

PEKING REVIEW

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January 1, 1966

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報

WELCOMING 1966

The year that ushers in China's Third
Five-Year Plan

***The Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Are
Traitors of the Declaration
And the Statement***

by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao"

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Volume II

(English Language Edition)

This volume contains 40 of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's important articles covering the period from the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in July 1937 to the repulse of Chiang Kai-shek's second anti-communist onslaught in May 1941.

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北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 1, 1966 Vol. IX No. 1

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January 1, 1966

THE WEEK

D.R.V. Army Day

December 22 was the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Vietnamese People's Army. One day earlier, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence Lin Piao sent a message of greetings to Senior General Vo Nguyen Giap, Vietnamese Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, wishing the heroic Vietnamese people and their army still greater victories in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation.

Colonel Tran Van Banh, military attache of the Vietnamese Embassy in China, gave a reception on December 22 for the occasion. He strongly condemned U.S. imperialism and said: "No matter how many more troops U.S. imperialism sends or how far it goes in escalating the war, and no matter what methods of warfare it adopts, the Vietnamese people are determined to fight on till final victory, even if it takes them 10 or 20 years, to liberate the south, defend the north and reunify their motherland, and to contribute in this way to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism all over the world."

Also speaking at the reception, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Li Tien-yu said that the great victories of the Vietnamese people offered vivid testimony that people's war was the most effective weapon for defeating imperialism and its henchmen. He reiterated the Chinese people's support to the Vietnamese people in their patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression. "If U.S. imperialism insists on a trial of strength with us, then it will have it," he stressed. "We Chinese people will never shrink before any storm and will make all necessary sacrifices to defend the security of our motherland, safeguard peace in Asia and

throughout the world, and uproot the source of contemporary wars."

E.F. Hill Arrives for Visit

Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), and his wife arrived in Peking on December 22. They have come for a visit as guests of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, was among those who welcomed Comrade Hill at the airport.

Persecution of Chinese Nationals In Bali Protested

The Chinese Embassy in Djakarta, in its December 20 note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, lodged the strongest protest against the serious persecution of Chinese nationals in various places in Bali.

In Singaradja, several hundred hooligans sacked the shops of Chinese nationals on November 29. Early next morning, thousands of hoodlums, carrying swords, iron bars, axes and other sharp weapons and shouting anti-Chinese slogans, carried out house-to-house violence against Chinese shops and homes; they smashed or looted goods, furniture and other household articles, and moved some outside and set them afire. They caused heavy damage to vehicles used by Chinese engaged in making a living by commercial transport. What motor vehicles were left behind were later forcibly taken over by the local armed forces and painted with such words as "armed forces" or "state-owned."

On December 1, 4 and 5, the homes of Chinese nationals already in distress were again ransacked. The hooligans even dirtied the meagre grain the Chinese nationals had to keep themselves alive and polluted

wells with paint and varnish in a deliberate attempt to deprive the Chinese of their means of subsistence. During the outrages, three Chinese were beaten and seriously injured.

The Indonesian troops and police present during these outrages did nothing at all to check them; instead, they threatened the Chinese not to give out any information about what had been done to them. Most of the Chinese in Singaradja were ruined after the raids. With nothing left except the clothes on their backs, they are in dire straits and living in terror. In their agony, the four daughters of Lin Ta-chin, a Chinese national, tried to take their own lives; two of them died despite emergency treatment.

On December 1, Denpasar army headquarters summoned representatives of local Chinese businessmen and threatened them with incidents similar to those in Makasar and Singaradja where the property of Chinese nationals had been ransacked. From that day to December 6, all the Chinese shops in Denpasar were subjected to extortion, blackmail and plunder; they suffered heavy losses. On December 7, many rowdies wrecked some Chinese shops and homes and set fire to several houses.

On the morning of December 6, Chinese shops in Klungkung in southeastern Bali were also plundered. The next day, the local authorities ordered the shops to sell at half price whatever goods remained after the raids. When this was done, the ruffians grabbed up and carried off items without paying. On December 10 a Chinese national, Wu Tjung-nan, was murdered by hooligans.

From the beginning of November to the beginning of December, Chinese nationals living in villages in central and western Bali were also persecuted. Most of their property was damaged and their personal safety was seriously threatened. Over a hundred have been made homeless and have lost their means of livelihood.

In view of the seriousness of these outrages, the Chinese Embassy's note

of protest said: "The Chinese Embassy has sent many notes about the outrageous persecution of Chinese nationals in various places by hooligans organized by the Indonesian Right-wing forces and urged the Indonesian Government to stop it as soon as possible. But up till now, tragic cases of persecution of Chinese nationals have continued to occur one after another, further demonstrating that the Indonesian Right-wing forces utterly disregard international law and practice and are recklessly intensifying racist atrocities. The Chinese Embassy hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against the above-mentioned cases and once again demands that the Indonesian Government immediately take effective measures to put a speedy end to the outrageous persecution of Chinese nationals, punish the murderers and those who directed them, give relief to the bereaved families of the victims, compensate the Chinese nationals concerned for their losses, give emergency relief to those victimized Chinese nationals who have lost their means of livelihood and become homeless, truly protect the lives and property of Chinese nationals and guarantee against the occurrence of similar incidents."

Sino-Korean Protocol

A government trade delegation led by Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang returned to Peking from Pyongyang on December 19 after signing a protocol for an exchange of commodities in 1966. The protocol, which resulted from fruitful talks held on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of equality, mutual benefit and co-operation, will further strengthen the economic ties between China and Korea and

Mao Tse-tung's Works In English

The second volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* in English, just off the press, is now on sale at the Foreign Languages Bookstore in Peking and other cities. Guozi Shudian (China Publications Centre) will handle distribution abroad.

With the publication of Volume II, all four volumes in English of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* are now available, the other three having already been published.

The translation of Volume II was made from the Chinese edition published by the People's Publishing House in Peking in August 1952. It consists of 40 articles written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung between July 1937, when the War of Resistance Against Japan broke out, and May 1941 when the second anti-Communist onslaught launched by Chiang Kai-shek was beaten back.

help promote their socialist construction.

The commodities which China will provide include coking coal, coke, mineral products, oil products, chemicals, rolled steel, ferro-alloys, motor vehicles, cotton and sugar. Korea will provide China with machine tools, tractors, tools, magnesia clinkers, anthracite, magnetite and other ores, pig-iron, rolled steel, cement, chemicals and textiles.

Sino-Rumanian Trade Agreement

A barter and payments agreement for 1966 between China and Rumania was signed in Peking on December 21.

According to the agreement, 1966 will see a remarkable increase over 1965 in the volume of trade between the two countries. China will supply Rumania with mineral products, rolled steel, hard alloys, machine tools, chemicals, rice, aquatic products, textiles, light industrial products and other goods. Rumania will supply China with drilling equip-

(Continued on p. 12.)

Peking Review, No. 1

Welcoming 1966—The First Year of China's Third Five-Year Plan

—New Year's Day Message—

NINETEEN SIXTY-SIX, the first year of China's great Third Five-Year Plan, has arrived. Full of boundless joy, the Chinese people of all nationalities are determined to make still greater achievements in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the new year, to make the new Five-Year Plan a success from the very start.

The Third-Five Year Plan

The Third Five-Year Plan is a magnificent plan of the Chinese people to develop their national economy. During the period of the Third Five-Year Plan, we must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, continue to carry out, in a deep-going way, the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. We will carry out the socialist education movement in the countryside and cities on a still wider scale. We will strive to increase agricultural production year by year, and implement still more effectively the National Programme for Agricultural Development. While bringing into full play the latent capacities of present industrial enterprises and transport and communications services on the basis of constant technical innovations and a constant rise in labour productivity, great efforts will be made to build a number of new enterprises, strengthen national defence, strengthen basic industries, communications and transport, and further improve the distribution of industry in the country; corresponding efforts will be made to expand light industry and improve the people's livelihood step by step on the basis of the development of production—to do all this in order to build up an independent, fairly comprehensive industrial system and national economy. We will make strenuous efforts in order to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in science and technology and build China into a strong socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology within twenty to thirty years.

Most Favourable Conditions

Since liberation, there have never been such favourable conditions for the national economy as now, when China's Third Five-Year Plan is being launched.

Since liberation, China has gone through a period of two Five-Year Plans, after the period of the rehabilitation of the national economy. The First Five-Year Plan was overfulfilled by 1957. The Second Five-Year Plan, which was launched in 1958, was basically fulfilled in 1960, two years ahead of schedule. In the five

years from then to the present, we made an overall readjustment of the national economy in the first three years and, in the following two years, we organized a new upsurge in the national economy, creating in every respect sound and adequate foundations for implementing the Third Five-Year Plan. From 1959 to 1961, China was hit by three successive years of natural calamities and there were some shortcomings and mistakes in our work; moreover, the Khrushchov revisionist clique perfidiously and suddenly attacked China by tearing up several hundred agreements and contracts, cutting off the supply of important items of equipment and technical data and withdrawing all Soviet experts working in China, thus adding to our economic difficulties. But all these serious difficulties did not overwhelm us. Through the efforts of the whole Party and the whole people, these big difficulties were turned into very good things.

In the past several years, under the brilliant leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we have made progress in learning how to apply Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking in understanding things, analysing situations and grasping and solving problems. We found in good time ways of overcoming difficulties and ways of bringing about a great leap forward in a certain historical period. We have learnt methods of implementing the mass line more effectively. By relying on and bringing into play the strength of the



masses, not only did we overcome our difficulties but we have brought about an all-round upsurge in the national economy. The Khrushchov revisionist clique's betrayal strengthened our determination to exert greater efforts to implement the policy of self-reliance and to break down the notion of relying on others and having blind faith in them. This has greatly increased the material forces for building the country by our own efforts, and enabled us to find the correct road and a whole set of concrete measures for carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction in conformity with objective laws and the specific conditions of China. We have seriously summed up the experience and lessons of our work and learnt how to more comprehensively implement the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Facts have fully confirmed that our experience has become richer and our strength greater.

Socialist Education Movement

Class Struggle. It should be particularly pointed out that based on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teaching that classes and class struggle should always be borne in mind, we have taken class struggle in the past few years as the key to all our work, unfolded the socialist education movement in the countryside and the cities, and re-educated Communist Party members, cadres and the masses with the spirit of uninterrupted and thoroughgoing revolution, of carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. We have consolidated and expanded the position of socialism in the political, economic, ideological and organizational spheres and dealt a heavy blow to the noxious influences of capitalism. This greatly invigorated the outlook of the people throughout the country and their revolutionary enthusiasm is rising higher and higher. The struggle against Khrushchov revisionism has greatly raised the Marxist-Leninist ideological level and proletarian internationalism of the cadres and the masses. This is of far-reaching historic significance in preventing the restoration of capitalism and in promoting the advance of socialism in China and of world revolution.

Cultural Revolution. The cultural revolution has been developed in depth; a series of great debates and reforms have been carried out in philosophy, history, literature, art and education, spreading Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, repudiating revisionism, upholding proletarian thinking and uprooting the ideas of the bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Many of those working in the social science field have gained a deeper understanding of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Many writers and artists have more clearly recognized their direction of serving proletarian politics, serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving the economic base of socialism. While continuing to reform the full-time schools, educational workers started to put the system of part-farming, part-study and part-work, part-study into practice ex-

perimentally. The intellectuals have gone to rural areas, factories and army units to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers; this has helped them to remould their thinking and greatly heighten their socialist consciousness.

Mass Movement to Study Mao Tse-tung's Thinking.

The study of Mao Tse-tung's thinking by people all over the country has developed on an unprecedented mass scale. A vast number of people and cadres have creatively studied and used Mao Tse-tung's works and their socialist consciousness has been raised to an all-time high. Reading Chairman Mao Tse-tung's books, following his teachings and working in accordance with his guidance have become conscious acts of the masses of people. Mao Tse-tung's teaching has become a powerful ideological weapon which is being used by tens of millions of people with increasing consciousness, and a great motivating force for progress in all fields of work. Learning from the People's Liberation Army, from the Tachai Production Brigade and from the Taching Oilfield has become a nationwide campaign. The revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle is taking root, blossoming and bearing fruit in different trades and occupations. Learning from Lei Feng and Wang Chieh and from all advanced people has grown into a movement of self-education for the broad masses. The revolutionary style of doing everything in the interest of others, disregarding one's own interests, fearlessness in the face of trials or death and wholehearted devotion to the revolution have become new lofty moral trends in our society. All this encourages the masses of people to make greater contributions to the socialist revolution and construction, since the spirit it engenders is transformed into a material force.

Most Powerful Material and Technical Basis Ever

The material and technical basis of our country has never been so powerful as now, when we are embarking on the great Third Five-Year Plan.

In the past few years, under the guidance and inspiration of the general line for building socialism, we have had great success in carrying out the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor.

Agricultural Production. Agricultural production has made tremendous advances and remarkable results have been achieved in steadily increasing output. The system of rural people's communes has been further consolidated and its superiority has been brought into fuller play.

The work of building water conservancy projects and improving farmland has been very fruitful. In agriculture, the Tachai Production Brigade has come forward as a brilliant pace-setter. Rural areas all over the country made great efforts to learn from Tachai. Many outstanding farming units have emerged in the style of Tachai. In 1965, there were good harvests for

the fourth year running. Grain, cotton, sugar-bearing crops and tobacco output rose considerably.

Industrial Production. There was new progress in industrial production, with a new leap forward in the increased number of varieties and improved quality. Many weak links in industry were greatly strengthened. Many gaps were filled in. The petroleum industry in particular made an important breakthrough and has made China virtually self-sufficient. Communications and transport also made great advances. The Taching Oilfield rose up as an illustrious pace-setter on the industrial, communications and transport front. Various places in the country are making great efforts to learn from Taching. As a result, many outstanding industrial enterprises have emerged in the style of the Taching Oilfield. Industrial production last year registered considerable increases, with higher labour productivity and lower costs. Many construction projects made fairly rapid progress; the quality of construction work improved, and investments yielded rather substantial results.

