate. While raiding the Chinese Consulate, the rioters outrageously shouted such slogans as "Down with the People's Republic of China," "Down with Mao Tse-tung," "Break

off diplomatic relations with China" and "Drive out the Chinese Consul," slogans which represented an insult to the People's Republic of China and the leader of the Chinese people.

Throughout the time when the rioters were raiding the Chinese Consulate, the large numbers of Indonesian troops and policemen who were present looked on with folded arms and made no attempt to stop them. After the incident, the Chinese Consulate asked the Medan police authorities to take down the Indonesian national flag, but the police authorities replied that the Chinese Consulate was not permitted to hoist the Chinese national flag without an order from the commander of the First Mandala. The Chinese Consulate telephoned the North Sumatra Provincial Government and asked that it deal with the incident at once. But the North Sumatra Provincial Government used pretexts to avoid doing so. According to the reports of Indonesian papers in Medan, before the rioters set off to raid the Chinese Consulate, Secretary-General of the North Sumatra Provincial Government Anwar Badan and the Governor's representative Prefect Telaum Banua had received them and "thanked them for their attitude." A representative of the commander of the second military area Colonel Ranan received the rioters after they raided the Chinese Consulate, expressed sympathy for and approval of their action and accepted the Chinese national flag and national emblem they had carried away from the Chinese Consulate. All this fully shows that this outrageous raid on the Chinese Consulate was carried out at the instigation and with the support of the Medan military and government authorities.

The above-mentioned outrage committed by the Indonesian Right-wing forces constituted a gross violation of accepted principles of international law and a

rude encroachment on the privileges enjoyed by the Chinese Consulate and the personal safety of its personnel. It seriously affronted the dignity of the Chinese state and hurt the feelings of the Chinese people. It further damaged the foundation of the friendly relations between China and Indonesia. It was an extremely serious provocation against the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against this outrage.

The Chinese Government demands that the Indonesian Government publicly apologize for this incident, formally return the Chinese national flag and national

emblem which were carried away, punish the culprits and those who instigated them, and take effective measures to guarantee that no similar incidents will occur again. The Chinese Government reserves the right to claim compensation from the Indonesian Government for all the losses incurred. At the same time, the Chinese Government asks the Indonesian Government to ensure the safety of the Chinese Consulates in Bandjarmasin and Makasar.

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the assurances of its highest consideration.

Adverse Anti-China Current Spreading in Indonesia

President Sukarno has called for an end to activities designed to whip up hatred against China. However, Indonesian army units and hooligans, on the orders of the Right-wing forces, have again and again grossly violated China's diplomatic privileges. Indonesian Right-wing papers have continued to publish reams of anti-Chinese statements. A series of organized, premeditated outrages have taken place against overseas Chinese in various parts of Indonesia.

THE adverse anti-China current which became noticeable in Djakarta a month ago is spreading to other parts of Indonesia, according to reports from Djakarta.

On both October 23 and October 26, President Sukarno called for an end to activities designed to whip up hatred against China. He indicated that relations between Indonesia and China remained firm.

However, on the orders of the Right-wing forces, Indonesian army units and hooligans have again and again grossly violated the diplomatic privileges to which Chinese diplomatic agencies and personnel in Indonesia are entitled. Right-wing papers have been publishing reams of anti-Chinese statements. One serious incident after another has occurred in various parts of Indonesia in which organizations of overseas Chinese have been broken up or undermined, their schools and shops wrecked, and their personal freedom encroached upon in a systematic and organized manner.

Right-wing forces repeatedly directed army units and hooligans to violate the diplomatic privileges to which Chinese diplomatic agencies and personnel are entitled.

As previously reported, a unit of Indonesian troops brazenly broke into the Commercial Counsellor's Office

of the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta on October 16 and illegally and forcibly searched the office. The Embassy lodged a protest with the Indonesian Government against this serious incident.

On October 21, the Indonesian Army's Strategic Reserve Command published a statement in the press saying that "Radio Peking's broadcast completely distorted the facts and went so far as to vilify the Indonesian nation and particularly the armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia." In almost the same breath, it admitted that the intrusion into the Chinese Commercial Counsellor's Office did take place and that the illegal search was carried out by a unit of the 328th Battalion.

On October 20, Rightist elements in Djakarta held a meeting ostensibly to support the international conference for the liquidation of foreign military bases but actually to conduct anti-China and anti-communist agitation. Anti-China elements at this meeting called loudly for severing diplomatic relations with China.

Another provocative incident occurred on October 21. Indonesian troops broke into the living quarters of the Chinese Embassy staff and Chinese ex-

perts and forcibly inspected the premises. It should be noted that the latter are in Indonesia to help build the hall for the Conference of the New Emerging Forces. The following day, members of the Indonesian army insolently subjected the Chinese experts who are helping to build a factory to inspection and searched them when they were on their way from Bandung to Bandjaran and on the way back.

Right-wing papers carry out anti-China agitation and let loose a flood of vituperation against China.

At the same time, the Right-wing papers in Djakarta continued their anti-China agitation, some of them arrogantly and unwarrantedly attacking the Chinese Embassy for not flying its flag at half mast and alleging that this was "interference in domestic affairs and a breach of protocol," "a violation of principle," and so on.

When China exposed the anti-China activities of the Indonesian Right-wing forces, these Right-wing papers, which were unable to deny or refute the facts presented by China, let loose another flood of vituperation against China. The paper *Harian Api*, whose editor-in-chief, Sukendro, was formerly Chief of the Information Bureau of the Army, on October 19 issued a commentary on the Chinese Embassy's protest against the search of its Commercial Counsellor's Office. In a threatening tone, the commentary said: "As a matter of fact, the Commercial Counsellor's Office has only been searched, it has not been burned down yet." On October 22, the paper *The Voice of Islam*, which is jointly run by some Islamic parties, virulently attacked the objective reports carried by Radio Peking and the Peking *Renmin Ribao* on the situation in Indonesia. It said: "We used to hear such venomous slanders and scurrilous remarks right here . . . now their filthy voices have been transferred to Peking." The paper demanded that Achmadi, the Indonesian Minister for Information, should prohibit people from listening to Radio Peking.

President Sukarno called for a stop to activities designed to whip up hatred against China.

On October 23, President Sukarno called a national conference of the members of Pantja Tunggal (meaning the "five in one," i.e., the local government, police, armed forces, judges and national front — *Ed.*). In his speech at the conference he said that some papers in Djakarta "deliberately created an atmosphere of hostility towards the People's Republic of China, towards the Chinese." "At present," he added, "we still continue to fan up feelings, and that through different ways and means. There was a news item carried

several times in the papers which, was oh, so processed, processed, and processed again. . . . The Chinese poisoned Djuanda, the People's Republic of China did not fly its flag at half mast. They have forgotten that when we introduced the tri-command (this refers to the order issued by President Sukarno for the recovery of West Irian — *Ed.*), and the twin command (this refers to the order issued by President Sukarno for crushing 'Malaysia' — *Ed.*), we had tremendous assistance from the People's Republic of China, they have forgotten our twin command." He added that he had told some ministers that same morning (October 23): "Do you know how Djuanda died? The press said that he was poisoned by the Chinese. Don't keep silent. You should refute it by saying: 'No, Djuanda died of heart trouble.'"

President Sukarno attributed the racist incidents to "instigation by our own big shots." He said, "For instance, there is the assertion that Djuanda was poisoned. This is a vicious plot. When young people read this they naturally became furious at the People's Republic of China. Consequently they took retaliatory action, raided the Commercial Counsellor's Office of the People's Republic of China, and raided Djati Petamburan Street yesterday or the day before (Djati Petamburan is the street where the residence of the Chinese Embassy personnel and Chinese experts is located. As mentioned above, the residence was raided by an Indonesian army unit on October 21 — *Ed.*)." He added: "If such fanning up of fanatical feelings is not halted, similar incidents will recur again and again. The houses of Chinese may be burned down or there may be acts of racial discrimination, and who knows what else."

The rumour about former Chief Minister Djuanda, mentioned by President Sukarno in his speech, was spread by the paper *The Voice of Islam*. It had alleged that Djuanda "died because he drank port wine produced by the People's Republic of China." This rumour was refuted by the Cabinet Presidium in a communique signed by three Deputy Prime Ministers (First Deputy Prime Minister Subandrio, Second Deputy Prime Minister Leimena and Third Deputy Prime Minister Chairul Saleh — *Ed.*). The communique, published on October 24 and broadcast over Radio Djakarta, said that Djuanda "died of a cardiospasm, and the Second and Third Deputy Prime Ministers personally inquired into this." The communique urged the public "not to disseminate unsubstantiated news reports that could create difficulties in our international relations."