The supply of commodities on the market increased steadily, in line with the development of industrial and agricultural production. In 1965, there was a big increase in the supply of pork, edible oil, sugar and cotton cloth; commodity prices remained stable and the market was brisk.

A Country That Owes No Foreign Debt. In the past few years state revenue and expenditures were balanced and the foreign trade plan was well fulfilled. All foreign debts were repaid and China has become a country that owes no debt to any country. The capital and interest on government bonds have been repaid on time, and in two or three years China will be a country without any domestic debt.

In the past few years, great achievements have been made in culture, education, public health and physical culture work; research in science and technology in particular advanced by leaps and bounds. All departments in the national economy made significant gains in the use of new designs, new techniques, new technological processes, new materials and new equipment. The successful explosion of two atomic bombs showed in a concentrated way that China has made a big leap forward in its efforts to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced scientific and technical levels.

China's National Defence Strength Has Become Unprecedentedly Great. It is especially noteworthy that in the past few years the Chinese People's Liberation Army, public security forces and the militia, troops who are the sons and brothers of our people, have creatively studied and used Mao Tse-tung's thinking, given prominence to politics, persisted in carrying out the "four firsts"¹ and "three-eight" working style.² They have made great strides in their advance to revolutionization and modernization and have won important victories

in the defence of our territorial air and waters and our border areas and in strengthening public security. China's national defence strength has become unprecedentedly great.

All this has provided a solid ideological base and a powerful material basis for our country to carry out the Third Five-Year Plan. Our people have never been so high in spirit and so strong in morale as at present. Our country has never before been so prosperous.

1966 — A Good Beginning

Nineteen sixty-six is the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan. We must fight the battle of the first year well so as to make a good start in bringing about the smooth realization of this grand plan.

Central Task for 1966. In the coming year, we shall continue the socialist education movement thoroughly and effectively, carrying it out by stages and by groups. We shall continue to implement in an all-round way the Party's General Line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. We shall launch a solid nationwide movement to increase production and practise economy. We shall put great effort into the development of agriculture. All Communist Party committees at provincial, regional, county and people's commune levels should place agriculture first. They should increase grain and cotton production, develop a diversified economy and work energetically to resist and take precautions against natural calamities. We shall carry forward the movement for technical innovations and the technological revolution so as to give full play to the existing potentialities in the fields of industry and communications and transport; at the same time we shall have to speed the construction of new projects by way of "waging a war of annihilation with concentrated forces" in order to enable them to go into early operation. We shall redouble our effort to increase the production of raw materials and other materials, fuels, electricity and major machinery and electrical equipment. We shall give agriculture vigorous support by turning out more products suited to the needs of the countryside. We shall organize the circulation of commodities rationally and raise the standard of the trading services so as to better serve production and the people. We shall take further steps in directing our work towards the rural areas in the fields of culture, education and health, in order to push forward the cultural

¹The "four firsts" are: First place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to the other aspects of political work; and to living ideas in ideological work.

²The "three-eight" working style (which in Chinese is written in three phrases and eight additional characters) means firm and correct political orientation; a plain, hard-working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics; and unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

revolution. We must also work hard to strengthen national defence, the People's Liberation Army and the militia.

The Viewpoint of One Dividing Into Two. We should always bear in mind Mao Tse-tung's teaching that we should apply the viewpoint of one dividing into two in dealing with our work. The more successful our work and the greater our achievements, the more attention we must devote to the difficulties that will arise along the road of advance as well as to the shortcomings and mistakes that exist in our work. For example, our agriculture is still not strong enough to withstand the natural calamities which always affect some parts of the country every year. There are still quite a number of weak links in our industry, communications and capital construction. And quite a number of our departments still have a considerable gap to bridge before they reach advanced world scientific and technical levels.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us: "Even if we have achieved extremely great successes, there is no reason whatever to be conceited or complacent. Modesty helps a person to make progress whereas conceit makes him lag behind. This is a truth we must always bear in mind." All areas, departments and units must, in accordance with the teachings of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, constantly sum up their experience, improve their work, make discoveries and inventions, and keep on creating and advancing.

Politics in Command. Politics is the supreme commander, the very soul of our work. It is necessary to put ideological and political work above all other work. The key in striving to accomplish and overfulfil the tasks for 1966 is to strengthen the Party's leadership, give prominence to politics, put Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command, and accelerate the revolutionization of man's ideology. Practice has proved that the more prominence we give to politics and the higher we hold the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the more fully does the superiority of the socialist system show itself and the more assured is the victory of the cause of revolution and construction. In order to achieve still greater successes, we must follow the road of engaging energetically in revolution so as to promote production and construction.

In the new year, we must do still better in leading and organizing the cadres and the masses in studying Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works, and in particular do our best to apply his thinking to practice. In all fields of work, we should carry out the mass line still better and bring the initiative of all people into fuller play. We should persist in effectively combining revolutionary spirit with scientific approach, work with great vigour and advance in steady steps, and do things in a careful and thoroughgoing manner. We should be proficient at summing up and popularizing the experience of the people and units that have become pacesetters. We should be good at discovering, supporting

and fostering the new things that continually appear. We must go further in learning from the People's Liberation Army, the Tachai Production Brigade and the Taching Oilfield by developing the mass movement to "compare with, learn from, catch up with and surpass the advanced and help the less advanced." We should carry forward and develop the fine tradition of self-reliance, working assiduously and with vigour to make China strong, and building the country by thrift and diligence. In this way, we shall certainly be able to accomplish and overfulfil the great tasks for 1966.

Never Forget the International Class Struggle

Be Prepared for Early and Large-Scale War by U.S. Imperialism. While we carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction, we must never for a moment forget the international class struggle. U.S. imperialism regards as the biggest obstacle to carrying out its policies of aggression and war the increasingly powerful China which holds aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and the banner of proletarian internationalism, and which resolutely supports the revolutionary struggles of all countries. U.S. imperialism constantly carries out all kinds of wild provocations against China and wants to have another trial of strength with it. Many facts show that the focus of the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the United States is being shifted from Europe to Asia. U.S. imperialism is extending its war of aggression against Vietnam and plotting to impose war upon the Chinese people. We must maintain sharp vigilance and arrange all our work on the basis of coping with the eventuality that U.S. imperialism will launch an early and large-scale war. If the U.S. aggressors should dare to invade our country, we shall wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

Resolute Support for Revolutionary Struggles of the Peoples of the World. U.S. Imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the whole world. The people of all countries support each other in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. We must never confine our view to China only, but should see the world as a whole. We are engaging in production and construction not only for the Chinese revolution and in the service of the Chinese people but also for the world revolution and in the service of the people of the whole world. Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us: "The people who have triumphed in their revolution should help the struggle of those who are still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty." In order to fulfil this great duty, we must spare no effort in resolutely supporting the Vietnamese people, who are in the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle, and the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world in their struggles to overthrow U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Combat Khrushchov Revisionism to the End. The Khrushchov revisionists are following a line diamet-

rically opposed to ours. They betray Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, regard U.S. imperialism as their closest friend, dream of world domination through U.S.-Soviet collaboration, and work in every conceivable way to sell out the revolutionary interests of the people of all countries. We must carry through the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism to the very end. More than 90 per cent of the people of the world want revolution. We stand firmly on their side, and we shall never be isolated. The ones who are isolated are the handful of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries who are hostile to the masses, and these are bound to become more and more isolated as time goes on. For 16 years the U.S. imperialists have been pursuing their policy of isolating China, and for a number of years the Khrushchov revisionists have done the same. But the result in both cases is that they have lifted a rock only to crush their own feet. China's prestige is rising higher and higher and its revolutionary influence is growing greater and greater. We have friends all over the world.

International United Front. We shall unite still more firmly with the people of the countries in the socialist

camp, with the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the people of all countries in the world, including the American people, and with all peace-loving countries and all forces opposed to U.S. imperialism, to form a broad international united front and struggle to the very end for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In the new year let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, have the country in our hearts and a world view in our minds, and forge ahead to win new, great victories.



The Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Are Betrayers of the Declaration And the Statement

by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao"

ON the fifth anniversary of the issuance of the Statement of 1960, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. staged a short anti-Chinese farce by publishing a batch of articles.

The revolutionary principles of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 are as diametrically opposed to Khrushchov revisionism as is fire to water. In trying to confuse people by flaunting the banner of the Declaration and the Statement the faithful followers of Khrushchov revisionism only help to reveal their own ugly features still further.

During the drafting of the Declaration and the Statement, the Marxist-Leninists waged intense struggles against the Khrushchov revisionists.

The revisionist line advanced by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. is the opposite of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration of 1957. The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. created grave confusion in the international communist movement. Together with other fraternal Parties, the Communist Party of

China conducted a principled struggle against Khrushchov's revisionist line at the Moscow Meeting.

It was again at Khrushchov revisionism that the revolutionary principles of the Statement of 1960 were directed. By that time, Khrushchov had completely transposed enemies and friends, was openly collaborating with U.S. imperialism, had thoroughly undermined the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and was creating a split in the international communist movement. Together with other Marxist-Leninist Parties, the Communist Party of China waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the Khrushchov revisionist clique and safeguarded the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, the formulation of certain questions in the Declaration and the Statement is not altogether clear and there are even weaknesses and errors. As the leaders of the C.P.S.U. repeatedly requested that allowances should be made for their need to connect this formulation with the formulation of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., we made certain concessions at

that time in order to reach agreement. On more than one occasion, we have expressed our readiness to accept any criticism of us on this point. Despite all this, the Declaration and the Statement set forth a series of revolutionary principles which all Marxist-Leninist Parties should abide by.

In the eyes of the Khrushchov revisionists, however, both the Declaration and the Statement were mere scraps of paper. They tore up these documents on the very day they signed them. The Khrushchov revisionists had made up their minds to sing a tune opposite to that of Marxism-Leninism and the Declaration and the Statement. By the time of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. they produced the revisionist Programme of the C.P.S.U., casting to the four winds all the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism and all the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement.

Let us contrast the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement with the line laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and in the Programme of the C.P.S.U., which is being followed tenaciously by its new leaders.

The Declaration and the Statement lay down a revolutionary line. But the Khrushchov revisionists are pressing forward with their anti-revolutionary line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." They themselves do not want revolution and forbid others to make revolution. They themselves oppose the armed revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and forbid others to support armed revolutionary struggles.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the world and that the people throughout the world must form the broadest united front against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. But the Khrushchov revisionists are uniting with U.S. imperialism against the people of the world and carrying out the policy of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that socialist countries must maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction. But the Khrushchov revisionists advance the fallacies of the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people," abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and changing the character of the C.P.S.U. as the vanguard of the proletariat. They are enforcing the dictatorship of the privileged bourgeois stratum in the Soviet Union and have embarked on the road of capitalist restoration.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that unity among all the Communist Parties and socialist countries must be based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and that in their relations with each other fraternal Parties and countries must follow the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual support and the attainment of unanimity through consultation. But the Khrushchov revisionists practise

big-power chauvinism, national egoism and splittism, waving their baton everywhere, wilfully interfering in the affairs of fraternal Parties and countries, trying hard to control them and carrying out disruptive and subversive activities against them, and splitting the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that all Communist Parties must wage struggles against revisionism and dogmatism, and particularly against revisionism, which is the main danger in the international communist movement at present, and the Statement, moreover, explicitly denounces the Yugoslav Tito clique as renegades. But the Khrushchov revisionists join the Tito clique in a passionate embrace and publicly try to reverse the verdict on this gang of traitors. They gather around themselves revisionists of all descriptions to oppose the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world.

The great debate in the international communist movement over the last few years represents a great struggle over whether to uphold or to betray Marxism-Leninism and whether to safeguard or to discard the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement.

The "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" which the Communist Party of China put forward on June 14, 1963, sums up the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement, upholds the Marxist-Leninist position and refutes Khrushchov revisionism on a series of fundamental questions relating to the revolution in our times.

Preliminary but important results have already been achieved in the Marxist-Leninists' fight against the Khrushchov revisionists. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. love to talk of the "line confirmed by life itself," don't they? Please open your eyes and have a look. The results "confirmed by life itself" are quite clear. In the face of resolute struggle by all the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people, the great people of the Soviet Union included, Khrushchov revisionism has been discredited and its founder driven off the stage of history. This is a great victory in the struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism. It is a great victory in the struggle to defend the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement.

In an article in *Pravda*, the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. said, "The C.P.S.U. has been and will continue to be loyal to the general line of the international communist movement." Well, let us now examine what the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been and will continue to be.

What were they in the past? They were Khrushchov's close comrades-in-arms. They were loyal to the general line of Khrushchov revisionism. They had to relegate to limbo the illustrious Khrushchov, the founder of their faith and the maestro who "creatively developed Marxism-Leninism," simply because Khrushchov was too disreputable and too stupid to muddle on any longer, and because Khrushchov himself had

become an obstacle to the carrying out of Khrushchov revisionism. The only way the Khrushchov revisionist clique could maintain its rule was to swop horses.

What are they now? They are the old cast of the Khrushchov revisionist leading group. They remain loyal to the general line of Khrushchov revisionism. They never weary of swearing that the general line worked out at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. under Khrushchov's sponsorship is their "only, immutable, line in the entire home and foreign policy." At times they give the appearance of opposing the United States, but all their policies boil down to one of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the domination of the world. They have reaffirmed time and again "the immutability of the policy of the U.S.S.R. aimed at establishing all-round co-operation with the United States." While proclaiming that they are building "communism" in the Soviet Union, they are speeding up the restoration of capitalism. Amidst the dust and din of their "united action," they called the divisive March Moscow meeting, stepping up their divisive activities, and they are now hatching a big plot for a general attack on China and a general split in the international communist movement and the socialist camp. They are going farther and farther along the road of Khrushchov revisionism.