According to an Antara report, Sutjipto, Chairman of the Fifth Group of the Supreme Operational Command, on October 23 refuted the rumours spread by Right-wing newspapers that China had hidden weapons

in the building materials for the Conference Hall of the New Emerging Forces and shipped them to Indonesia. He said there were no weapons in the building materials shipped to Djakarta for constructing the conference hall.

Deliberate rumour-mongering aimed at damaging Sino-Indonesian friendly relations continues.

But this deliberate rumour-mongering which is destructive of friendly relations between China and Indonesia continues. Although the Army Strategic Reserve Command's statement published in the papers on October 21 admitted that in the illegal search of the Chinese Commercial Counsellor's Office on October 16 "obviously nothing wrong was found," the newspapers *The Voice of Islam* and *The Flame of Pantjasila* on October 24 spread the rumour that Indonesian soldiers on October 16 "found in the store-room of the Chinese Commercial Counsellor's Office leaflets carrying the declaration of the September 30 rebel movement, and other important documents and military equipment."

On October 26, another anti-China and anti-communist demonstration was staged in Djakarta. The demonstrators brandished posters reading: "Sever relations with China!" They vilified China as having "interfered" in the internal affairs of Indonesia. They also issued a statement attacking the proper position taken by China in favour of the postponement of the Second African-Asian Conference. A foreign news agency reported: "The demonstration was held with the permission of the army," and "the army also sent along two armoured cars and a number of troops."

Indonesian Foreign Ministry tenders apologies on armed intrusion into Chinese Commercial Counsellor's Office. It guarantees similar incident will not happen again and action will be taken against the culprits.

President Sukarno told foreign newsmen on October 26: "The relations between China and Indonesia remain firm — though there are elements that are trying to cause an estrangement between China and Indonesia."

In a note of reply to the Chinese Embassy on October 30, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry said that President Sukarno had met with the members of the Presidium of the Indonesian Government on October 28, and that Umar Wirahadikusuma, War Administrator of Greater Djakarta, had given a report on the incident on Djalan Tjilosari (the intrusion into the Chinese Commercial Counsellor's Office by Indonesian armed units on October 16 — *Ed.*). The note said: "The Indonesian Government considers this a serious viola-

tion of the diplomatic privileges of the agencies representing the People's Republic of China. Therefore, Major-General Umar Wirahadikusuma tenders his apologies and guarantees that similar incidents will not occur again, and action will be taken against the culprits."

Serious anti-China provocations continue while persecution of overseas Chinese is growing and spreading.

Yet on the same day, October 30, members of the Indonesian armed forces encircled the Djakarta office of the Hsinhua News Agency and tried to force their way into it to conduct an illegal search. The staff refused to let them in. The next day, members of the armed forces and plain-clothes men were posted in front of the office to watch the staff's movement.

On November 2, another incident took place in Medan, north Sumatra, where the local Chinese diplomatic mission was seriously attacked. On orders from the Indonesian Right-wing forces and with their encouragement, a crowd of hooligans staged an anti-China demonstration in front of the Chinese Consulate and smashed doors and windows with stones. They broke into the consulate, and seized and carried away the Chinese national flag which was flying on the flagstaff, and also the national emblem. They then hoisted the Indonesian flag. Instead of stopping the crowd, the troops and police told the consulate staff threateningly that they were not allowed to lower the Indonesian national flag and fly the Chinese national flag without an order from the commander of the First Military District. Against this serious provocation, the Chinese Embassy on November 4 lodged its strongest protest with the Indonesian Government.

Meanwhile, further grave incidents have been reported from Djakarta and cities and towns in central, east and west Java and Sumatra, in which Indonesian Right-wing forces raided or wrecked overseas Chinese organizations, schools and dwellings, and detained, beat up or kidnapped Chinese residents or tried to extort money from them, and burnt down and looted their property. The most serious of such incidents have taken place in Medan. At Tandjung Priok Port of Djakarta, in Medan and in west Java, hooligans wrecked overseas Chinese shops and dwellings, and burnt or tore up the portraits of the leader of the Chinese people and leaders of the Chinese state as well as Chinese national flags. In spite of demands by the Chinese Consulates and responsible members of overseas Chinese organizations to the Indonesian authorities concerned that a stop be put to such incidents, violent victimization of overseas Chinese has not ceased, and there are even signs of its spreading and growing in intensity.

(Hsinhua News Agency, November 5, 1965.)

Chinese Vice-Minister of Communications Gives Interview to Antara Correspondent

- China has strictly implemented the Sino-Indonesian Shipping Agreement.
- It is the Indonesian delay that has put off the departure of the Chinese ship.

YU MEI, Vice-Minister of Communications of the People's Republic of China granted an interview to Untung Kartiko, the Indonesian News Agency ANTARA's resident correspondent in Peking, on November 5 at the latter's request.

According to an ANTARA report, Mr. Ali Sadikin, Minister Co-ordinator for Maritime Affairs of Indonesia, stated on November 2 that he regretted it very much that China had still not sent any ship to Indonesia to inaugurate the China-Indonesia route in accordance with the Sino-Indonesian Shipping Agreement. He further said that it was probably because of technical and political reasons that China did not send any ship.

In the course of the interview Vice-Minister Yu Mei said:

The above remarks of Minister Ali Sadikin are wholly at variance with the facts.

The Chinese Government has consistently worked for the development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Indonesia and honoured agreements concluded by the two countries. The Sino-Indonesian Shipping Agreement was signed on July 24 this year in Peking. Under the agreement each party agreed to send the first ship from its port in October: On October 10, when the Indonesian ship *S.S. Gunung Kerintji* arrived in Shanghai, we held a welcoming ceremony and gave a friendly reception to the Indonesian Shipping Delegation who had come to attend the ceremony in celebration of the first voyage. Although in the meantime the Right-wing forces in Indonesia repeatedly made slanders and calumnies against our country and on October 16 rudely raided and searched an office of our diplomatic mission in Indonesia in flagrant violation of international practice, we still gave the *S.S. Gunung Kerintji* all the necessary facilities enabling her to leave Tientsin for Indonesia on October 27 fully loaded. This shows that from the very beginning the Chinese side has strictly implemented the Sino-Indonesian Shipping Agreement.

The Chinese side, on its part, made active preparations for sending a ship to Indonesia. In early October, our ship *S.S. Heping* was already loaded and waiting for sail. However, owing to the sudden and drastic changes in the political situation in Indonesia,

and because the Indonesian army authorities have declared the Special District of Greater Djakarta and Port Tandjung Priok to be in a state of war and all international telecommunications have been cut off, our ship *S.S. Heping* could not but put off her departure for the time being. While receiving the Indonesian Shipping Delegation in Peking on October 8, the Chinese Minister of Communications Sun Ta-kuang expressed to them the hope for a clarification from the Indonesian side as to whether it was ready to receive our ship and pointed out that if our ship had to wait for a long time before it could sail, our loss would be great. Mr. Tatang Atmadinata, head of the Indonesian Shipping Delegation and General Superintendent of Shipping of the Indonesian Department of Sea Communications, thereupon said that he would ask for instructions from Minister Ali Sadikin immediately upon his return. Since then the Chinese side has made further inquiries about this matter time and again. The same question was put on October 12 by Mr. Ma Tsun, Deputy Director of the Bureau of Harbour Superintendent of our Ministry of Communications, to Mr. Tatang Atmadinata and Mr. Baron, Economic Counsellor of the Indonesian Embassy in China, on October 15 by our Embassy in Indonesia to Mr. Harsono, Deputy Minister of the Indonesian Department of Sea Communications, on October 24 by Mr. Chang Chih-yuan, General Manager of the China Ocean Shipping Agency, to the captain of the *S.S. Gunung Kerintji*, and again on October 29 by Mr. Tsang Chih, Deputy Director of the Bureau of Ocean Transport of our Ministry of Communications, to Mr. Baron, Economic Counsellor of the Indonesian Embassy in China, and on each occasion the Indonesian side was requested to reply as soon as possible. Yet although we repeatedly raised the matter, nearly a month has passed without our receiving any reply from the Indonesian side. It is, therefore, quite clear that our side has no responsibility at all for the failure of our ship to sail for Indonesia so far. On the contrary, it is the delay of the Indonesian side that has put off the departure of our ship and caused us an unwarranted great loss.

Like us, the Indonesian side is well aware of the facts mentioned above. And yet, in disregard of the facts, Minister Ali Sadikin has now unjustifiably ac-

cused China of violating the agreement. We cannot but feel surprise and regret at this.

Standing ready to implement the shipping agreement it has entered into, the Chinese Government has been waiting nearly a month for a reply from the responsible authorities of the Indonesian Government. At present, the anti-China wave whipped up by the

Right-wing forces in Indonesia is continuing to mount, and we can consider sending off our ship only when we have received a responsible answer and a guarantee for safety from the authorities concerned of the Indonesian Government. Otherwise, the Indonesian side must bear full responsibility for the failure of the smooth implementation of the Sino-Indonesian Shipping Agreement.

Rabid Anti-Communist, Anti-Popular Activities of Indonesian Right-Wing Forces

THE Indonesian Right-wing forces, relying on the armed forces under their control, are engaged in frantic anti-communist and anti-popular violence, according to reports from Djakarta. Their brutal acts of terror are spreading from the central administration and organizations to the local ones, from Djakarta to the whole of Java and other areas. Security of life and property for broad sections of the people is gravely threatened.

White Terror Spreads to the Whole Country

The decision to suspend all activities of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) and a number of progressive mass organizations announced by the commander of the Djakarta military district on October 18 proved to be a signal for outlawing the Communist Party and victimizing Communists and other progressives throughout Indonesia. Since then, one action after another has been taken to purge the parliament, the offices of the central government and various enterprises of Indonesian Communists and all those who were supposed to have been involved in the September 30 movement. The Antara News Agency reported that the leadership of the Co-operation Parliament decided on October 20 to suspend the activities of all those Members of Parliament who represented the P.K.I. and its affiliated mass organizations, and those on the staff of the parliament belonging to the P.K.I. and these organizations. An order embodying the decision was later signed by Arudji Kartawinata, Speaker of the Co-operation Parliament. On November 2, he ordered the suspension of the functions of 57 Members of Parliament who represented the P.K.I. and its affiliated mass organizations. They included M.H. Lukman and Njoto, Vice-Chairmen of the P.K.I., and Njono and Sakirman, Members of the Political Bureau of the P.K.I.'s Central Committee. A similar decision was taken by the People's Assembly. On October 21, the Presidium of the Cabinet issued a directive to the minister-co-ordinators and ministers concerned instruct-

ing them to suspend temporarily in major enterprises, departments of production and distribution, and construction projects the activities of those organizations which had taken part in the September 30 movement or were under strong suspicion of having done so, and suspend temporarily the functions of those suspected of having participated in the movement and dismiss others who "have undoubtedly taken part" in it. According to Radio Djakarta and newspaper reports, "purges" were carried out in the Secretariat of the Supreme Advisory Council and the Ministries of Internal Affairs, Justice, Social Affairs, Higher Education and Sciences, and Textile Industries, in women's, peasants' and journalists' organizations and in private banks all over the country and in the Djakarta Municipal Government.

According to reports of Antara and Western news agencies, orders were at the same time issued by the army commanders of Central Java, South Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Kalimantan, and Sulawesi to outlaw the P.K.I. and progressive mass organizations and "purge" those allegedly involved in the September 30 movement. The order of the Central Java military district required that the responsible members of the P.K.I. and its affiliated organizations in the district report to the authorities concerned. In West Kalimantan, the military district commander ordered the Communists there not to leave the district without permission, prohibited them from participating in political activities and required them to report to the military authorities once every few days. In some places in Sumatra, workers who are members of the Communist Party received notices suspending them from work. Radio Djakarta announced that the Minister of Plantations had temporarily prohibited the Communist Party and its affiliated organizations from conducting any activity in all state-owned rubber plantations in North Sumatra.

Suppressive measures are being stepped up in the ranks of the armed forces. The commander of the President's Guard announced over Radio Djakarta on Octo-

ber 20 the arrest of a number of its members who were involved in the September 30 movement. Subroto, Director of the Information Bureau of the Indonesian Army, told the Japanese paper *Asahi Shimbun's* correspondent on the same day that "90 per cent of the persons involved had been purged" from the ranks of the army.

Foreign news agencies reported that the Indonesian army had taken over civil administration in Java. Army officers are now stationed in every branch of the civil administration and employees must take orders directly from them. Army commanders in various places have banned the Communist Party and prohibited all "pro-communist" papers from publication. Only those papers supporting the army are allowed to appear. The Djakarta army authorities also announced that army communications departments would control the newspaper offices, the news agency, airline companies, gas and electric companies, public utilities and many other enterprises in Djakarta.

The Indonesian Minister for Higher Education and Sciences announced over Radio Djakarta on October 19 the closure of the Universitas Res Publica, the People's University, the Dr. Rivai Academy of Journalism and the Universitas Seni Rakjat Indonesia in Bandung, the Drama and Cinema Institute and the various departments under the Egom Academy of Agriculture and Peasant Movement in Bogor, and the People's University in Tjirebon. The Universitas Res Publica in Jogjakarta was also closed down on October 20, and this, a foreign news agency reported, has brought the total number of institutions of higher learning so far closed down to 21. On October 24, a number of students of the Jogjakarta Universitas Res Publica were arrested by the local army.

In Djakarta and other cities, terror reigns and inhabitants live in constant fear of their lives. The army authorities frequently dispatch troops and armoured cars to seal off blocks and streets and carry out house-to-house searches and make arrests. After being placed under the control of the army authorities, Antara announced on October 28 that the chiefs of its editorial board, editors, correspondents and staff members, 35 in all, had been arrested. A Radio Djakarta report said that Mayor Prabowo of the West Java city of Tjirebon and head of the Tjirebon District Chairul Abidin had been arrested. It is reported that mass arrests are going on not only in the cities but also in the villages.

Military Suppression and the People's Resistance In Central Java

Broadcasting stations, news agencies and newspapers of Indonesia and other countries have of late kept on reporting the intensified armed suppression carried out by the Indonesian army authorities in Central Java and the armed resistance put up by the people in that region.

According to the Japanese paper *Asahi Shimbun*, Subroto, Director of the Information Bureau of the Indonesian Army, said that "it is very possible" that "armed members of the Communist Party and the Youth Front" were "in hiding in the mountains of Central Java" and that "the main job at present is to mop them up."

Radio Djakarta on October 27 broadcast a decision of the commander of the seventh military district in Central Java saying that a state of war was declared in Central Java and the Jogjakarta Special District as from October 26 and that a curfew was imposed on the Solo area and Semarang city in that region.

Paratroops had been dispatched to Central Java to step up suppression. Colonel Sarwo Edhy, commander of the paratroops, declared in Semarang that they had been sent to Central Java to hunt for supporters of the September 30 movement, according to Antara.

The Indonesian army paper *Berita Yudha* of October 28 quoted Surjo Sumpeno, commander of the seventh military district, as saying that coups, struggles for the seizure of village and district administrations and raids on police stations to capture arms had occurred in certain areas in Central Java. He added that supporters of the September 30 movement had cut telephone wires and set up road blocks. On November 1, Antara quoted the same commander as saying that the situation in the Solo area, Central Java, was daily becoming graver.

A statement addressed to the people of Central Java in particular was issued over Radio Djakarta on October 26 by Army Commander Suharto. He said that they would be "taught a lesson" if they carried on their present activities.

The September 30 movement, Antara reported on October 31, had formed combat units in every village under its control in the Klaten region, Central Java. It went on to say that the Djatinom and Manisrenggo regions in Central Java were still under the control of the September 30 movement and that the situation in the Bojolali region near Jogjakarta was still "precarious."

A foreign news agency reported that railway traffic broke down on October 21 in Central Java as a result of workers' strikes. Sutjipto, Chief of the Fifth Group of the Supreme Operational Command, announced on October 22 over Radio Djakarta that strikes had taken place in the post and telecommunications departments. He declared through Antara on the following day that he had instructed administrative agencies in various regions, and particularly in Java, to prevent strikes.

President Sukarno Presides Over Meetings Which Discuss Issues Concerning September 30 Movement

President Sukarno had conferred for several days running with the three deputy prime ministers and a

number of ministers "so that the Government may take action against the counter-revolutionary incident—the so-called September 30 movement, which had already taken place," a Radio Djakarta broadcast announced on October 20.