And what will they continue to be? Whether or not they can return to the path of Marxism-Leninism and whether or not they can return to the path of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement, depend mainly on whether or not they themselves can repudiate the revisionist general line laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and in the Programme of the C.P.S.U. Unless they utterly repudiate this line, whatever tricks they play and whatever patching they do can only prove that they are still practising Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov. All Marxist-Leninists, the great Soviet people and the revolutionary people everywhere have no alternative but to continue to expose them and fight them to the end.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are shouting themselves hoarse for "united action." Above all, they are clamouring for "united action" on the question of Vietnam. But it is precisely on this question, which is the focus of the present international struggle, that their anti-revolutionary position is revealed in its most concentrated form. Far from believing that the Vietnamese people can win in a people's war against U.S. imperialist aggression, they are afraid that this will bring them "troubles" and hamper their collaboration with U.S. imperialism. Whatever pretences they put up, in the final analysis all their activities are aimed at united action with U.S. imperialism to bring the question of Vietnam into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration, help U.S. imperialism to realize the plot of "peaceful negotiations" and extinguish the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's revolution. The slogan of "united action" has now become a poisoned weapon in the hands of the Khrushchov revisionists for sowing dis-

sension. In co-ordination with U.S. imperialism, they are vainly trying to use this slogan to undermine the fighting friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the Vietnamese people's unity against U.S. aggression. The Vietnamese people are waging a victorious struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people to give their staunch support to the just revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people and firmly expose the plot of "united action" hatched by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. assert that anyone who does not take "united action" with them is "encouraging the imperialists to launch their ventures." This is turning things upside down. Is it not the very policies of appeasement and capitulationism of the revisionist leading group of the C.P.S.U. and its line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination that are helping to inflate the aggressive arrogance of U.S. imperialism? It should be pointed out that it is the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. themselves who are actually "encouraging the imperialists to launch their ventures."

What the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. fear most is that the Marxist-Leninists will draw a line of demarcation between themselves and these leaders. But, as Lenin said,

The great work of uniting and consolidating the fighting army of the revolutionary proletariat cannot be carried out unless a line of demarcation is drawn and a ruthless struggle is waged against those who serve to spread bourgeois influence among the proletariat.¹

By clinging to their revisionism and splittism the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have placed themselves in direct antagonism to Marxism-Leninism. In such circumstances, can the Marxist-Leninists be expected to fail to draw a line of demarcation, both politically and organizationally, between themselves and the new leaders of the C.P.S.U.?

If we failed to draw a clear line of demarcation, both politically and organizationally, between ourselves and the Khrushchov revisionists:

Wouldn't we be joining them in betraying Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and become revisionists ourselves?

Wouldn't we be joining them in entering into the service of U.S. imperialism and acting as its accomplices?

Wouldn't we be joining them in undermining the revolution of the fraternal Vietnamese people and rendering service to the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression against Vietnam and of war expansion?

Wouldn't we be accepting them as the "patriarchal father Party" and serving as an instrument under their

¹ V.I. Lenin, "Resolution Adopted by the Second Paris Group of the R.S.D.L.P. on the State of Affairs in the Party," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Vol. XVII, p. 223.

baton, recognizing their big-power privileged status and serving as their appendage?

Wouldn't we be following them in restoring capitalism at home and once again reducing the broad masses of labouring people to a position in which they are oppressed and exploited?

Wouldn't we be following them in putting ourselves in antagonism to the people of our own country and the whole world and heading for a miserable end without being able to escape the punishment of history?

As a serious Marxist-Leninist Party, the Communist Party of China can only give the categorical answer that we will do none of these things either now or in the future.

The Chinese Communist Party has consistently upheld the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp. The only genuine unity is unity based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. What the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. call "unity" is sham unity. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement, and their betrayal can only lead to a split. We want genuine unity and resolutely oppose sham unity. It is for the sake of achieving genuine international proletarian unity that we are waging struggles against Khrushchov revisionism.

Together with all the other Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world, the Chinese Communists will continue, as always, to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, abide by the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end.

The world is on the march. It is our strong conviction that the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism and the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism are bound to keep on winning new great victories.

On December 30, 1965, the day the foregoing article was published, *Renmin Ribao* reprinted in full the December 12 anti-Chinese article by the editorial department of *Pravda*, entitled "Line Confirmed by Life Itself." It also reprinted extracts from the following six anti-Chinese articles appearing recently in the Soviet press. They are: "Correct Path of Unity" in *Izvestia* on December 7; "Guarantee of New Victories for World Communist Movement Is Solidarity" by the editorial department of *Krasnaya Zvezda* on December 14; "Banner of Unity" in *Sovietskaya Rossiya* on December 14; "Let Revolutionary Forces Unite" in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on December 14; "Militant Banner of International Communist Movement" in *Selskaya Zhizn* on December 7; and "A Compass to Steer By" in issue No. 50, 1965, of *New Times*.

Renmin Ribao, on December 29, 1965, devoted nearly three pages to the full text of the following three articles marking the 5th anniversary of the publication of the Moscow Statement:

1, The December 6 editorial of the Korean paper *Rodong Shinmoon*, "Unite All Revolutionary Forces and Wage a More Powerful Anti-Imperialist Struggle."

2, The December 10 article of the editorial department of the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*, "The Khrushchov Revisionists Are Facing Serious Difficulties, Setbacks and Contradictions."

3, The December 7 editorial of the Japanese Communist Party organ *Akahata*, "Struggle Against Modern Revisionism, Strengthen the International Fight Against U.S. Imperialism."

On the same day, *Renmin Ribao* also reprinted extracts from an article in the December issue (No. 17) of the *Australian Communist*, the theoretical journal of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). The article condemned the Khrushchov revisionists for entering into an alliance with the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries to oppose China and oppose revolution. — P.R. Editor.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

ment, cargo vessels, lorries, steel oil pipes, oil products, chemicals and other goods.

China-G.D.R. Treaty Anniversary

The tenth anniversary of the signing of the Friendship and Co-operation Treaty between China and the German Democratic Republic (December 25) was celebrated in Peking and Berlin.

Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Willi Stoph exchanged messages of greetings.

The anniversary was marked in Peking with a banquet given by Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Wang Ping-nan. Gunter Kohrt, G.D.R. Ambassador to China, was among the guests present.

Vice-Minister Wang Ping-nan described the treaty as one conforming to the vital interests of the people of both countries and to the interests

of world peace. He said: "The Chinese people consistently support the people of the G.D.R. in their just struggle against West German militarism, for the conclusion of a peace treaty and in defence of national sovereignty."

Ambassador Kohrt said that the growth of relations between the two countries and the friendship between their peoples were conducive to the struggle against imperialism and for peace and to the building of socialism.

The U.N.— A Market-Place for U.S.-Soviet Political Deals

THE 20th session of the United Nations General Assembly has concluded. Both the United States and the Soviet Union are quite satisfied with it and can hardly conceal their pleasure.

Giving an appraisal of the session, U.S. delegate Goldberg said that it "has made progress" and that "it is because of the willingness to reach accommodation on varying viewpoints that the Assembly session on balance is a constructive one."

TASS, the Soviet news agency, lauded the session for "passing a number of constructive decisions" and "taking most weighty actions," thus "entering a fine page in the annals of the United Nations."

Why are they so pleased? For no other reason than that, with the United States and the Soviet Union working hand in glove with each other, this session of the General Assembly has done a lot of evil.

It must be said that during the session, many Asian and African countries made great efforts to have the United Nations act in accordance with its own Charter and play the role it is supposed to play. Thanks to their efforts, U.S. imperialism and its partners did not succeed in all their designs.

However, when all is said and done, the United Nations is still a tool in the hands of the United States and it is becoming more and more a place where the Soviet Union and the United States make their political deals. **The 20th session was a conference for opposing the revolutionary movements of the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. It was an anti-China conference, a conference which wilfully interfered in the internal affairs of sovereign states and a conference for pursuing the policy of American-Soviet co-operation for the domination of the world.**

As a matter of fact, the United States and the Soviet Union had already speeded up their collusion before the session started and this became more obvious during its course. Let us look back to see what "constructive" and "weighty" actions they took before and during the General Assembly.

Behind-the-Scenes Bargaining Over the Vietnam Question. The Vietnam question has nothing to do with the United Nations and it has no right to include it on its agenda. Nevertheless the U.N. rostrum was used for

peddling U.S. imperialism's "peace talks" swindle. At a time when the Johnson Administration was pouring reinforcements into south Vietnam, wantonly bombing north Vietnam and making intensified efforts to spread the flames of war in Indo-China, U.S. delegate Goldberg had the impudence to ask the member states of the United Nations to "use their influence" to force the Vietnamese people to accept Johnson's "unconditional discussions" proposal. How did the Soviet delegate react to Goldberg's appeal? Gromyko made a high-sounding speech in which he uttered a few remarks to chide the United States. Goldberg knew what this gesture meant, so he shrugged his shoulders and indicated that he did not mind this "scolding."

While this performance was taking place on the platform of the General Assembly, other dealings were going on in the back room. Gromyko held several secret talks with Rusk. What they were up to remains a secret to the outside world. But United Press International has revealed that the United States and the Soviet Union "had an unwritten agreement not to whip up any new crisis in Europe." Now, everybody sees that the United States is transferring part of its armed forces, artillery and munitions from Europe to south Vietnam.

Endorsing U.S. Imperialism's Armed Intervention in the Dominican Republic. By sending the marines to Santo Domingo to put down the armed uprising of the patriotic soldiers and people of the Dominican Republic, the United States has committed an act of naked aggression. But the United Nations did not even utter a single word to denounce it. At the Security Council, the Soviet Union first agreed to put off the vote on the resolution calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Dominican Republic, thus enabling the U.S. aggressor to go on with its sanguinary massacre there of the patriotic soldiers and people. Later, it joined the United States in voting to authorize the U.N. Secretary-General to send representatives to the Dominican Republic to conduct an "investigation," which would enable the United States to take further steps to intervene in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic through the instrumentality of the United Nations. Finally, the Soviet Union voted in favour of a "permanent ceasefire" in the Dominican Republic with a view to forcing the patriotic soldiers and people of

U.N. Has No Right to Discuss Korean Question

A NEW entry has been inserted into the shameful record of the United Nations with the adoption at the 20th session of the U.N. General Assembly of a resolution on the so-called Korean question supporting U.S. imperialist aggression and interfering in Korea's internal affairs. In its December 25 editorial "The United Nations Is U.S. Imperialism's Tool for Aggression Against Korea," *Renmin Ribao* said that, by adopting this resolution, the U.N. had committed another wanton offence against the people of Korea and the rest of the world. The editorial pledged the Chinese people's firm support for the just stand of the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic as expressed by its Foreign Ministry's spokesman on December 23 when he declared that all U.S. aggressor forces must be withdrawn from south Korea, the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" must be dissolved, all illegal U.N. resolutions on the "Korean question" must be cancelled and the Korean question must be solved by the Korean people themselves.

Renmin Ribao's editorial pointed out that the so-called Korean question was nothing but armed aggression against Korea by U.S. imperialism under the U.N. flag. It added: "It is now more than ten years since the end of the Korean War. But tens of thousands of U.S. aggressor troops are still occupying south Korea, riding roughshod over the people there and keeping the country divided over the years. South Korea has in fact been turned into an American colony. If the United Nations really honours its own Charter, it should first and foremost condemn the United States as the aggressor and demand that its troops get out of south Korea. Now, however, the U.N. General Assembly resolution openly supports U.S. aggression against Korea. This proves once again that the U.N. is Washington's willing tool for pushing its policies of aggression and war."

The editorial noted that the resolution approved the continued presence of the U.S. aggressor forces in south Korea in the name of the "U.N. forces." The resolution also declared that the "objectives" of the United Nations in Korea were to bring about the establishment of a "unified" Korea "under a representative form of government." All this, said *Renmin Ribao's* editorial, showed that U.S. imperialism was not satisfied with occupying half of Korea, but wanted to extend its neo-colonialist rule in south Korea to the north through so-called "elections under U.N. supervision," thereby turning the whole of Korea into its colony. But Washington's wild dream would never materialize, the editorial declared.

Stressing that the United Nations had no right at all to meddle in the Korean question, the editorial said: "U.S. imperialism launched its war of aggression against Korea under the signboard of the United Nations. On the Korean question, U.S. imperialism has put the United Nations in the same position as itself, namely, that of a belligerent party and an aggressor." It reaffirmed that the only road to solving the Korean question was the withdrawal of the U.S. aggressor troops from south Korea and that the reunification of Korea must be accomplished by the Korean people themselves.

The China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the China-Korea Friendship Association and five other national organizations issued a joint statement on December 25 denouncing U.S. imperialism for manipulating the U.N. General Assembly to serve its policy of aggression against Korea. Expressing the Chinese people's support for the just stand of the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the statement said: "The Chinese people will stand resolutely by the fraternal Korean people and fight shoulder to shoulder with them to defeat U.S. imperialism."

that country to lay down their arms. The Soviet leaders can never evade their share of the responsibility for the sanguinary crime committed by U.S. imperialism in slaughtering the Dominican patriots.

Shielding Indian Aggression Against Pakistan. On this question, another "model" of American-Soviet collaboration was produced. The Security Council acted with top speed and passed four resolutions in succession after the massive invasion launched by the Indian reactionaries had met with Pakistan's counter-attack in self-defence. What kind of stuff is in these imposing documents? First of all, they did not condemn the Indian reactionaries as the aggressor. Secondly, they disapproved of Pakistan's counter-attack in self-defence. Thirdly, they did not allow other countries to support

the just struggle of Pakistan. On the Kashmir question, the Security Council, ignoring the Kashmiri people's right to self-determination, simply shelved its own previous resolution on holding a plebiscite in this area. It is evident to all how U.S. imperialism has done everything it can to shield India. Unashamed, the Soviet leaders have come out openly to act as the protector of the Indian reactionaries. They have behaved even more blatantly than the U.S. imperialists. No wonder Shastri and the Indian press declared with tearful gratitude that the Soviet Union "has been most helpful" to India and "in the Security Council, Russia simply refused to agree to any resolution or motion which was not acceptable to India. Every time the U.S.S.R. virtually exercised the veto in favour of India."