On October 21, President Sukarno called a restricted meeting of the Supreme Operational Command, which was attended by members of the Presidium of the Cabinet, commanders of the various services of the armed forces and ministers. After the meeting the Supreme Operational Command issued two orders signed by Sukarno. The first said that President Sukarno decreed that "all actions detrimental to our struggle be avoided" so as to do away with the consequences of the incident of the "September 30 movement" in the course of confrontation with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The second order said that "with a view to creating a calm and tranquil atmosphere and to restoring public security and order," President Sukarno gave the instruction to "preserve at all times the unity and solidarity of all progressive and revolutionary forces," "keep far away from all destructive actions such as engaging in racist activities, arson and wrecking," "keep far away from spreading slander and taking other actions motivated by revenge," "forbid all demonstrations without the prior permission of the authorities," and "continue to enhance revolutionary mass actions in keeping with constructive and strict national discipline, when dealing with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and all their subversive tactics."

After the meeting, the Presidium of the Cabinet issued a directive on the same day requiring all enterprises, departments of production and distribution, and construction projects to "outlaw" mass organizations involved in the September 30 movement and "purge" themselves of those implicated.

On October 23, President Sukarno called a national conference of the members of "Pantja Tunggal" [meaning "five in one," i.e., the local administration, police, armed forces, judges and national front] and delivered a long speech. He reiterated the two orders issued on October 21 and said: "I do not consider the September 30 incident right. That is to say, I consider the incident a sort of illness." He added: "The September 30 incident is not only an army issue . . . there were army personnel, air force personnel, the personnel of the 'Tjakrabirawa' Battalion and personnel of other groups."

President Sukarno urged members of "Pantja Tunggal" to help bring about an atmosphere of calm, forbid racist incidents, arson and destruction. He said: "I order you to prohibit such actions and shoot those who persist in sabotage and arson after the prohibition." Sukarno again called on people to "keep far away from spreading slanders and taking other actions motivated by revenge." He said: "There is political revenge, economic revenge, personal revenge, now everything has happened."

President Sukarno said: "People tell me that they obey Bung Karno, obey the President. . . . But recently, I find that these are mere words . . . they merely talk about obedience. I find that what they do is utter rubbish. They do not carry out my orders."

President Sukarno then made an interpretation of "NASAKOM." He stressed that "'NAS' does not refer to the party of 'nationalists' or the leadership of the party of 'nationalists'; 'A' does not refer to the party of 'religious believers' or its leadership; and 'KOM' does not refer to the Communist Party or its leadership. It is the 'NASAKOM' which had become the soul of the Indonesian nation and taken root in the hearts of the people before the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party."

In his address, President Sukarno added: "Before Aidit, before the founding of the P.K.I., there was a socialist tendency in our national revolution." Prior to this, according to the Japanese news agency Kyodo, Sukarno, in an interview with Japanese correspondents on October 19, had said: "The Communist Party of Indonesia is not the only Communist Party in Indonesia."

On October 27, President Sukarno met with and spoke to leaders of seven Indonesian political parties. Sukarno said: "The September 30 incident was a very wrong incident." He said: "At least we must catch these rats, and, if possible, we will even kill them." He said: "They must be caught or killed but let's not burn down the houses." He stated: "To enable me to take correct measures, I order the creation of a state of calm." However, he added, "there are people who very often do not attach enough importance to my orders calling for the creation of a state of calm as soon as possible. Hence, the state of calm I called for has so far not come about."

President Sukarno reiterated the explanation of "NASAKOM" he had given in his October 23 address.

He added: "We should take care to guard against all attempts of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. . . . If they didn't attempt to crush us, harm us and divide us, they would no longer be imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. . . . To be used as a tool without being aware of it is a most dangerous thing."

President Sukarno said in conclusion: "I ask you brothers to really stand behind me because you brothers elected me the great leader of the revolution, because you brothers elected me President for life at the People's Assembly . . . carry out my orders, assist me, don't stab me in the back, but obey my orders."

At the end of the meeting, President Sukarno made another speech, in which he made no more mention of "NASAKOM," but laid stress on "RESOPIM" [Indonesian abbreviation for revolution-socialism-national

leadership]. He pointed out that there was no personal consideration when he put forward the slogan "RESOPIM." "This national leadership," he said, "may be Sukarno, or Subandrio, or Suharto, or Idham Chalid [Chairman of the Indonesian Muslim Scholars' Association], or Aminah Hidajat [General Chairman of the Association of Indonesian Independence Supporters]."

Subandrio, First Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, also spoke at the national conference of the members of "Pantja Tunggal," Radio Djakarta reported. He said that the September 30 incident "jeopardized our revolution. . . . I am proud that the Indonesian people, the Indonesian armed forces have been able to overcome the September 30 incident. . . . I have on several occasions proposed to salute Bung Suharto who could wisely control the situation so that there was no bloodshed among us." Subandrio was of the opinion that the September 30 movement "should be duly punished." "But," he added, "don't let us fall into the trap of the Right-wingers." He said: "Don't let us become Right-wingers because we oppose the Indonesian Communist Party."

"Don't think that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are not active at present. [Minister of Information] Achmadi's attention has been called to the fact that several newspapers in Indonesia are subsidized by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency," he said. He added that one should not fall into the counter-revolutionary trap of the Right-wingers and imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism because of the dissolution of political parties and organizations involved in the September 30 movement.

He continued: "In international relations, we have people now who are shouting 'Long live America.' How can one shout 'Long live America' in the present demonstrations? Can it be that imperialism is our friend? We may have contradictions with China, let us resolve them." "But we should not shout 'Long live America' because it seems that the People's Republic of China has made a fool of us." He added: "We are firm not only with the United States, we will be firm with the People's Republic of China as well, if necessary, but this does not mean that we should take the People's Republic of China as imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

After the conference, the Right-wing forces violently assailed Subandrio. The paper *Angkatan Bersendjata* demanded that the Deputy Prime Minister produce evidence that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency subsidized several newspapers in Djakarta. The paper *Harian Api* said that if evidence could not be produced the question would be settled according to law. On October 26, Subandrio issued a statement, through the Antara News Agency, "retracting this charge." He said: "I did not say that there is a newspaper receiving aid or being used by the Central Intelligence Agency. I only called to mind that in an atmosphere of slander such as the one prevailing now, we

must be careful lest we be used by the Central Intelligence Agency."

Nasution Calls for Intensified Suppression of September 30 Movement

After the national conference of the members of the "Pantja Tunggal" called by President Sukarno on October 23, Nasution, Minister Co-ordinator of the Defence and Security Compartment, who had rarely spoken in public after the September 30 incident, delivered a speech on October 25 to members of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and the Defence and Security Compartment. He vigorously denied that there had been any "Council of Generals" planning to launch a coup d'etat. He said that agents of the September 30 movement and the revolutionary council were still circulating such a story. He was angry that "there are still people believing them."

Nasution stated that a week after the September 30 incident, he put up a five-point request to Sukarno, namely, 1. uphold "justice"; 2. appoint an army commander; 3. reorganize the leadership of the branch of the armed forces which had taken part in the incident; 4. take actions against those political parties and mass organizations which had taken part in the incident; and 5. reorganize the intelligence set-up.

In reporting Nasution's speech, foreign news agencies stated that he was referring to the "Communists" in his fourth point. They also noted that Nasution was "the prime mover and brain behind the army crack-down against the Communists." Watanabe, special correspondent of Kyodo, reported: "With regard to the second point, Suharto, commander of the army's Strategic Reserve Command, who belongs to the Nasution faction, has been appointed new Army Commander. As for the third point, though Nasution did not specify, by 'branch of the armed forces' he evidently meant the air force. Well-informed sources pointed out that Nasution's reiteration of this recommendation shows that he was still not satisfied with the composition of the reorganized air force leadership although Air Force Commander Dhani had been relieved of his office and sent abroad. . . . The fifth point is aimed at excluding the Left-wing elements opposed to the army."

Nasution in his October 25 speech stressed the need to step up suppression of the September 30 movement. He called for "continued collection of evidence and continued actions." He approved of the so-called "spontaneous searches" and "spontaneous purge and arrests." He said: "Clean-up and reorganization must be continued in the various departments, and also within the General Staff of our armed forces. The adventurers or their supporters must be weeded out from all places." Each establishment "should clear itself of individuals and organizations which engaged in libel and rebellion," he said.