Authorizing Britain to "Pacify" the Situation in Southern Rhodesia. It is common knowledge that the fascist Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia was set up with the connivance and support of British imperialism. Yet the Soviet representative went to the extent of voting with U.S. and British imperialism in the Security Council for the resolution urging Britain to "pacify" the South Rhodesian situation. In other words, they were actually asking Britain to put down the anti-imperialist struggle of the Zimbabwe people. This is another act of betrayal of the African people's revolutionary struggle by the Soviet leaders following what happened in the Congo (Leopoldville).

Working Actively to Set Up a Permanent U.N. Force. The Soviet Union and the United States have in the last few years been trying to arrange a major deal on the establishment under the blue-and-white U.N. flag of a counter-revolutionary force for suppressing and interfering with the revolutionary movements of the people all over the world. The Soviet leaders have always been very enthusiastic about this. The United States and the Soviet Union have already agreed in principle to finance this counter-revolutionary armed force with American dollars and Soviet rubles. The only difference — and it is a minor one — is over the issue of whether this force should be placed under the command of the U.N. General Assembly or the Security Council. It seems that it will not be too difficult to surmount this insignificant obstacle. At the 20th General Assembly, the Soviet and American delegates both acclaimed the "importance" of establishing such a world gendarme. They both voted for the U.N. "special committee for peace-keeping operations" to "review" this question "carefully" and "finish its work as soon as possible."

"Preventing Nuclear Proliferation" and Consolidating Nuclear Monopoly. The 20th General Assembly session thoroughly exposed the extraordinary anxiety of the Soviet leaders to share a monopoly of nuclear weapons between themselves and the U.S. imperialists. The moment he arrived at the United Nations, Gromyko proposed that the question of the "non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" be put on the agenda as an important and pressing question, and he submitted a draft treaty on it. The Soviet and American leaders are of one mind on this question. Goldberg said that "the first priority in this effort [for disarmament] must be given to halting the spread of nuclear weapons." It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union and the United States have long carried out behind-the-scenes consultations over the "prevention of nuclear proliferation." At the 20th session they voted for the 8-nation motion tabled by India, Brazil and others asking the Geneva disarmament conference to resume meeting at an early date "to give urgent consideration to the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." It seems that they are in a great hurry to make an early deal on the "prevention of nuclear proliferation" in order to deprive the peace-loving nations of their right to possess the

means of defence against U.S. imperialist nuclear blackmail.

Anti-China Clamour. At the latest session of the General Assembly, U.S. imperialism tried hard to stir up an anti-China campaign and intervened flagrantly in China's internal affairs. On the question of restoring to China its legitimate rights in the United Nations, the United States lined up its hirelings to raise a ballyhoo, slandering China as adopting "belligerent attitudes," being committed "to the use of force," and working to disrupt U.N. "mediation" of the Indo-Pakistan conflict and to "weaken" and "subvert" the United Nations.

Under the manipulation of U.S. imperialism, the United Nations again used what it called the "Tibet question" to smear China. But U.S. imperialism's attacks and slanders against China were very unpopular. This was convincingly demonstrated by the fact that in the debate on the restoration to China of its legitimate rights, as many as 47 votes were cast in favour of China.

What was the stand taken by the Soviet delegate in the face of U.S. imperialism's anti-China clamour? During the debate on China's representation, Goldberg poured forth a stream of slanders against China. But Soviet delegate Fedorenko spoke perfunctorily for only 12 minutes. U.S. imperialism gave due appreciation to this performance of the Soviet delegate. To quote Goldberg: "It was one of the shortest speeches the Soviet Union has ever delivered on the subject in the United Nations, and . . . it was delivered apparently just for the record."

Besides, the Soviet delegate missed no opportunity to assail China by insinuation and thereby joined the anti-China chorus orchestrated by U.S. imperialism. Gromyko said that "certain persons" assumed a "nihilist" attitude towards the United Nations and spread "pessimism" about disarmament. He declared that the Indo-Pakistan conflict could only work to the "advantage" of "a third party," and told others "not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries on ideological or other grounds." Is there much difference between such remarks and the anti-China slanders of U.S. imperialism?

In addition, under manipulation from U.S. imperialism, the 20th session once again discussed the so-called Korean question and passed an illegal "resolution" on the subject. In doing so, the purpose of U.S. imperialism was not only to enable its aggressor forces to continue their occupation of south Korea. It also wants to pursue more energetically its policy of aggression in the name of the United Nations and make south Korea a bridgehead for an attack on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and for a new war in Asia.

The above are merely the more important items. From them it is not difficult to see how the Soviet leadership colludes with U.S. imperialism to oppose the revolutionary peoples of the world through the instrumentality of the United Nations. They are invariably cheek by jowl with each other on vital present-day world issues. **Through the United Nations, the destiny**

of the Khrushchov revisionists is being interwoven ever more closely with that of the U.S. imperialists.

The new Soviet leaders have complained more than once that the Vietnam question has hindered the "détente" in Soviet-American relations and caused a "freezing" of these relations. Such professions can fool no one. People have seen that like Khrushchov, the new Soviet leaders have used the United Nations as an avenue for collusion with the U.S. imperialists, and they have even gone further than Khrushchov. In trying to fulfil their fond dream of Soviet-American co-operation for worldwide domination, they have not hesitated to betray the revolutionary cause of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the people of the world in general, and they have readily served as an accomplice of the U.S. imperialists.

In order to achieve Soviet-American co-operation, Khrushchov naturally made use of the instrumentality of the United Nations, but what he was more interested in was a dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, such as the Camp David talks, the Vienna conference and the "hot line." He was very boisterous and made quite a show of it. The result was his own exposure followed by his shameful bankruptcy. The

new Soviet leaders have drawn lessons from Khrushchov's downfall and now increasingly arrange their deals with the United States through the United Nations. They think that in this way they can hide themselves among the 100-odd countries in the U.N. where they can conduct "parallel" actions with the United States and engage in "corridor diplomacy," so that they can freely cook up deals with the United States without being noticed by the world public. **But this is in vain. The people of the world are able to see and to judge for themselves.** This vicious performance of the new Soviet leaders will only serve to expose their own ugly nature.

For many years, the United Nations under the thumb of U.S. imperialism has done a lot of bad things. At present, with the leadership of the Soviet Union working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism for their joint control and greater misuse of the United Nations, this organization is bound to do more evil.

Today, both the U.S. imperialists and Khrushchov revisionists are going all out for "upholding" and "strengthening" the United Nations. But the more evil it does, the quicker it will go bankrupt. Such is the dialectics of history.

(*"Renmin Ribao's" editorial, December 27, 1965.*)

How Low Can They Sink!

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

THE Khrushchov revisionists have spread quite a lot of malicious reports about China on the subject of "the transit of supplies of aid to Vietnam."

Recently the Moscow weekly *Za Rubezhom* (*Life Abroad*) has made an addition by reprinting a *New York Times* dispatch which said that China, according to its regulations, had demanded payment in dollars, not rubles, for freight charges of shipments of Soviet military and medical aid in transit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In these few words, an attempt is made to portray China as a money-grubber so obsessed by lust for profit that it would profiteer in a war at the expense of the Vietnamese people's blood and sacrifice. What an attempt! Nothing could be more sinister.

But it is really too crude for those gentlemen, the editors of *Za Rubezhom*, to attack China by quoting from the American press.

One may inquire: If the facts are such as given in the weekly, why should Soviet journals rely on quotations from the U.S. imperialist press instead of themselves saying what they want to say with a clear conscience?

One may also ask these people: Since you want the readers to believe what is said in the *New York Times*, and since China and the Soviet Union are the only two parties involved in the transit of aid supplies

to Vietnam, isn't it clear that you and you alone are the source of the rumours spread by the Americans?

This is not the first time that the Soviet leaders have kicked up a big fuss against China over the so-called question of aid supplies to Vietnam. Slanders and rumours have been spread far and wide ever since last March. At one time it was alleged that China "obstructs the transit of Soviet supplies of aid to Vietnam," and at another time it was said that China was "creating difficulties" for such transit. Such rumours were first spread by Western newsmen in Moscow, and then the party organs of certain East European countries jumped at them and published them. Now the Soviet press, in turn, has used the *New York Times* dispatch in an attempt to vilify China and undermine the unity of China and Vietnam in opposing U.S. imperialism. This has shed further light on the fact that the Khrushchov revisionists and the U.S. imperialists are working in complicity and echoing each other.

However, lies cannot stand up to facts. We do not find it necessary to make public all the details about this subject, suffice it to mention a few points:

1. After assuming power, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have seen that the Vietnamese people have won tremendous victories in their anti-U.S. struggle, so they have switched from Khrushchov's policy of

U.S.S.R., U.S. Gang Up to Slander China

AN outright fabrication by the *New York Times* to the effect that China was demanding payment in dollars from the Soviet Union for the freight charges of the latter's supplies of aid to Vietnam was reprinted by the Soviet weekly *Za Rubezhom* (*Life Abroad*) in its issue No. 50 of December 10-16 last year.

This is one more example of how far the Khrushchov revisionists have gone in joining up with the U.S. imperialists to vilify China and drive a wedge between China and Vietnam.

Both publications dared not give the source of this lie, the real manufacturer. They simply said in vague terms that "this was reported among Asian circles."

The fabrication as reprinted in *Za Rubezhom* said: "Communist China demands and receives from the Soviet Union payments for freight charges for shipments of military and medical supplies in transit to north Vietnam. This was reported among Asian circles. Peking refused to accept payments in rubles and demanded dollars, which it needs for overseas purchases, these circles said. This was reported soon after the representative of the Soviet Union speaking at the Political Committee of the (U.N.) General Assembly promised to give north Vietnam further economic and military aid as well as full political support."

What, then, are the actual facts? The truth is: On February 25, 1965, the Soviet side requested the Chinese side to help transport a shipment of military supplies to Vietnam and said that the Soviet Government was ready to pay the transit charges. The Chinese Government, nevertheless, decided to do this free of all charges.

On March 30, the two sides signed a protocol in which it was explicitly stipulated that China would transport such shipments in transit free of charge. Since then, all shipments of Soviet military supplies to Vietnam, which the Soviet side requested China to transport by Chinese railways, were transitted free of charge in accordance with the protocol.

With regard to Soviet economic supplies sent to Vietnam by Chinese railways, the Soviet side did so through arrangements of transportation by railways of the socialist countries and paid the freight charges in rubles in accordance with the provisions of the International Agreement on Transportation of Goods by Railways.

The Soviet Union itself is well aware of all these facts.

The fact that *Za Rubezhom* reprinted and spread the U.S. imperialist anti-China slander reveals to what depths the Khrushchov revisionists have sunk.

disengagement to a policy of involvement and decided to send weapons to Vietnam. Their aim is to gain the right to have a say, control and representation on the Vietnam question in the name of aid so as to strike a political deal with the United States.

2. The Soviet Union is duty bound to aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and to save their country. As far as Soviet military materiel to Vietnam is concerned, the greater the quantity and the more practical the better. But so far, a great part of the Soviet military equipment supplied to Vietnam consists of obsolete equipment discarded by the Soviet armed forces or damaged weapons cleaned out of warehouses. Both in quantity or quality, they not only are far from commensurate with the strength of the Soviet Union but also far, far inferior to the aid the Soviet Union has given to the Indian reactionaries.

3. To discharge its proletarian internationalist duty, China has always done what it can to support the Vietnamese people, politically, economically and militarily, in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and to save their country. China has always honoured the agreements and done its utmost to speedily transport

to Vietnam all military materiel in overland transit which was furnished by the Soviet Union. Every shipment thus made is on record. China makes no charge for all these trans-shipments. We have not charged the Soviet Union a single kopeck, let alone U.S. dollars.

This is the truth of the matter.

Ever since they came to power, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., when they cannot come up with reasonable arguments and have no facts to present, have outdone Khrushchov in resorting more frequently to rumour-mongering, slander and sowing discord. At meetings of various kinds in the Soviet Union, in bilateral contacts between the Soviet Union and other countries and at all international meetings, they have created and spread all sorts of new and extraordinary lies about China to deceive the Soviet and other peoples of the world who do not know the true state of affairs. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have sunk to the depths of depending on rumour-mongering for their existence.

But lies do not go far. Once the slander is exposed, the ugly features of the slanderer are completely revealed.

("Renmin Ribao," December 23, 1965.)

China Backs Cambodia Against U.S. War Threats

The Chinese people will give all-out support to Cambodia's struggle against U.S. imperialism, should U.S. imperialism and its vassals launch military aggression against Cambodia.