Nasution also instructed all departments under the Defence and Security Compartment and the General Staff of the Armed Forces to remove "individuals and organizations which have directly or indirectly assisted the 'September 30 movement,'" according to Radio Djakarta on November 1.

The radio reported that Army Commander Suharto, speaking at the "Pantja Tunggal" members' conference on October 23, said that efforts must be continued to track down the September 30 movement. He urged that efforts be made for the "collection of facts" and expressed readiness to cope immediately with those persons and groups resorting to force. Radio Djakarta on October 25 also broadcast Suharto's speech at the investiture of a number of army officers. The army authorities, he said, "should rouse themselves up and summon up tremendous force of retaliation . . . weaken and defeat completely" the September 30 movement. In a speech at the graduation ceremony of the Infantry Officers' Training Class in Bandung on October 30, Suharto was reported by Antara to have said that the army "will continue to take action to completely wipe out the remnants of the adventure." With misgivings

he added: "The September 30 movement' has now spread to a number of places, to Central and East Java in particular."

After the outcries of army chiefs for "continued action," Radio Djakarta broadcast two orders of President Sukarno on November 1. One of the orders announced that "as a result of the 'September 30 movement' a situation jeopardizing national unity and unification and revolutionary defence and state security has appeared in the Central Java Province at the first administrative level and the Jogjakarta Special District." It therefore declared a state of war in these areas and appointed the commander of the seventh military district as "war administrator" over these areas. The other order said that "since the 'September 30 movement' incident really threatened the security of the country, nation and revolution," a state of war had therefore been declared over Tandjung Priok, the special district of Greater Djakarta and other places, and that the commander of the Greater Djakarta fifth military district and the commander of the third naval region had been appointed as "war administrators" in these areas.

(Hsinhua News Agency)

"Renmin Ribao" Publishes More Materials on Current Political Situation in Indonesia

RENMIN RIBAO on November 7 published on its front page a long Hsinhua round-up report under the bold-character headline: "**Rabid Anti-Communist, Anti-Popular Activities of Indonesian Right-wing Forces.**" (For a full translation see p. 29.)

The report says, "The Indonesian Right-wing forces, relying on the armed forces under their control, are engaged in frantic anti-communist and anti-popular violence. Their brutal acts of terror are spreading from the central administration and organizations to the local ones, from Djakarta to the whole of Java and other areas. Security of life and property for broad sections of the people is gravely threatened."

U.S. and Soviet press reaction towards the Indonesian situation is also reported in the paper under the headings: "**U.S. Imperialists — Both Jubilant and Worried Over Indonesian Situation,**" and "**Soviet Press Attacks September 30 Movement, Praises Indonesian Army.**"

Renmin Ribao also devotes three full pages to the second instalment of material related to the political situation in Indonesia since October 20. The general banner headline reads: "**Second Instalment of Material on Current Political Situation in Indonesia.**" (A report on the first instalment of material published by *Renmin Ribao* was carried in *Peking Review* No. 43.)

Page four is devoted to **President Sukarno's Speeches and Decisions.** Reporting his speech at the conference of the members of "Pantja Tunggal" (meaning "five in one", i.e., the local administration, police, armed forces, judges and national front—*Ed.*) on October 23, the paper notes in its sub-head: "(the President) says that the September 30 incident is 'wrong'; points out that some people do not carry out his orders; says that the newspapers are deliberately creating an atmosphere of hostility towards the People's Republic of China and towards the Chinese; urges the avoidance of 'racist incidents, arson and destruction'; says that he has not referred to the 'KOM' in 'NASAKOM' as the Communist Party of Indonesia."

The sub-head for the speech made by President Sukarno on October 27 at his meeting with leaders of political parties, reads: "Says he is 'under various pressures'; 'the state of calm has not come about'; the September 30 incident is 'a very wrong incident'; 'will punish the contrivers of the September 30 incident'; again says the 'KOM' in 'NASAKOM' does not refer to the Communist Party of Indonesia; calls for 'caution', saying that 'we too can be made use of by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.'"

Reporting another speech made by President Sukarno at the end of the same meeting, *Renmin Ribao* notes in its sub-head: "says 'the Indonesian revolution can come to successful end only when it is given leadership'; that 'the revolution can continue its advance only when the three factors of "RESOPIM" (Indonesian abbreviation for revolution-socialism-national leadership — *Ed.*) are brought into play'."

The two decisions published by President Sukarno on November 1 are printed under the sub-head: "Announces that Central Java and Jogjakarta Special District are in a state of war; approves placing Greater Djakarta Special District and other areas in a state of war."

The upper part of page five of *Renmin Ribao* contains a speech by Subandrio, First Deputy Prime Minister of Indonesia, under the sub-head: "Says that the September 30 incident is one in which 'some people seek to seize power'; that they 'will be duly punished'; that one 'should not fall into the counter-revolutionary trap of the Right-wingers and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency'; should not shout 'Long live America'; says 'we are firm not only with the United States, we will be firm with the People's Republic of China as well, if necessary'; adds 'but this does not mean that we should regard the People's Republic of China as imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism'."

The paper reports a speech by Saleh, Third Deputy Prime Minister of Indonesia, under the sub-head: "Declares that the September 30 movement is counter-revolution; expresses the belief that President Sukarno 'will definitely punish the criminals'."

The lower half of page five carries statements by Nasution, Suharto and others and the relevant orders issued by the army authorities, under the heading "**Words and Deeds of the Indonesian Army.**" The sub-head for Nasution's October 25 speech reads: "Says he has put forth to President Sukarno a five-point request including the appointment of an army commander, the reorganization of the leadership of the branch of the armed forces and the taking of action against those political parties and mass organizations involved in the September 30 incident; raves that 'clean-up and reorganization must be continued' in the various departments; makes an outcry that there are still people believing and circulating the views of the September 30 movement."

Suharto's October 25 and November 1 speeches are reported under the following headings respectively: "Clamours for need 'to summon up tremendous force of retaliation . . . weaken and defeat completely' the September 30 movement"; "says that the Indonesian Communist Party plays a 'leading role' in the September 30 movement; shouts that the army's task is 'to restore public security and order'; cries out in alarm that the

September 30 movement has spread to Central and East Java."

The sub-head for the report "Director of the Army Information Bureau answers questions put to him by correspondent of *Asahi Shimbun*" reads: "Says that a 'purge' is continuing in the army; claims that the enemy at home today is 'the armed members of the Communist Party and the Youth Front.'" Published in these columns are also a "directive" issued by Brigadier General Sutjipto, Chief of the 5th Section of the Supreme Operational Command, "to all administrative organizations to prevent strikes," and the orders issued by the army authorities in various places in Indonesia to ban the Communist Party (P.K.I.) and other progressive organizations and groups.

On page six *Renmin Ribao* runs "**Foreign Reactions and Comments**". The sub-head for "Comments by American political circles and papers" reads: "Say that the Indonesian army's crack down on the communists is 'encouraging'; believe that the army leaders 'have paid lip service to Sukarno's orders' and continued to 'crush' P.K.I. with enthusiasm; state with misgiving that the Communist Party's 'roots go deep underground'; that the communists 'have substantial strength' and 'the situation remains critical'."

The sub-head for "**Comments by British Papers and News Agency**" reads: "Say that the army today holds levers of power, and that it may be impossible for Sukarno to restore the balance of forces; say that a plot is being hatched to organize a fake communist party and make it 'a legal body under Moscow's aegis'; admit that the situation in Central Java remains 'serious' and that the armed Communists are fighting."

The paper also carries reports under the headings: "**Comments by French Press and News Agency**" and "**Comments by Japanese Newspapers and News Agency**". The sub-heads for the reports read: "Say that Suharto is 'the real master of Djakarta' and that the army is energetically carrying out anti-communist suppression by solely relying on force"; "say 'NASAKOM has collapsed' and that the army is trying hard to set up a 'military regime'; hold that the change in Sukarno's interpretation of 'NASAKOM' 'deserves attention'; point out that the Communist Party is 'preserving its organization'; report that Aidit is leading the Communists to wage armed struggle in the mountains in Central Java."

Published at the bottom of the sixth page are "**Comments of the Soviet Press**". The sub-head reads: "*Pravda* says that officers headed by Untung are 'plot-ers' and 'the active force that attempted a rebellion'; says with sinister intent that 'political adventurism, putschism and sectarianism are alien to Marxism-Leninism.' The magazine, *Life Abroad*, attacks 'those who render service to reactionaries at home and abroad' and 'insurgents' as having 'artificially' aggravated tension."

ROUND THE WORLD

way out for the Dominican people, who are victims of aggression, is to pay the Yankees back in their own coin. This is what the Dominican people are doing.

Struggle in Dominican Republic

No Farewell to Arms

*Not even a fire can destroy it all.
Grass shoots up again
When the spring breeze blows.*

— Pai Chu-yi (772-846)

Two months ago, after much political scheming, Washington imposed on the Dominican people a bogus act of reconciliation (see P.R. No. 37, Sept. 10, p. 29) under which a "provisional government" was set up in order to disarm the patriots who took part in the April uprising this year.

Late on the night of October 18, the "provisional government" sent a Rightist-controlled air force unit to occupy the eastern part of Santo Domingo. It moved on the following day into the downtown area, hitherto under the control of the patriots. There the reactionary troops wrecked the headquarters of the June 14 Revolutionary Movement, a progressive organization of the Dominican people. This was followed by a house to house search on October 22 for arms in the possession of the patriots.

This new repressive measure met with immediate resistance. Shooting took place in the city area and the fighting near the Ozama Fortress in the eastern sector of the city was especially fierce. The reactionary troops were repelled.

Then, on the early morning of October 25, 2,000 U.S. and Brazilian troops of the so-called "inter-American force," moved in with tanks and recoilless guns to crack down on the people. After setting up machine-gun positions and checkpoints throughout the city, they searched houses and pedestrians, made arrests, and banned two newspapers. These outrages by the invaders added to the fury of the population. As the aggressors forced their way in, snipers fired at them. Clashes between the people

including workers and students on the one hand and the "inter-American force" on the other continued for several days. Workers protesting against the arrest of their leaders were killed and students were attacked, tear-gassed and arrested. One restaurant waiter was shot because he refused to serve the "inter-American force."

People in groups held street demonstrations, shouting anti-U.S. slogans. Many youths braved the fixed bayonets of the U.S. paratroopers to shout in their face: "Yankees Get Out of Quisqueya [Dominican Republic in Indian]!" At one point, U.S. troops in jeeps and armed with rifles and machine-guns tried to disperse the demonstrators, many of whom were women. This enraged on-lookers who joined in the demonstration and after an hour of confrontation, the people compelled the aggressors to retreat to their barracks. Industrial workers and employees went on strike, paralyzing business in the centre of the city. Most of the government offices were closed.

This new wave of patriotic anti-U.S. struggle has opened a new chapter in the Dominican people's fight against the "act of reconciliation" with which the U.S. imperialists hoped to obtain what they had failed to get by force of arms. It is a struggle between a people determined to arm themselves against aggression and the "northern colossus" bent on disarming and enslaving them through force or political chicanery.

The Dominican people have now come to understand more clearly that without arms there can be no freedom, no independence and no people's state power. The U.S. aggressors are using arms to intimidate and to kill; the only

Struggle in S. Yemen


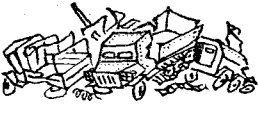

A People Undaunted

When those taking a colonialist stand say a thing is in a mess, the people see it otherwise. Occupied south Yemen is no exception. Here the people's century-old struggle against British colonial rule goes on unabated and has begun to take on a new look ever since the founding of the National Liberation Front two years ago. Under the N.L.F. leadership, an armed struggle for freedom erupted in October 1963 in the Radfan region and fighting has now spread to 11 regions in the Aden Protectorate, otherwise known as the "federation of south Arabia," which London has set up to tighten its grip over the land in the face of the mounting national-liberation movement there.

Occupied south Yemen, or British occupied Aden, was a part of Yemeni territory until British occupation in 1839. Under the old imperialist axiom of divide and rule, British colonialists split it into the Aden Colony and the Aden Protectorate. The latter was again divided into the East Aden Protectorate embracing five sultan states and the West Aden Protectorate consisting of 20 sultan

BRITISH COLONIALISTS' LOSSES AT HANDS OF S. YEMENI PATRIOTS

Oct. 1963—Oct. 1965

	ENEMY SOLDIERS KILLED:	2,217
	ENEMY VEHICLES DESTROYED:	271
	ENEMY PLANES DOWNED:	36

and sheikhly states. Division or federation, it all depends on what is in the interests of British imperialism at the time. Today London sees Aden as a major link in its "life line" east of Suez, and the 18,000 troops stationed there under the Unified Middle East Command make it one of Britain's biggest military bases overseas.

The south Yemeni people, however, are determined to free themselves from the yoke of British colonialism and to clear their land of foreign military bases. Coupled with armed struggle, there have been continued strikes, demonstrations, bomb explosions and attacks on the colonialists.

On September 25, as a part of its measures to try to smother the people's resistance movement, Whitehall suspended the constitution of the Aden Colony and placed it under the sole authority of the British High Commissioner. The Aden Government headed by Abdul Gawee Mackawee was dismissed. This sparked still bigger strikes and demonstrations and strong protests from the people of other Arab countries in the weeks that followed.

A 24-hour general strike was staged in Aden on October 2. The demonstrators overturned a U.S. consulate car and set up roadblocks with wooden boxes and rocks to repulse the British colonial troops. The whole city, including the port and airport, was brought to a standstill. Most of the 8,000 workers employed by the British armed forces took part in the strike. Demonstrations continued on October 3 and during these two days the British authorities resorted to shooting and mass arrests.

On October 7, representatives of British occupied south Yemen signed a six-point agreement to beef up their struggle against British imperialism, to work for the unconditional liquidation of British military bases in Aden and throughout the area and for freedom and self-determination. The agreement was signed by, among others, Kahtan El Shaaby, Secretary-General of the N.L.F.; Ahmed Fadhly, the deposed Sultan of Fadhly Sultanate and Abdul Gawee Mackawee.

Equally confident and determined are the fighters of the N.L.F. One named Abdulla Mahfwd, who had lost three fingers in an attack on a British military camp in Aden, said: What does the loss of my fingers or even my life matter if we can finally kick British imperialism out of Aden!

Struggle in Kashmir

Indian Atrocities

Every resort to violence, said India's Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, showed a failure to hold on to the matchless weapon of truth. This is quite true in the case of the reactionary and the oppressor when dealing with the revolutionary and the oppressed. As for the latter, they have no alternative but to meet violence with violence.

In the past the British colonialists maintained their rule in India by killing, making arrests and other terrorist acts. The Indian reactionaries are doing exactly the same things now in that part of Jammu and Kashmir under their occupation, if indeed they are not going one better than their former British rulers.

Acts of inhuman physical torture and great brutality committed by the Indian occupation forces were described by refugees to a Pakistani correspondent who recently made a tour of Mirpur and other places. At least 95,000 people have fled from Indian-occupied Kashmir since mid-August this year. According to these refugees, the Indian Army had killed innocent villagers, aged women and children among them, burnt houses and kidnapped girls. Indian atrocities also included machine-gunning and beheading people, mutilating the bodies of the dead, and burning people alive. Voice of Kashmir reported that since late August, about 100,000 Muslims had been driven by the Indian police and army into Azad (Free) Kashmir, while another 10,000 had been burnt alive or shot dead.

To silence the Kashmiri people's cry for self-determination, the Indian police arrested those who talked about a plebiscite in Indian-held Kashmir and handed them over to the army. Local inhabitants were warned that if they demonstrated against the Indian authorities, their houses would be burnt and their close relations sent to concentration camps. The Indian army and police have taken over all shrines and main mosques to prevent the Kashmiri people from assembly and staging demonstrations there. In Srinagar, capital of Indian-occupied Kashmir, all educational institutions were reported to have been closed down because students were among the many who demonstrated.

In spite of this brutal repression, people in Indian-occupied Kashmir are carrying on their struggle with great vigour. On October 27, people throughout the area observed a Black Day with protest rallies and demonstrations demanding the exercise of their right to self-determination. It was on the same day 18 years ago that the Indian Army entered Kashmir to suppress the Kashmiri people's freedom struggle. One of the biggest demonstrations took place in Srinagar, where students and workers wearing black badges shouted "Indians Go Back!" "We want freedom!" The Indian police lathi-charged the demonstrators and used tear gas against them as they also did against crowds in Shopian, Sopur, Pattan and Baramulla. A complete hartal was observed in various towns and cities with the Indian police attempting in vain to force the people to open their shops.