RECENTLY, U.S. imperialism has made repeated war threats against the Kingdom of Cambodia and openly declared that it has authorized the commanders of its combat forces in south Vietnam to "pursue Communist forces" into Cambodian territory for the purpose of so-called "self-defence." In this connection, the Royal Government of Cambodia issued statements on December 25 and 26; and His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cambodia, spoke on this question on December 27. The Royal Government of Cambodia sternly protested against this peremptory decision of the U.S. Government, solemnly declared that the Kingdom of Cambodia would reply to any violation of its frontiers with the military means at its disposal, and asked the Soviet and British Co-Chairmen and all the participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference to take a clear-cut position. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support this solemn stand and just demand of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

U.S. imperialism has been premeditating military aggression against the Kingdom of Cambodia for a long time. It has never stopped its war provocations against the Kingdom of Cambodia while escalating its war of aggression in Vietnam. It has instructed the forces of Thailand and the puppet clique in south Vietnam to constantly harass and invade the Cambodian frontiers and has sent its air force units to bomb peaceful villages of Cambodia and kill their inhabitants. It has repeatedly spread the lie that Cambodia has become a "passage way" and "sanctuary" of the South Vietnam Liberation Army, attempting to use this as a pretext for large-scale invasion of Cambodia. Particularly of late, after U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara's seventh visit to Saigon, the Johnson Administration has intensified the planning and execution of adventurist measures to escalate its war of aggression in south Vietnam and spread it to the surrounding areas, and thus Cambodia has become all the more a target of attack by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The authorization of U.S. forces in south Vietnam by the U.S. Government to "pursue" into Cambodia is in fact an extremely serious sign that U.S. imperialism is preparing to spread the flames of its war of aggression against Vietnam to the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The Kingdom of Cambodia is a peace-loving country, which consistently pursues a policy of peace and neutrality; it has never committed any aggression or posed a

threat to the security of any country. It has resolutely defended its independence, sovereignty and national dignity and opposed the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Consequently, U.S. imperialism has always regarded Cambodia as a thorn in its side and subjected her to acts of aggression, subversion and sabotage in a thousand and one ways. Now, while U.S. imperialism avows "respect" for Cambodia's territorial integrity, it has publicly stated its intention of invading her territory on the pretext of "self-defence" and "pursuit." This has once again exposed the Johnson Administration's hypocrisy and gangster nature.

But the threats of U.S. imperialism will in no way frighten the heroic Cambodian people. His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk has said that the Cambodian people will never retreat before the enemy and that "if they want to wage war against us, let them do so, we are waiting for them." This is the Cambodian people's gallant reply to the U.S. imperialist threats. The Kingdom of Cambodia is an independent and sovereign state. Entry into Cambodian territory by troops of U.S. imperialism or its vassals under any name will be flagrant aggression against Cambodia. The Cambodian people will have every right to fight back, and the peace-loving countries and people of the world will have every right to help them resist aggression. We plainly warn the U.S. imperialists: In your aggression against Vietnam you have been badly battered by the heroic Vietnamese people and have become utterly discredited before the whole world. If you have the temerity to spread the flames of your war of aggression to Cambodia, you are bound to suffer still more disastrous defeats.

China is an intimate neighbour of the Kingdom of Cambodia and a signatory to the 1954 Geneva agreements. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for its war threats against the Kingdom of Cambodia and resolutely respond to the appeal of the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The Chinese Government hereby declares that in the event of military aggression against the peace-loving Kingdom of Cambodia by U.S. imperialism and its vassal countries, the 650 million Chinese people will back the Cambodian people and give them all-out support in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression.

(December 28, 1965)

Peking Review, No. 1

How China Raises Funds for National Construction

by LI CHENG-JUI

China finances its socialist construction out of its own resources.

The following article describes why and how this is done.

THE People's Republic of China has risen to its feet like a giant. In the short space of 16 years it has radically transformed the face of old China. Its great achievements in industry, agriculture, communications, transport and other fields inspire its friends and dismay its enemies. Today it is marching forward with lengthened, firmer strides.

Where Investment Funds Come From

To build one must have funds to invest. Old China was known for its poverty. New China, however, has successfully accumulated and invested a large amount of funds in the course of construction over the past decade and more. In the First Five-Year Plan period (1953-57), state investments in economic and cultural construction alone were equivalent to 700 million taels of gold. Where did these funds come from?

Modern industrial enterprises were established in China in the latter years of the Ching Dynasty and during the subsequent Northern warlords' regime and the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Including those privately-owned by the national bourgeoisie and those set up in northeast China under Japanese rule, the total value of the fixed assets of enterprises built during these 70 years (1880-1949) amounted to only about 20,000 million yuan. Yet in the First Five-Year Plan period alone, 46,000 million yuan of new fixed assets were added. The amount of fixed assets added in the Second Five-Year Plan period (1958-62) was even much greater. How was this achieved?

By foreign loans? The loans which New China received from the Soviet Union and their accrued interest totalled only 1,406 million new rubles. It must be noted that these debts were mostly incurred in the early days of the People's Republic. If state revenue from 1950 to 1959 is taken as 100, only 2 per cent of this was made up of foreign loans. That is to say, 98 per cent of the revenue came from internal sources. Moreover, these loans, received from the Soviet Union, and the accrued interest had all been paid off ahead of time by 1965. China is now a country without any foreign debts. Furthermore, New China has provided

in aid to other socialist and nationalist countries a much larger amount in funds and material than the foreign loans it itself received.

Road of Self-Reliance

A study of history shows that nations have followed different paths in carrying out industrialization and the modernization of agriculture and in tackling the problem of raising funds for construction.

Britain relied on savage plunder of its colonies over a period of several decades or even several centuries. Marx pointed out: "Speaking only of the *value of the commodities* the Indians have gratuitously and annually to *send over* to England—it amounts to *more than the total sum of income of the sixty millions of agricultural and industrial labourers of India!*"¹

Germany depended mainly on war indemnities. After defeating France in 1870, it extorted 5,000 million francs from the vanquished. The number of factories, mines and railway lines built in the four ensuing years exceeded what could have been built in 25 years under normal conditions.

Tsarist Russia relied mainly on enslaving loans, with the result that it steadily reduced itself to dependence on foreign capital.

Many other capitalist countries more often than not employed all three methods at one and the same time. The United States, for instance, brutally slaughtered the Indians, engaged in the slave trade, ceaselessly expanded its colonial interests and exploited other countries.

New China could never adopt the methods of the capitalist countries. Plunder, extortion, exploitation and fleecing are as incompatible with the socialist nature of New China as fire and water.

What therefore should be done? Some people proposed that China should be developed with the aid of foreign capital. But history has proved that far

¹ Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, pp. 385-86.

from speeding up the tempo of construction, reliance on foreign investments could only plunge China into a colonial abyss. That road could not be taken.

The path New China chose was the road of self-reliance pointed out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Three Revealing Figures

Can such a poor country as China rely on its own efforts? Has it got internal sources for the accumulation of funds for construction?

The answer is: Yes. And the most important reason for this is that the national democratic revolution has been accomplished in China, and so has socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production. As a result of these two revolutions:

Imperialist rule in China has been uprooted. The wealth which used to be carried off by the imperialists can now be invested in construction.

Feudalism has been overthrown. The wealth seized in cold-blooded exploitation by the landlords to indulge their lavish way of life can now be used partly for construction, with the bulk being set aside to improve the peasants' livelihood.

Bureaucrat-capitalism has been overthrown. The national wealth grabbed by the bureaucrat-capitalists to squander on luxury and loose-living can now be used for construction too.

Socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has been carried out. Following the conversion of capitalist enterprises into joint state-private enterprises, the profits of these enterprises are mostly used for national construction with only a small part going to the capitalists as a "fixed rate of interest" on their shares.

In a word, China is not without funds of its own for construction. The fact is that in the past the bulk of these potential funds were pocketed by the imperialists, landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists. The victory of the Chinese revolution has enabled the real owners—the people—to regain what belongs to them. The labouring people are now building their own country with the wealth which they themselves have created.

To understand this in more concrete terms, let us examine three figures found in modern Chinese history: 450 million taels of silver; 500 million taels of gold and 70,000 million *jin* of grain.

The 450 million taels of silver was the war indemnity imposed upon China in 1901 following the armed invasion of China by the Eight-Power Allied Army. This was merely one of many such indemnities. In addition to this, an incalculable amount of wealth was seized by the imperialists through such other means as dumping, exports of capital, unequal tariff rates and smuggling.

The 500 million taels of gold was the wealth amassed through exploitation by the Four Big Families of Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, H.H. Kung and the Chen brothers over 22 years of Kuomintang rule.

The 70,000 million *jin* of grain was the aggregate total of rent paid by the peasants each year to the landlords before the land reform. Because of the exorbitant rents which they paid, the peasants were unable to expand production; they were even unable to keep their farms going or eke out a bare livelihood.

These figures indicate how considerable were the riches which the industrious and courageous Chinese people could use for construction once they became the masters of their country!

Develop the Economy and Ensure Supplies

But the possibility of making use of the wealth which used to be seized by the imperialists and the exploiting classes at home is only one aspect of the matter. Still more important is this other aspect: When the broad masses of the labouring people shake off exploitation and oppression and get organized on the basis of a generally high level of political consciousness, they can give full play to their initiative and creativeness, and, in the words of the slogan of the general line for building socialism, "go all out and aim high" to carry forward the national economy "with greater, faster, better and more economical results." Under the socialist system, with its superior advantages, the working people, once their wisdom and talents are brought into play, can raise the productive forces ten or even a hundred times above that of the old society, and thereby give continuous drive to the development of the entire national economy. The growth of the economy and expansion of production and circulation in turn provide more financial resources.

As early as the revolutionary war period, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The general policy guiding our economic and financial work is to develop the economy and ensure supplies." He added that "while a good or a bad financial policy affects the economy, it is the economy that determines finance."²

The history of the revolutionary wars and the present-day reality of socialist construction alike testify to the correctness of this policy.

The First Five-Year Plan period, for instance, averaged a yearly progressive increase of 18 per cent in industrial production, 4.5 per cent in agriculture, and 12.1 per cent in financial revenue (somewhere between the tempo of industrial and agricultural advance). Financial revenue amounted to 17,500 million yuan in the year preceding implementation of the Plan and increased to 31,000 million yuan in the last year of the Plan (1957).

During the Second Five-Year Plan period, China's national economy met with temporary difficulties as a result of three consecutive years of natural calamities and the Khrushchov revisionists' perfidious withdrawal

² "Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 111.

of Soviet experts, and scrapping of hundreds of agreements and contracts. Such difficulties naturally found expression in the scale of state accumulation of funds. But with thorough implementation of the Party's policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" and a series of other measures, the national economy quickly achieved a turn to an all-round improvement. The scale of accumulation also saw a corresponding increase. The 1965 state plan provided that total agricultural and industrial output value would go up by about 5 per cent and 11 per cent respectively over the previous year and budget revenue and expenditure by more than 10 per cent.

To develop the economy means developing not just any type of economy but socialist economy. Our finances can be consolidated only if they are based on a socialist economy.

In the early days of the People's Republic, China's economy comprised five sectors, namely, the state-owned economy, co-operative economy, individual economy of peasants and handicraftsmen, state capitalist economy and capitalist economy. In 1950, 34.1 per cent of state revenue came from state-owned enterprises and co-operatives, 29.6 per cent from the individual peasants and 32.9 per cent from capitalist industry and commerce.

As socialist transformation (so far as ownership of the means of production is concerned) of our agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce was in the main completed in 1956, China's economy was then mainly composed of the socialist state-owned economy and the socialist collective economy. Thus in 1959, 91.8 per cent of state revenue was derived from state-owned economy; 7.4 per cent from the people's communes and other collective enterprises, and less than 1 per cent from the remnants of the capitalist economy and individual peasant economy. This shows that China's financial revenue comes almost entirely from the socialist sector, and that, more significantly, over 90 per cent of the receipts from the socialist sector comes from the state-owned enterprises. This is also indicative of the rock-firm foundation on which China's financial revenue is built.

Building the Country With Diligence and Thrift

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said that "factories, stores, state-owned and co-operative enterprises, all other enterprises — each should be run in keeping with the policy of diligence and frugality. This is a policy of economy, one of the basic policies of socialist economics."³ Ever since it was founded, New China has stressed the importance of running enterprises with thrift and diligence so as to accumulate funds for the state for national construction. We can rely on our own efforts in accumulating such funds because of the great strength represented by the diligent labour of the

³ *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957, p. 67.

650 million Chinese people and their practice of industry and economy in all their undertakings.

In the past few years, many outstanding units characterized by diligence, thrift and tireless effort in the struggle have emerged on every construction front.

On the agricultural front, the Tachai Production Brigade⁴ of Shansi Province has long been an example of self-reliance and hard work. Today, production brigades of the Tachai type are spread all over the country. The Xiadingjia Brigade of Huanghsien County, Shantung Province, is one of the many farming units of this fine type. This brigade is situated in the mountains on the north of the Chiaotung Peninsula among barren hills. It has some 2,400 *mu* of arable land, 80 per cent of which is scattered on the hill slopes. The arable topsoil in many places was only three to four inches thick. In rainstorms water poured in a destructive flood down the mountainsides; in the dry season, the river-beds dried up.

Following the setting up of the people's commune in 1958, the Xiadingjia Production Brigade began the radical transformation of their farmland. Mobilizing their own resources — labour power, materials and funds — they built dams to create reservoirs, cut canals and ditches, set up pumping stations and an irrigation system from the river banks to the mountains. At the same time, they organized large-scale work to level up their fields and afforest the bare mountain slopes. On more than 1,600 *mu* of arable land they have thickened the topsoil to about one metre. They planted orchards on the mountainside. In pre-liberation days, under normal conditions, this brigade raised some 200 *jin* of grain per *mu*. Its years of hard work paid off with an average per-*mu* yield of grain of 920 *jin* in 1964 and all-round advances in forestry, animal husbandry and side-occupations.

On the industrial front, the Taching Oilfield is a typical big enterprise that persists in self-reliance and hard work. This was a vast waste land when the builders of this oilfield arrived. At the start of construction, they slept in tents and with their own hands built huts for wintering. When the cranes came late, to save time, they manhandled huge drilling machines from the trains. This was the spirit that built the Taching Oilfield in record time. The deposits were fully surveyed in a little over a year and a big modern oil enterprise was built up in a short three years.

The Lanchow Oil Refinery, Kansu Province, is another enterprise characterized by diligence, thrift and hard work. Since it went into production in 1959, this refinery has overfulfilled its plan each year; output has risen year by year; its range of products has increased fivefold and more over what was originally planned for it, the quality of all its products is up to standard and production costs have been reduced year by year. This refinery has always maintained a strict system of business accounting. In the four years between 1959

⁴ See *Peking Review*, No. 25, 1964.

and 1963, it accumulated funds for the state amounting to over 60 million yuan more than the total sum the state invested in its construction.