Early this month, Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir, complained at a public meeting about the mass slaughter of innocent people in Indian-occupied Kashmir. He said that his people "could have no wishful thinking about the outcome of the Security Council deliberations." The Kashmiris, he added, had no alternative but to prepare themselves for harder times ahead and for greater sacrifices.

ACROSS THE LAND

Good Autumn Harvest

THE great majority of rural areas are reaping better autumn harvests than they did last year. This is the harvest that provides the nation with the bulk of its grain output. The northern provinces have already gathered in all their main food and industrial crops. The major cotton-growing areas in the Yellow and Yangtse River basins report good cotton crops. Rice-growing areas in the south which raise two crops of rice a year are harvesting their second crop of rice.

Sowing of winter wheat is nearing completion in the north. Winter wheat, barley, rapeseed, beans and green manure are being planted in the south.

This summer's harvests of wheat, rapeseed and early rice were better than last year's.

During the year some places in the north experienced prolonged dry spells, while others suffered from downpours. By resolute collective efforts a number of people's communes even in these stricken areas succeeded in raising their farm output.

There was a dry spell in Shantung Province, east China. Rainfall in some parts was only 30 to 40 per cent of normal during the growing season for autumn crops. But the Shantung peasants refused to bow to nature. They sank a great number of wells, installed pumps, and cut new irrigation channels. As a result, they not only enlarged their paddyfields, but in most areas reaped a harvest as good as or even better than that of 1964.

The dry spell is still continuing in some parts of north China.

Here, as a counter-measure, 10,000 wells were sunk in the past few months to irrigate standing crops and provide water for the winter wheat sowing. Thanks to this and other measures, the sowing was generally completed in time.

Fertilizer Output Soars

CHINESE chemical fertilizer production in the first ten months of this year was 1.7 million tons more than in the whole of 1964. This increase came in part from the 28 big plants newly built or expanded since the beginning of the year. A number of small new plants were also commissioned.

This fast-growing industry now offers a wider range of products suited to different climates and soils. They include new kinds of phosphates that have proved effective in boosting yields of wheat, maize and cotton, as well as inexpensive, but effective, fertilizers like urea, ammonium chloride and ammonia water.

The industry has also won praise for its thrift. By adopting more economical measures in manufacturing synthetic ammonia, the Nanking Chemical Fertilizer Works, for instance, saved 15 million kwh. of elec-

tricity in the first eight months of this year.

Fresh-Water Fish Farming

BREEDING fish for consumption on a large scale, a comparatively new industry in China, is expanding at a rapid rate. The total surface area used for this purpose last year was 15 per cent greater than in 1963. This year it is still more, as is the fish yield per *mu* of water.

In many inland areas where fish were seldom eaten in the past, fish raising came about with the founding of the rural people's communes in 1958. Reservoirs and ponds were built by the communes as part of their effort to increase farm production and guarantee stable yields. Since then fish breeding has become an important side-occupation in many places and people are enjoying a more varied and richer diet.

For example, in Yunnan Province where pondfish culture was virtually unknown a few years ago, fish-rearing establishments have been set up in 86 counties and larger towns. In southern Shansi Province's Yuncheng County most villagers seldom, if ever, ate fish in the past. Today the county has 30,000 *mu* of ponds and rural families are dining on the products that are raised in them.

The nation's most populous province, Szechuan, is obtaining ample supplies of fish from the numerous ponds and reservoirs as well as from some 1.05 million *mu* of ricefields. Here, the practice of raising rice and fish together boosts the fertility of the paddyfields as well as the income of the production brigades and teams.

In the Liaocheng area of Shantung Province, 172,500 *mu* of shallow, flood-plain lakes are being used for fish, lotus roots, water caltrops, water oats, fox nuts, reeds and other economically useful aquatic plants. Income from each *mu* of water surface is roughly five times more than from the cropland in that area.

Larger quantities of fish fry to stock ponds, lakes and reservoirs are coming from local state fisheries in which fry are bred by selection for such qualities as rapid



A rural ammonia water supply station in Chekiang Province

growth, plumpness and resistance to disease. Kwangtung Province is one of the many places where fry are raised from the artificially fertilized eggs of hormone-treated fish. Communes in the Pearl River Delta of this southern province cultivate 228,000 *mu* of ponds and feed their fish on silkworm pupae and sugarcane leaves. The fertile mud from the bottoms of the ponds make excellent fertilizer for rice, sugarcane and mulberry. Output of artificially bred pond fish in the delta last year was 72,000 tons.

Special Basketball Tournament

CHUNGKING'S players captured both the men's and women's titles at a nine-day inter-city basketball tournament for deaf and mute players. The tournament, sponsored by the Chungking Association for the Blind, Deaf and Mute, drew 190 players from all the major cities in southwest China, including Kunming.

The teams were made up of factory workers, members of rural people's communes, students and teachers. Some of the players are citation-holders for outstanding work in factory and farm.

Two whistle-blowing referees assisted by two others waving flags and a brand-new sign language especially worked out for the games made the matches possible.

The tournament in Chungking is one of many recreational activities handicapped people of New China take part in. Other activities organized by state-supported recreational clubs for the handicapped include concerts, chess tournaments, table tennis and athletics.

Briefs

A new fast-colour dye, "polycondensation blue," has been produced in Shanghai for cotton, and synthetic fabrics. Among the newest chemical products in the world, it is as bright and colour-fast as reactive and indanthren dyestuffs.

A petro-chemical plant for producing organic synthetic materials and plastics from waste petroleum gases

has gone into trial operation in Shanghai.

Two rubber factories in Shanghai are now making tyre bodies with steel instead of cotton cords. The former has proved superior in heat-resistance, strength, and endurance to cotton, rayon or nylon cords used in pneumatic tyre manufacture.

Most of the machines and equipment in the new synthetic fibre plant recently put into operation in Chinghai Province, northwest China, were manufactured in the province.

The population of the Tahir people in Sinkiang, one of the smallest of the 13 nationalities there, has risen to over 3,000, which is almost twice the population at the time of liberation. In Inner Mongolia, 10,000 Tahurs live in the Molitawa Tahir Autonomous Banner.

She Will Not Forget

OF all the many peasant family and village histories written in the past few years, one of the most moving is a recent 30,000-word autobiography by 25-year-old Kuo Pei, a young girl who never knew the love and care of a mother or father.

Not knowing either her father's or mother's surname, she took the name of Kuo Pei, meaning "Brought Up by the State," as indeed she was. Her parents died before she was old enough to remember them. All she knows is that she was born in a peasant family somewhere near Peking and was sold several times before she was ten years old. Being an orphan, and a girl at that, was an unenviable fate in old China.

Early 1949 found her in the family of a small merchant. In name, she was a foster daughter; in fact, she was the family slave. She was abused and beaten and constantly found fault with. She worked all day and every day, late into the night. Scars from savage treatment still disfigure her face and head. Her foster

In Nanning, capital of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, more than 1,300 varieties of goods are on sale in the department store which sells exclusively Kwangsi-produced goods. In the old days few manufactured goods were made in Kwangsi.

Jute has been successfully grown on 1,000 hectares around Tungting Lake in Hunan Province. Yields were three tons per hectare. This opens up excellent prospects of higher incomes from the waterlogged land around this vast lake for the local people's communes.

The champion bird in a recent pigeon racing competition with entries from Shanghai, Nanking and six other cities and counties was an eight-month-old pigeon belonging to the Nanking Homing Pigeon Society. It flew back to Nanking from Peking in 24 hours.

mother beat her with fire tongs and once slit her tongue with a pair of scissors. She dared not complain to anyone about these tortures for fear of worse.

After liberation, the local women's association and the people's police helped her bring her foster parents to court. She was freed from her tormentors and the People's Government made her its ward. With all expenses paid for by the state, she went to primary school and lived in the home of a kindly neighbour. Later came middle school and then, college. This summer, she graduated from a six-year course at the Peking Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine.

Kuo Pei is one of many orphans, and children of workers and peasants who, since liberation, assisted by grants from the state, have graduated each year from universities and colleges. Like them, she will not forget what the Party and people have done for her. Her story will keep that memory alive for many others, too.

Cultural Exchange

Chinese Army Ensemble In U.S.S.R.

The Song and Dance Ensemble of the Chinese People's Liberation Army ended a highly successful six-week tour in the U.S.S.R. and left there by train for Rumania on the evening of October 25.

Arriving in Moscow on September 14, the ensemble gave a total of 18 performances in five Soviet cities. In addition, what with get-togethers with and performances for local army garrisons, its audience totalled some 30,000.

The revolutionary themes and spirit of the items presented by the ensemble drew enthusiastic applause everywhere they performed. Each performance invariably ended with a standing ovation. Many of the audience lingered on after the show to share their thoughts with the Chinese artists and personally express their appreciation.

A serviceman in **Minsk** told them: "You have shown your virtuosity; but what is more important is your revolutionary fervour which has inspired us." An old couple came up to the singers and dancers leaving the theatre, warmly shook their hands, and, in a voice touched with emotion, said: "Your performance was wonderful. Please convey our regards to Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is he who has brought you up to be such excellent artists." The old lady added: "Every item of yours carries an inspiring message." Holding the hands of a Chinese artist in his own, a middle-aged spectator said: "Revolution and struggle—such is the impression your performance left me. The whole audience was enthralled."

In **Volgograd**, a worker told them: "Your performance was sound in artistic presentation and rich in content. I hope you will go on developing it along this line." Another spectator said: "I do not understand the Chinese language; but I do understand the spirit of your numbers. Some of them moved me to tears."

Soviet revolutionary songs and dance numbers performed by the Chinese ensemble were warmly re-

ceived by the audience. In **Riga**, one of the audience thanked the Chinese for singing the song in memory of the Soviet heroine, Zoya, "But for your performance, some people would have almost forgotten it."

An old lady in **Leningrad** wrote in the album of a Chinese girl artist after the performance: "Your marvellous performance took me back to the time more than 20 years ago. At that time, our people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, relentlessly smashed the enemy and went on to build a new life." She added, "May Comrade Mao Tse-tung live a long life!"

Many spectators expressed their eagerness to see more performances. A worker of the Kirov Plant in **Leningrad** said, "Your performances are superb. But unfortunately you come here too seldom." A young girl of **Minsk** asked, "Why did you give only three performances here, and not 30 or 300?"

The ensemble had to overcome a number of difficulties in their performances which were devoted to strengthening the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. On the night of October 2 when the ensemble was on its way from Moscow to **Leningrad**, 120 of its 180-odd members endured the cold night weather for nearly eight hours in a carriage without steam heating. Some of the artists had caught cold. In spite of all this, the ensemble performed in **Leningrad** on October 4 as scheduled. When it gave its premiere in that city, shouts of "Long Live the Chinese Communist Party! Long Live Comrade Mao Tse-tung! Long Live the People's Republic of China!" went up from the audience just before the curtain rose. This was followed by another shout: "Long Live the Friendship Between the Soviet and Chinese Peoples!" These shouts evoked warm applause among the audience. When giving his autograph, a spectator wrote, "Dear, dear comrades! Thanks, thanks in the Russian, Soviet way! Salute to the great Chinese people and Comrade Mao Tse-tung!"

The spectators often exchanged badges or autographs with the Chinese artists.

In **Leningrad**, **Riga** and **Minsk**, the ensemble visited and laid wreaths at the cemeteries of fallen heroes of the Soviet people.

Sports

Badminton Team's Successful Scandinavian Tour

The first Chinese badminton team to visit northern Europe returned to **Peking** on November 3 after a successful 17-day tour of **Denmark** and **Sweden**. It won all its matches.

At the invitation tournament in **Copenhagen**, Chinese players made a clean sweep by winning all five events contested. Except for the women's doubles, which saw China's **Chen Yu-niang** and **Liang Hsiao-mu** defeat **Ulla Strand** and **Karin Joergensen**—the Danish pair which had won the all-England women's doubles title twice and the Danish national women's title three times, the finals for the four other events were all between Chinese players. The Danish players are good at the game. Their men's and women's teams rank second and third respectively in the world.

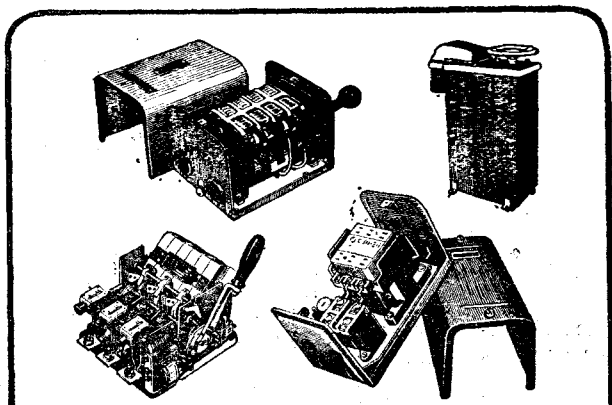
In the **China-Denmark** contest in **Aarhus**, the Chinese players won all seven matches in straight games. China's men's singles champion **Tang Hsien-hu** beat **Denmark's Eriand Kops**, six times world singles champion, by 15:5 and 15:0. The 19-year-old Chinese women's singles champion **Chen Yu-niang** defeated **Denmark's Lisbeth Von Barnekow**, Scandinavian women's singles champion for 1964-65, by 11:8 and 11:1.

In **Sweden**, the Chinese players won their matches against their Swedish opponents by what press reports described as fast, forceful, accurate and flexible play. The Chinese badminton players, said *Svenska Dagbladet*, had come out on top in the world. They had won the admiration of the Swedish public by their powerful smashing and attacks.

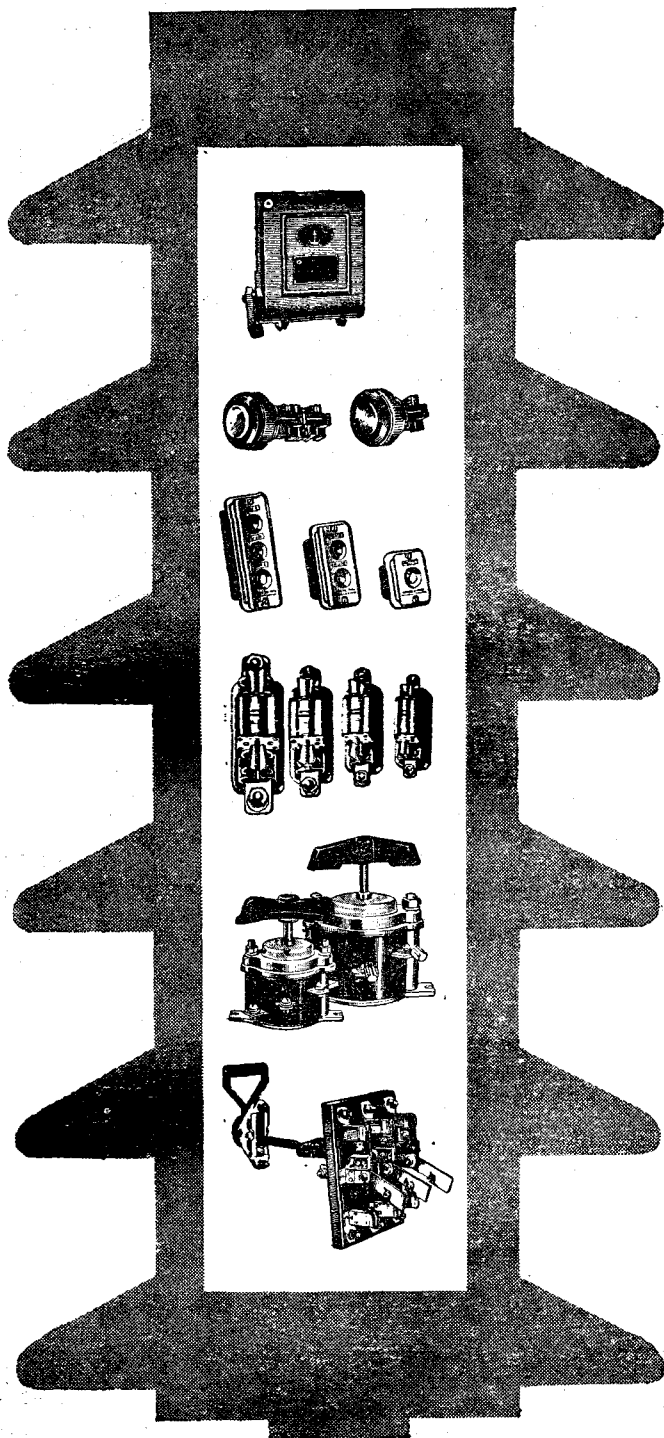
China's players have made steady progress in recent years. Last year they defeated the Indonesian men's badminton team, which holds the world's team title, and the Indonesian women's team which ranks third along with **Denmark's** women's team.

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