China is relatively poor and this seems to be an unalloyed disadvantage; but as a matter of fact advantage can be taken of this very fact. Poor people want a change, they are full of enthusiasm for it and so are ready to make a great effort to bring that change about. It is by relying on this spirit of building their country with diligence and thrift and through hard work that the Chinese people are promoting their nation's economic growth and accumulating investment funds.

Concentration of Funds in State Hands

The worker and peasant masses create capital accumulations in the course of production. But such accumulations are scattered in the hands of all their various enterprises and people's communes. It is, therefore, necessary to concentrate them in the hands of the state by appropriate methods so that the state can use them in a unified, planned way.

This is done mainly by two methods:

1. Each state enterprise is required to turn in its profits to the state on schedule.

2. Different kinds of taxes are levied. The main taxes are as follows: consolidated tax of industry and commerce; industrial and commercial income tax; the salt tax; customs duties; the agricultural tax; animal husbandry tax, etc. Except for the agricultural tax and the animal husbandry tax which are paid by the production teams or brigades of the rural people's communes, most of the rest of these taxes are paid by state enterprises. No personal income tax is paid in New China.

The funds collected by the two above-mentioned methods have varied in ratio at different periods in the past.

In 1950, the profits paid in by state enterprises made up 13.3 per cent of state revenue; industrial and commercial taxes, 36.3 per cent; and the agricultural tax, 29.2 per cent.

In 1959, profits paid in by state enterprises made up 61.6 per cent of state revenue; industrial and commercial taxes, 29 per cent; while the agricultural tax accounted for only 6.1 per cent.

This change reflects the growth of the socialist economy and demonstrates, in the financial field, the policy of stabilizing the tax burden which the state has adopted towards the peasants for many years now. This policy provides that over a certain period of time the amount of agricultural tax paid to the state by the peasants remains unchanged. Those who have a short-fall in their harvest caused by natural calamities are either exempted from tax or pay a reduced tax. Increase in production is not followed by increased taxation; extra output remains in the hands of the peasants who may use it to better their life and increase the reserve and welfare funds of the production teams or brigades of the people's communes.

State enterprises should not only seek profit because that way leads to revisionism and capitalism and must be resolutely opposed. To make profits by unlawful means, such as speculation or forcing up prices, is all the more impermissible. However, each state enterprise is required to make an earnest effort to improve its business accounting, increase production and reduce production costs and, while fulfilling the state production plan, achieve the quota of profit set by the state and thus provide the state with funds for construction.

In addition to the main methods mentioned above, the state, with the help of its banks, absorbs temporarily idle funds from enterprises in the form of deposits and uses them to provide credits for other enterprises for use as temporary working funds. At the same time, in accordance with the principle of "making banking deposit on a voluntary basis" and "freedom to withdraw deposits," the state absorbs and uses the savings of the people to speed up the turnover of funds and thus increase its financial strength. This also helps to promote among the people the practice of "running one's household industriously and frugally."

"Do What You Can Afford, Do More With Less Money"

The question of funds is not confined to how to accumulate them; it also involves how to make the most rational use of them.

There are always contradictions between the possibilities of capital accumulation and the needs of construction, between the available state revenue and the demands for state expenditure. Our policy for dealing with these contradictions is: Do what we can afford and do more with less money.

To do what we can afford means to take full account of objective laws and carefully calculate our strength and resources. To do more with less money means to give full play to our initiative and do our best. If we guide our actions by wishful thinking and insist on doing more than our money and other material resources allow, the result will be "more haste, less speed." On the other hand, if we refrain from doing things which can be done by making an earnest effort, this will retard construction.

The fiscal policy of the People's Republic of China has always been to ensure a budgetary balance with a small surplus. The financial deficits which plagued old China and beset capitalist countries have long disappeared in New China as a result of implementation of the policy of doing what we can afford and of doing more with less money.

To apply this policy in allocating state outlays means putting most of our appropriations into economic and cultural construction and cutting down state administrative expenses as much as possible. Take the First Five-Year Plan for example: of total expenditure, 49.5 per cent went to economic construction; 14.5 per cent to culture, education, public health and social welfare; 22.3 per cent to national defence; and 8.6 per cent to administration.

Since the winter of 1964, China has carried out on an extensive scale the movements to revolutionize management of enterprises and designing work. One of the objectives of these movements is to realize the aim of doing more with less money. To revolutionize management of enterprises means mainly to reform management systems, streamline administrative structures, reduce the number of non-productive personnel, organize cadres to take part in productive labour and thus enable leading and functional organs of enterprises to serve the work teams and shifts as well as production better, maintain closer contact with the masses and rely on them to get the work done. This will reduce non-productive expenses of enterprises, overcome bureaucracy, improve efficiency, strengthen the unity between leadership and rank and file and thereby ensure that enterprises will continue consistently to develop along socialist lines.

The revolutionization of designing work mainly requires that designers should go out of their offices to join in physical labour, make investigations and studies at the construction sites themselves and in drawing up their designs integrate the efforts of cadres, specialists and the masses. Working in this way, designers are able to gear their designs closely to actual conditions in China, free themselves from the shackles of outmoded ideas or unsuitable foreign conventions and formulae, bring their professional knowledge and skills into fuller play, and, at the same time, draw on the valuable experience of the masses. This not only makes for better designing but leads to economies in the use of investment funds.

Implementation of the policy of doing what we can afford and of doing more with less money makes it possible to achieve greater results in economic construction with a given amount of funds. The economy is the basis of finance. As the economy grows, more funds are accumulated. The increased accumulations of funds can then be used to further the development of the economy.

Bettering People's Livelihood Goes Together With Construction

A foreigner once said: The economic development of China is really amazing; it is like the miracle in which a mountain is built overnight. But, though the mountain is there, large tracts of ground in the neighbourhood have sunk under the digging. He clearly meant that the construction was going on all right with great rapidity, but that this building was exhausting the resources of the people.

Is that true? No, it is quite untrue.

In New China, the distribution of national income takes into consideration the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. For instance, in 1954, 78.4 per cent of the national income was allocated for consumption as against 21.6 per cent for accumulation; in 1955, the corresponding figures were 79.5 per cent as against 20.5 per cent; and in 1956, they were 77.2 per cent as against 22.8 per cent.

It is true that the living standards of the Chinese people are still not high. But they all have enough to eat and to wear. Unemployment and hunger can no longer be found anywhere in China today. Compared with the utter destitution which the Chinese people suffered before liberation, this is a remarkable achievement.

In the past 16 years, the living standards of the Chinese people have improved year by year. The average wage of workers and staff rose by 70 per cent during the period of economic rehabilitation (1950-52); it increased again by 42.8 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan period (1953-57). The state besides has earmarked large sums for labour insurance and housing projects for workers and staff.

The income of the peasants has also increased steadily. It rose by more than 30 per cent during the economic rehabilitation period, and again by nearly 30 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan period.

A look at China's domestic market also proves this point. Commodities are in relatively abundant supply on the market today and we can see signs of prosperity everywhere. Supplies of pork, mutton, vegetables and other non-staple foodstuffs in 1964 were more than 30 per cent greater than in 1957; supplies of machine-made paper, aluminium utensils, enamelware, bicycles, radios and other important consumer goods were more than 50 per cent larger.

At the same time commodity prices in China have long remained stable. Prices of grain, cotton piece goods, coal and other main daily necessities are not only stable but also low. The Chinese people no longer need to worry about price fluctuations.

New China's currency, *renminbi*, is stable in value and enjoys high prestige both at home and abroad. The running inflation of the days of reactionary Kuomintang rule was ended soon after the founding of the People's Republic.

These facts are eloquent. It is not the People's Government of New China but the rulers of old China — the imperialists, landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists — who "dug up the ground" and exhausted the resources of the people.

What we have achieved in our national construction is only a beginning. We still have to overcome many difficulties and shortcomings in our work. We must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, we must devote still greater efforts to building our great motherland and giving support to the struggles of all the oppressed of the world. This is our glorious task. As Chairman Mao said in July last year: "Our country is somewhat stronger than it was before, but it is still not very strong. We need to build it up for another 20 or 30 years at least in order to make it really strong."⁵

⁵ See *Peking Review*, No. 31, 1965, p. 3.

ROUND THE WORLD

Dominican Republic Unreconciled

Adding Fuel to the Fire

In Beleaguered Saigon

Butterflies in the Stomach

Towards the middle of last month, the flag of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation began to appear in the Saigon Cho Lon-Gia Dinh area to mark the Front's fifth anniversary (December 20). The red-and-blue flag with its gold star and the anti-U.S. posters and leaflets which accompanied it were hailed by the people everywhere—on the main streets, at markets, quays, railway stations, factories, schools, in places near the enemy military bases and in "strategic hamlets."

In these days, bomb explosions and hand grenade blasts took place often in the Saigon area, in streets along which U.S. army trucks drive, in places where the aggressors live or are stationed. This got on the nerves of the U.S. military and rumours of all sorts were circulating. One was that "members of the Viet Cong were roaming the streets in an automobile with 200 to 250 lbs. of high explosive to be used against an American installation or billet housing American officers or enlisted men." U.S. military police patrolled the city to warn Americans to return to their homes. But even there they are not safe so barricades were immediately

thrown up in the streets around the U.S. Embassy and several buildings housing American officers, including the one in which Westmoreland lives. In the Caravelle Hotel, Vietnamese puppets invited by the Americans to a dinner party were searched.

On the evening of December 18, jittery American officers in the billet which was blasted on December 24, 1964, jumped from their beds and ran upon hearing a rumour that the building was about to be blasted again. According to a UPI report, high-ranking American officers fled "in all stages of undress, some wearing only raincoats against a light drizzle."

Anh Sang, a puppet newspaper, revealed that "all the U.S. military establishments and quarters will be removed from the capital and the bars and dancing saloons will be centred round one spot." The paper said that "a special area for Americans will be set up in the suburbs of Saigon."

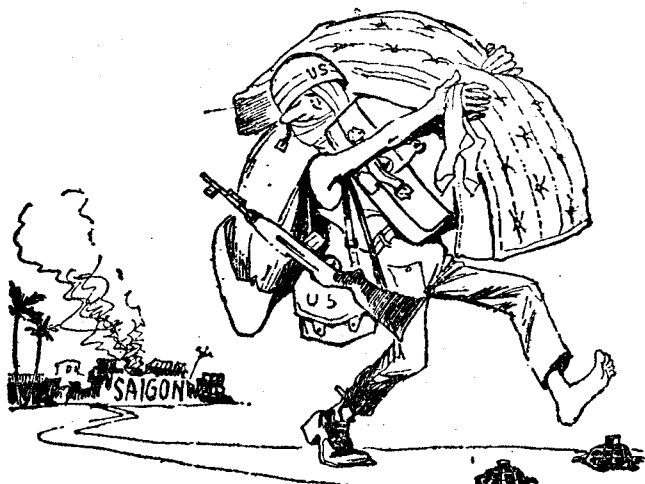
But if the aggressors are like beasts hunted out of their den, aren't they also like a moth fluttering about a fire when they move out of the city area to the suburbs where the heroic people's armed forces are even more active? As was stated by Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the

Presidium of the Central Committee of the N.F.L., on December 20 at a meeting celebrating the anniversary: "While the main forces are giving thunderbolt blows to the enemy, the flames of the guerilla war are burning everywhere. They have formed a tight encirclement and an enmeshing net over and around the enemy."

The U.S. aggressors, who are bogged down in faraway south Vietnam, are also putting their heads further into the Dominican noose in their own "backyard." One hundred thousand sugar workers and government clerks went on strike on December 14, and this culminated in a fresh anti-U.S. demonstration in the business centre of Santo Domingo, where the local population clashed with the U.S. and Brazilian occupation forces. Because the people have never been reconciled to the U.S.-inspired "Act of Reconciliation" aimed at disarming the patriots, a pro-U.S. air force unit, instigated by U.S. imperialism, on December 19 again attacked the former insurgent army led by Caa-mano, now stationed in the country's second biggest city, Santiago. The attack was repulsed but provoked the angry patriots in Santo Domingo to a public protest, in which exchanges of fire with the U.S. paratroopers and the "inter-American force" continued for several days.

On December 21, trade union leaders announced their decision to call a general strike to press for the withdrawal of the U.S.-controlled "inter-American force" and the dismissal of the reactionary Dominican officers responsible for the December 19 attack on the insurgents.

As in south Vietnam and wherever else U.S. aggression meets with setbacks, the first reaction of the Johnson Administration was to send more troops. A 1,400-man U.S. marine landing team has taken up a position in the Caribbean off the coast, ready to join the U.S. occupation army in further suppression of the Dominican patriots. This U.S. reinforcement will merely add fuel to the fire. The National Political Committee of the Dominican "June 14 Revolutionary Movement" in a recent statement has called on the nation "to push forward successfully the great mass struggles which are in the offing: strikes of workers, mobilization of peasants, struggles of students and demonstrations and rallies of the people." This, said the



Cartoon by Miao Ti

The William Epton Case:

Judges Will Be Judged

On December 20, the New York State Supreme Court branded William Epton "a dangerous man" and convicted him on a spurious charge of "criminal anarchy."

William Epton, a Negro leader and Vice-Chairman of the U.S. Progressive Labour Party, was arrested in July 1964 shortly after he took part in the Negro struggle against police violence in Harlem, New York City. The Progressive Labour Party has issued a statement in protest. It noted that Epton was "tried" and convicted at the very moment opposition to Washington's plans was mounting at home and when the U.S. rulers were intensifying their war of genocide against the Vietnamese people—at a time when they were threatening to invade Cambodia and spread the war to all of Southeast Asia. The reactionaries had arrested Epton and committed other outrages of re-

pression in order to suppress the American Negro movement and workers' movement and so facilitate their plans for world conquest. The statement pointed out that despite repression by the U.S. ruling group, "tens of thousands of black workers from Watts to Harlem rise in wave after wave of rebellion, striking terror among the handful of greedy rich who dominate our country; tens of thousands of marchers, from California to New York, will persist in their efforts to compel the U.S. to 'get out of Vietnam,' attacking the basic policies of the Washington war-makers."

The frame-up and conviction of Bill Epton, it added, showed that the U.S. rulers feared the black workers and revolutionary leaders like Epton. "It is not Bill Epton who must be judged, it is those who jail the Eptons that are yet to be judged—and who will be judged by the people of our country and the people of the world."

In the U.S., said the statement, the cadence of marching feet would grow louder and louder until those who live off the exploitation of others had been overthrown.

statement, would end in a "people's war for the liberation of the Dominican Republic, which will for ever eliminate oppression by the U.S."

Today, like sparks that will finally start a prairie fire, anti-U.S. armed struggles have also erupted in many other Latin American countries—Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Bolivia and Paraguay. As a Chinese saying has it, to commit too many outrages is certain to hasten one's own doom. This is exactly what U.S. imperialism is doing. The succinct remark made some time ago by U.S. political commentator Walter Lippmann should provide the man in the White House with some food for thought: "Our official doctrine is that we must be prepared to police the world . . . [but] how many Vietnams and Dominican Republics can the marines police at one and the same time?"

U.S.A.

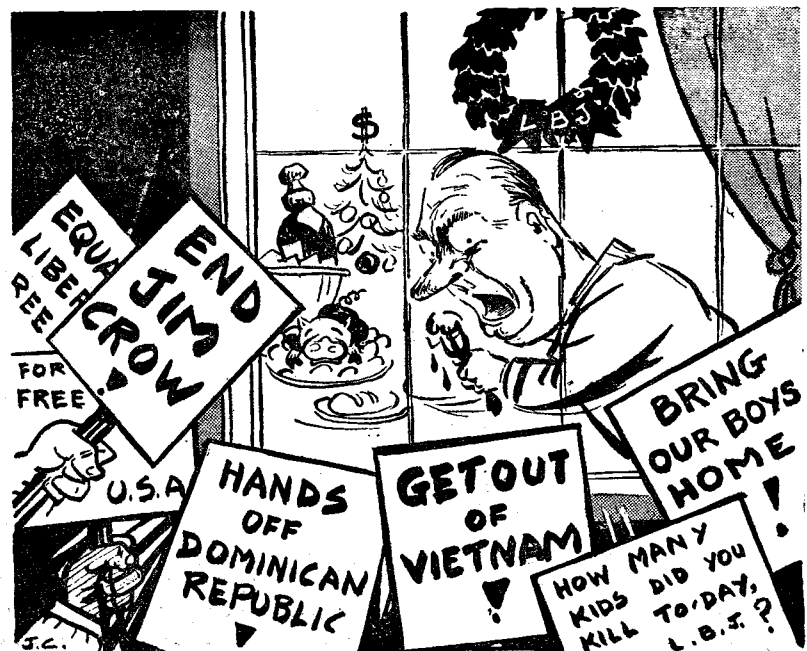
Not So Merry Christmas

To many Americans, the 1965 Christmas was a white but very cold

and mirthless one. The eastern and mid-western parts of the country were hit by wind and snow storms; in the Chicago area, about 100,000 persons spent their holiday without electric power due to flooding and power lines being brought down by heavy, wet snow and gusty wind.

Foul weather, however, was only secondary when compared with the

man-made sufferings brought upon many American families by the war of aggression in Vietnam. This Christmas, reported *Look* magazine, "finds Americans troubled by bitterness over a distant war." The magazine published some letters sent home by servicemen in south Vietnam. One John Duemmel said that he flew up to Pleiku recently past



Plei Me and saw the big mountain where Al Dimond's plane crashed. It suddenly occurred to him that far many more families than Al's were now without plans for a happy reunion—families with a permanent emptiness facing them. In his letter Duemmel expressed his eagerness to leave south Vietnam.

On Christmas eve and Christmas day, many Americans demonstrated: at Manhattan's Union Square, singing songs opposing the U.S. war in Vietnam; at Times Square, picketing near the recruiting booth there; and in front of the White House in Washington. In Texas, some 100 people from many parts of the state held a 3-hour demonstration outside Johnson's ranch home, where, protected by a wooden barricade and secret service men and state troopers, Johnson was spending the "season of joy" with his family.

The war has also aggravated the already very serious trend of inflation. AP reported: "Hogs are bringing the highest prices since 1952. Choice grades of beef are up . . . [but] the rise in food prices was less steep than that in services, such as medical care." It expected further price rises in this year 1966.

As life becomes harder, Christmas has virtually brought no joy to many American families, not to mention those who have lost their beloved ones for ever.

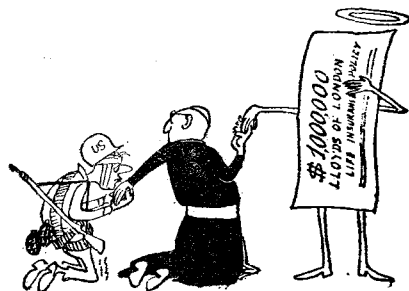
There has always been two United States of America on the north American continent. In that represented by Morgan, Rockefeller, Dulles, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, McNamara and their kind, the Christmas shopping list included a \$20,000 teapot, a flacon of perfume for \$2,500 and a \$300 lace handkerchief. In the other United States, there are the families in Appalachia and other poverty-stricken areas. The same *Look* magazine singled out a Coleman Currence, an unemployed worker whose income is so low that it "cannot make him a Santa Claus even once a year." To Coleman and his family and the many bereaved ones, Christmas came as just another winter's day; they were waiting "the sombre season out."

THE PASSING SHOW

A Matter of Faith

Presidential advisers gave serious consideration to a proposal that Johnson visit south Vietnam during the yuletide season to boost the sagging morale of the American invaders there. The proposal was dropped because, among other things, security arrangements, no matter how thoroughgoing, could not eliminate all risk to the U.S. President.

Cardinal Spellman of New York, however, pinch hit for him and spent Christmas together with the American troops in Saigon. According to William Hickey of the London *Daily Express*, the Cardinal took out a U.S. \$1,000,000 life insurance policy from Lloyds of London for his Saigon trip.



— You put your trust in God,
I'll put mine in Lloyds!

Johnson-Erhard Talks

Give and Take

Ludwig Erhard, the West German Chancellor, ended his 3-day visit to Washington on December 21, his first trip abroad since *Der Dicke* won his second term of office last October.

The main purpose of Erhard's visit was to get the Johnson Administration to promise Bonn a share in the nuclear pie. He seemed to have got the promise he sought. According to the joint communique issued after the talks, the U.S. President agreed that West Germany "should have an appropriate part in nuclear defence." To cover up the U.S. imperialist plan of arming West German militarism in preparation for a global war, the communique hastened to add that West Germany "neither intended nor desired to acquire national control over nuclear weapons." It even argued that "alliance nuclear arrangements **would not constitute proliferation of nuclear weapons and in fact should contribute to the goal of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons.**" Why this big lie?

It has been clear from the very beginning that the U.S. plan was to meet appropriately, under U.S. control, West Germany's demand for a share in nuclear weapons. But this will be done in the most cunning forms and by rather slow stages, so that the plan can be made acceptable to America's Western allies which are opposed to it. At the same time, Washington has also tried not to

impede U.S. collaboration with the Soviet Union in closing a deal on the so-called prevention of nuclear proliferation.

In order to get U.S. nuclear weapons, West Germany, for its part, has not hesitated to estrange itself from France and promise to back up the U.S. in its war of aggression against Vietnam.

Thus, on the "future" of the NATO bloc, Johnson and Erhard, tilting a lance at France's doctrine of the "unification" of Europe against U.S. control, stressed particularly the "close political and military co-operation" among NATO member states, urging them "to maintain and to strengthen the alliance and its political and military institutions."

On the problem of developments in the Far East, a DPA report said that the U.S. President talked at length about "the Chinese threat to Asia and the Far East." Erhard thereupon reiterated his support for the U.S. war in Vietnam and pledged that his government would "continue to assist in this effort for the cause of freedom." But Johnson has fared no better than his secretaries of state and defence whose efforts at the recent NATO ministerial council meeting to drag their West European allies into the Vietnam war were cold-shouldered then and there. Erhard made it clear to Johnson that the Bonn government's "support" of U.S. aggression against Vietnam would be confined to "humanitarian and health spheres."

U.S. Aggressors Quagmired in South Vietnam

"Jungle Chaos as Americans Hunt the Reds" was the headline of a report in the London "Daily Mirror" (December 10, 1965) by that paper's correspondent, Roy Blackman, from Lai Khe in south Vietnam. The report vividly portrays the inefficient, heavily equipped, cumbersome and sluggish U.S. aggressor army operating in the south Vietnam jungles, and unintentionally sizes up its drooping combat morale. It is worth reading because it reveals some of the reasons why Washington can never win in Vietnam.

We reprint below the "Daily Mirror" report with our comments in brackets. — Ed.

Jungle Chaos

WHEN the American army sweeps the Vietnam jungles, hoping to surprise the communist Vietcong forces, they are as unobtrusive as a giant combine harvester in a tiny field.

Three days with the U.S. 1st Infantry Division have convinced me of this. I have just been out amid the confusion of one of these sweeps which was summed up by Captain Gerry Griffith: "If we find some Vietcong who are blind and deaf, we are going to catch them."

The Americans no longer seriously believe in the element of surprise.

Indeed, the military machine they have created is in itself an early-warning system for the enemy.

- [The U.S. aggressor troops thought their "sweep" would be some sort of surprise attack. To their consternation, however, their supersonic jets, rockets and howitzers turned out to be "an early warning system for the enemy." In the face of people's war, modern weapons are more of a liability than an asset to the invading army, as the report shows. Let the weapon-worshippers chew this over!]

The Division was keyed up here, forty miles northwest of Saigon, to hit the Vietcong hard after one of

its companies was badly shot up in an ambush on Monday.

The men didn't have long to wait. . . .

We were just about to start on a patrol when the radio crackled.

"Just air-spotted estimated 300 Vietcong 800 metres from your position and closing."

At once, 1,200 men from two battalions were alerted. Their orders: "Search and destroy."

- [1,200 to 300—the exact 4 to 1 ratio as required by the Pentagon.]

I joined the centre of the operation with C-for-Charlie Company.

This involved six columns of troops on a three-mile-wide sweep aimed at making contact with the Vietcong.

As we moved off into the jungle the enemy, little more than half a mile away, could not have failed to know we were coming.

American artillery fired incessantly over our heads.

Two helicopters hovered above, spraying the jungle in front of us with heavy machine-gun fire.

And strike aircraft—AE-1s and F-100s—dived ahead, bombing and strafing with rockets.

Meanwhile, American soldiers, overloaded with equipment, were making heavy weather of the jungle.

- [In the jungles in south Vietnam, modern weapons lose their effectiveness, they become a burden instead. Nevertheless, we predict the imperialists will go on stressing weapons instead of man, i.e., the courage and the spirit of sacrifice of the soldiers. How can the G.I.s, who don't really know what they are fighting for in the paddyfields of south Vietnam, be expected to risk their lives?]

Every tenth man had a radio strapped to his back.

And from the sets came an incessant babble of orders and counter-orders.

Behind us, we left a trail of cigarette and chewing-gum papers.

Then we got a message that there were now 800 Vietcong, who were only about 550 yards to the north.

Our columns became tangled up with each other, and from the jungle came exasperated shouts of officers: "Stop crowding us, Joe!"



Cartoon by Ho Cheng

A junior lieutenant came on the line with the inquiry: "Is there a message for me? Like where the hell am I, or something?"

So, from a helicopter above, Lieutenant-Colonel Y.Y. Phillips, the battalion commander, advised all companies to fire coloured smoke flares to show where they were.

Then the entire sweep stopped for half an hour while the CO tried to regroup the line.

Some of the men ate their lunches. Others switched on transistor radios.

• [Some picnic!]

A captain came over to me and said the Vietcong were now less than 500 yards away.

An hour and a half later there was utter confusion.

This snail's pace sweep — "search and destroy," they had said — took five hours to cover the two miles.

• [Actually, the pampered Yankees were blundering along scared to death. Even without a single shot fired at them, the invaders were all tangled up.]

The total bag: two Vietcong killed by air strikes and artillery — one enemy messenger intercepted and shot in the legs.

The rest of the 800 got clean away to fight another day. . . .

• [Although it is refreshing that this time the Americans refrained from claiming a "resounding victory," as they normally do, their count of three Vietnamese "casualties" is highly suspect.]

It is fair to say that the Americans don't like the jungle and don't know how to use it.

The Vietcong, on the other hand, are probably the best jungle fighters in the world with the exception of the Gurkhas.

• [The statement is only partly true, we won't discuss the Gurkhas here. The people's forces of south Vietnam can beat their enemy in the jungles as well as on the plains and in the valleys. The crux of the matter for the U.S. invaders is not that they don't know how to jungle-fight, but that they simply can do nothing with people's war. It is as true for them in south Vietnam as it is in any other place in the world, where the people dare to rise in armed resistance.]

With McNamara at the tiller,
And Johnson at his best,

No matter how it turns, the U.S.
Ship of State goes West.



Left to right: Humphrey, McNamara, Spirit of Dulles, Rusk, L.B.J., Westmoreland, Lodge. In the State Room: The Monopolies

Cartoon by Jack Chen

Industrial Achievements of 1965

WEEKS before the end of the year, industrial enterprises all over the country began announcing fulfilment of their 1965 plans. The big successes scored gave production a flying start for the new year, the first of China's Third Five-Year Plan.

In addition to increased output, a wider range of products and better quality, 1965 successes included the introduction into industry of many advanced technological processes and techniques, great savings in the use of raw materials, fuel and power, and lowered production costs. These were fruits of the revolutionary attitude to work of workers and cadres armed ideologically with Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Plans Fulfilled

Iron and Steel. 1965 state plans for iron, steel and steel products, coke and iron ore were fulfilled one month ahead of schedule. Over 500 new varieties of steel products were turned out in the past year, including many kinds of high-grade alloy steel products resistant to corrosion, high temperatures and pressures. Among the new products were: steel plates for high-pressure vessels, stainless, clad plates and high-pressure boiler plates for chemical fertilizer plants; and light channel beams and thick, cold-rolled plates for new types of tractors.

Other new products of the iron and steel industry were high-strength propeller shaft tubes and concave spring flat bars for the motor vehicle industry; heavy-gauge alloy steel plates for cracking units in oil refineries; steel pipes for drilling 3,000-metre-deep oil wells; and ultra-low carbon stainless steel for making equipment for vinylon plants.

Along with the increased variety of steel and steel products there was a constant improvement in quality.

Machine-Building. This key industry on December 24 also announced pre-

schedule fulfilment of the main items of its plan. Spurred by a nationwide drive to revolutionize machine designing, production techniques climbed to higher levels in 1965. Over a thousand important new products were made.

Using advanced techniques the industry made a number of large oil refining installations to meet the need for more high-grade oil products. It also turned out a bigger range of precision machine tools such as the high-precision, semi-automatic universal external grinder which produces a grade 14 surface, a honing machine for processing precision gears and a single face horizontal automatic boring machine.

Chinese machine-builders in 1965 made a 25-ton lorry, a 6,000-kw. gas turbine for power generation and an 8,820-h.p. diesel engine. Among the high-grade and precision instruments they built were an electron microscope with a magnification of 200,000 times and a point resolution of seven Angstrom units, a high-speed electronic digital computer, a five digital voltmeter and an astronomical telescope.

Coal. Miners reached their 1965 coal output target 20 days before the year ended. The tunnelling plan, was also completed ahead of schedule. Cleaner coal was sent to consumers and there were big economies in the use of timber in all pits.

Labour productivity in the 71 large mines directly under the Ministry of Coal In-

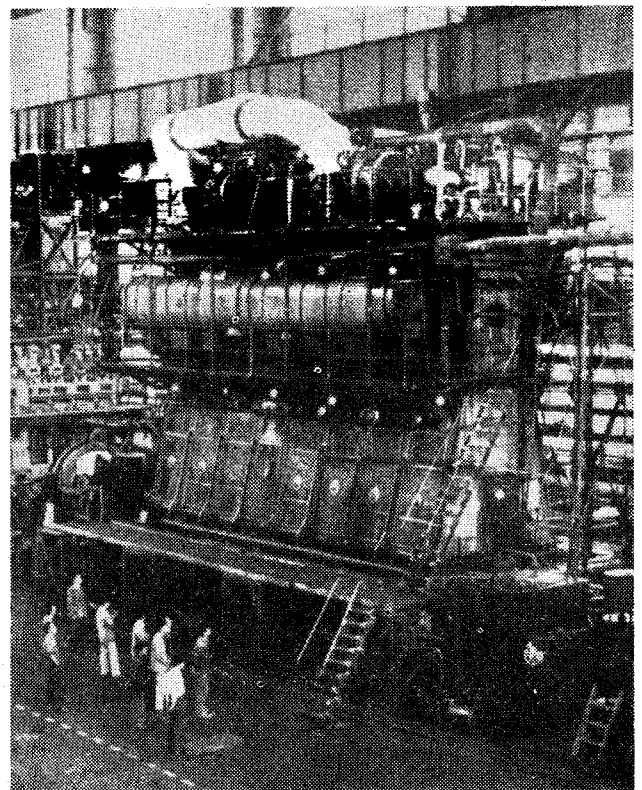
dustry rose 14.23 per cent compared with 1964.

Good maintenance work and better safety measures, steadily improved working conditions and plenty of technical innovations contributed to higher output.

Petroleum. China's petroleum industry topped its annual target for crude oil 47 days ahead of schedule. Annual targets for gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil and lubricants were all met by November 4.

Other achievements in the industry were the development of several dozen high-grade oil products and the production of some petroleum products which were as good as the best in the world.

New refining installations were put into operation in 1965 and good progress was made in mechanizing and automating production. Many technological processes were im-



The largest (8,820 h.p.) marine diesel engine designed and made in China

proved in prospecting, drilling, refining and capital construction; many of them were up to advanced world levels.

Chemical Fertilizer. The planned output figure for chemical fertilizer was reached 50 days before the deadline. Many new types of phosphatic fertilizers were produced and capacity for synthetic ammonia production went up an impressive 20 per cent above the 1964 figure. Production costs of nitrogenous fertilizer were down 18 per cent compared with 1964. These successes were due in part to some 160 major and 6,000 lesser technical innovations introduced last year.

Plastics. By the beginning of December, this industry had already topped the year's target by 34 per cent. It produced five times the tonnage of plastic goods made in 1964 for the farms and industry.

Last year saw extensive use of plastics for machine parts. This marked a new stage in China's modern plastics industry which was set up in 1958. A hard form of polyvinyl chloride was put to wide use for pipes in mines and chemical plants and in the manufacture of centrifugal pumps and absorption towers for the chemical industry. A new plastic was produced for making sliding bearings, gears and components for precision instruments and meters. Poly-tetrafluoroethylene (PTFE) was another of several new plastics developed. PTFE can withstand temperatures from -180 to +250 C. and is important to the aviation, radio and atomic energy industries.

Light Industry. Targets for most major light industrial products were reached ahead of schedule. Output of 17 products, including tinned goods, fountain pens, paper, sewing machines and wrist-watches, hit their targets by early December.

The textile industry completed its 1965 production tasks with 15 days to spare. Output of cotton yarn, cotton cloth, woollen fabrics, silk fabrics, chemical fibres and linen goods registered considerable increases last year and the quality in

general was better. Some 3,600 new varieties and designs of cotton, woollen and silk fabrics were made. More varieties and greater quantities of domestically made synthetic fibres were available.

New techniques introduced in 1965 raised the capacity of existing plants and accounted in part for the better overall quality of textiles. The industry installed 1.4 million more spindles.

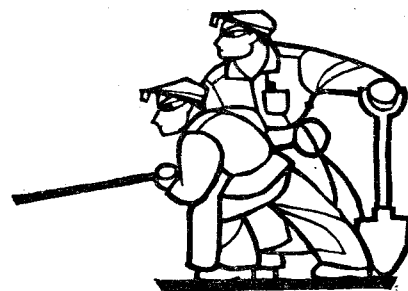
Peking and Shanghai

PEKING workers welcomed in the new year in traditional New China style—by overfulfilling their annual production targets. They clipped 23 days off the time allotted for reaching their 1965 planned output value. On top of this, they put out over a thousand new products, lowered production costs, improved the quality of goods leaving their factories and raised labour productivity by 20 per cent compared with 1964.

All Peking enterprises are vigorously participating in the nationwide movement to compare with, learn from, catch up with and surpass the advanced (both at home and abroad) and help the less advanced. This movement is centred around improving the quality and increasing the variety of products.

Peking workers turned out many important new products last year. These included high-precision strip steel with a thickness of 0.06 mm., metals of high purity, a medium-sized electronic analogue computer, a high-precision, semi-automatic tap grinding machine and a dozen other precision machine tools, as well as mixed fibre fabrics, and 70 new products for the countryside, including weed killers and plant hormones.

Back of these spectacular 1965 successes was the extensive study of Chairman Mao's writings by the workers and cadres. They thus armed themselves ideologically, boldly broke with outdated ways of thinking and of doing things, gained new courage and confidence to overcome all obstacles to achieving mastery of advanced techniques.



SHANGHAI, China's biggest industrial city, also fulfilled, ahead of schedule, its annual state plans for industrial output in terms of value.

Output of steel, rolled steel, sulphuric acid, caustic soda, calcium carbide, cement, plastics, metallurgical equipment, chemical plant equipment, metal-cutting tools, forging and pressing equipment, AC electric motors, instruments and meters, and transistors surpassed annual targets.

Technological progress was rapid. It made a thousand and more new products—an average of three a day—some of them as good as the best in the world.

Quality in general was better. Big economies, too, were effected by the workers under the slogan of "producing more from the same amount of material, fuel and electricity." In 1965's first 11 months, 280,000 tons of coal and coke, 240 million kwh. of electricity, 60,000 cu.m. of timber and 50,000 tons of metal were saved.

The introduction of 120,000 technical innovations last year helped factories to reach their present technical levels. New metal-working methods and special welding techniques were employed on a much wider scale than before in the machine-building and instrument-making industries. In increasing production and improving its technology, Shanghai also owes much to the inter-city emulation campaign "to help each other and to catch up with and surpass the more advanced." Over the year, some 4,000 factories from other parts of the country sent technicians and skilled workers to Shanghai to learn what that city had to teach and also to pass on their own advanced experience. Shanghai sent people to other cities for the same purpose.

New Year Holiday Attractions

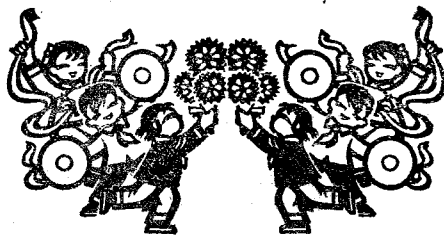
There has been a rich programme of New Year holiday entertainments. In addition to the shows listed below — just the merest sampling of what was on — professional artists and entertainers have been joining with thousands of amateur artists to give holiday programmes in clubs and cultural palaces and at New Year parties and get-togethers.

Operas and Plays. Troupes which presented the best items at the 1965 drama festivals held in central-south and northwest China are now touring north and east China. In Peking, Shanghai and other cities, they are playing to packed houses.

In Peking, special praise has been given to *Lightning and Thunder* by the Hunan Modern Drama Troupe. This successfully portrays an old worker who never gets daunted by difficulties and never rests on his oars. It had its premiere a month ago and was soon selected for the New Year programme of entertainments.

Particular interest attaches to the Kwangtung opera *Changes in a Mountain Village*. The leading role is taken by the well-known actress Hung Hsien Nu. This time, as a guerrilla company commander, she succeeds impressively in combining her singing and traditional acting with a revolutionary content. This play is regarded as a milestone in the development of Kwangtung opera dealing with contemporary revolutionary themes. It is being staged in Peking.

Aikuli, an opera adapted from the film *Red Flower in the Tianshan Mountains* by the Central Opera and



Dance-Drama Theatre, is a lyrical tribute to the new socialist heroes who are emerging among the Kazakh people. It has been hailed as a fresh success among modern operas whose themes are the contemporary struggle for socialism.

Popular hits including *Spark Amid the Reeds*, *Raid on the Tiger Regiment*, *South Where the Fighting Is*, *Letters From the South* and other modern theme Peking operas are also on the New Year programmes of Peking.

Song and Dance. The P.L.A. Air Force Ensemble's latest full-length production *A Sea of Fire* is on a theme close to the hearts of the Chinese people — the south Vietnamese people's heroic fight against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. It uses singing, acting, dialogue, dancing and some spectacular stage effects in a unique and unconventional way to convey its sharp political message.

During the holidays, of course, there are no lack of **concerts** by the Central Philharmonic Society and **acrobatic performances** by the China Acrobatic Troupe.

Films. Together with several re-releases, seven new feature films and documentaries are showing in all the leading cities. Those who missed *The East Is Red* on the stage — the song and dance pageant of the history of the Chinese people's revolution by some 3,000 performers — can now enjoy a spectacular screen version.

The 2nd National Games of the People's Republic of China, a full-length documentary, is done in colour by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio. This is a fine film record of the scenes, games, performances and competitions in which Chinese sportsmen broke world records in weightlifting, shooting and parachuting.

Among the other new films shown, there are Shanghai Haiyen Film



Studio's *The Little Football Players* and two foreign films: *In the Early Days* from Albania and *Little Yong Begins to Perform* from Korea.

Exhibitions. Peking's Museum of Chinese Art has opened the first section of a permanent exhibition of its valuable collections. This includes 302 works of traditional Chinese painting, oil painting, sculpture, graphic art, New-Year pictures, posters and water colours done since China's liberation. The predominant theme is China's socialist revolution and construction.

One gallery of the museum has been given over to an impressive set of life-size clay sculptures. They are copies of nearly two scores of the figures in the *Compound Where Rent Was Collected* (see *Peking Review*, No. 49, 1965), together with photos of the Szechuan originals. The original work contains over 100 figures of peasants paying their rent to the landlord-despot Liu Wen-tsai, and is arranged in the actual rent-collecting compound of his former mansion. Critics hail this powerful revolutionary work as a revolution in sculptural art.

The 9th National Exhibition of Photographic Art also opened in the museum a few days ago. In 360 prints, China's camera artists show a keen eye for the actualities of today.

Sports. Sportsmen who participated in China's Second National Games last September are now giving exhibitions — ball games, track and field activities, traditional Chinese shadow boxing and fencing, and other sports across the land.

RADIO PEKING

*wishes its listeners
all over the world*

A Happy New Year

— Be with us in 1966 —

Daily English Language Transmissions

EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA			AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	42, 30, 25	00:00-01:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan) 21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)	42, 41, 30
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	42, 30, 25		21:30-22:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 21:00-22:00 (West Pakistan) 22:00-23:00 (East Pakistan) 21:40-22:40 (Kathmandu)	229
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA			EUROPE		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	50, 43, 31	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19
04:30-05:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	50, 43, 31	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19
SOUTHEAST ASIA			NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 19:30-20:30 (Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	252, 224 32, 31, 25, 19	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.) 21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	58, 51, 48, 42
21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)	224, 32 31, 25, 19	05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.) 22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	51, 48, 42
SOUTH ASIA			NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	42, 41, 30	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19
			09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	31, 25, 17
			10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	31, 25, 17

Daily Filipino Language Transmissions

	Peking Time or Manila Time	Metre Bands
First Transmission:	20:00-20:30	32, 42
Second Transmission:	22:30-23:00	32, 42